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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1790.

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LONDON:
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PREFACE.

THE great importance to all nations and people of the moſt extraordinary Revolution which ever yet marked the various hiſtory of mankind, a Revolution which has already produced effects that are ſenſibly and unfortunately felt in every quarter of the globe, and which is ſtill capable, in its poſſible conſequences, of mocking all calculations framed by wiſdom, or founded on experience, with reſpect to their extent and duration, has, in our preſent Work, called forth our utmoſt powers of diligence, enquiry, and attention, to trace and delineate the circumſtances attending ſo great and ſo ſingular an event. Nor was this by any means an eaſy taſk. For, though the ſources of information were beyond all example and meaſure redundant and voluminous, yet they poſſeſſed properties little favourable to the formation of hiſtory; being generally framed and calculated merely for the purpoſes of miſrepreſentation and deception; their variety, contradictions, and number, all tended to increaſe the difficulty of diſcovering the truth. From ſuch heaps of inert or doubtful matter, where the clearing away of whole buſhels of chaff, was frequently not rewarded by a ſingle ſeed of wholeſome grain, we have endeavoured to compreſs within the narrow compaſs of our preſcribed limits, ſuch an abſtract of the Hiſtory of the French Revolution, as we truſt will not prove unacceptable or unſatisfactory to the Public: requeſting our Readers to bear in mind, that it would require an ample folio volume to do full juſtice to all the parts of which we have here traced the outline.

The time and room taken up by this momentous ſubject, has of neceſſity precluded our entering into the detail of other foreign tranſactions, which, in the uſual ſtate of things, would have been deemed objects of principal importance. The concluſion of that ferocious and bloody war between the great powers of the North and Eaſt (of the opening, and progreſs of which, through the two firſt campaigns, we gave ſo particular an account in our preceding volumes) ſhall, with the death of the Emperor Joſeph, and ſome other matters, form a retroſpective article in our enſuing volume.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1790.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retroſpective view of the affairs of France towards the cloſe of the year 1789. State of Paris. Sudden and frequent revolutions in the government and conſtitution of that metropolis. Body of electors appointed for the preſent, to ſupply the place of the former regal and municipal authorities. Laudable conduct of the electors, and great benefits derived from it, in preſerving ſome degree of order and peace in that city. Incidents which led to their being expoſed to imminent danger, through the caprice and the ſuſpicious diſpoſition of the people. Seemingly apprehenſive of this change of temper, they had the fortune previouſly to ſecure a retreat, by inducing the people to elect 120 deputies, who were to be their temporary ſucceſſors. The diviſion of Paris into ſixty diſtricts, for the better conducting of the late elections for deputies to the ſtates, productive of many conſequences favourable to the revolution, as well as to the eſtabliſhment of form and order. In each of theſe diſtricts general aſſemblies were held, whoſe reſolutions carried the effect of laws, and the moſt ſovereign acts of authority for the government of the diſtrict, were diſpenſed by its own adminiſtration. Thus, Paris was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, compoſed of ſixty independent democratical republics, than as one commonwealth. A few demagogues aſſume the lead in all theſe diſtricts, and being ſupported by the lower orders, ſoon oblige people of character to abſent themſelves from theſe aſſemblies. Inſtances of the noiſe, diſorder, and tumult, which prevailed at theſe meetings. New republican clubs, who have their appendant ſocieties in every town of France, ſoon become rulers of the mobs and demagogues of Paris, and at the ſame time dictators to the national aſſembly. Inſtances from a *writer of credit, that falſehoods and forgeries were the great and conſtant reſources of the cabals in Paris. Pariſians noted for credulity, and at the ſame time for the extreme ſuſpiciouſneſs of their nature. Similar inſtances of credulity in the provinces. The exceſſive liberty and unbounded licentiouſneſs of the preſs, a powerful inſtrument of the revolution. The literati of Paris eſtimated at* 20,000, *and theſe dictated to the reſt of the nation. Unaccountable and indefenſible ſupineneſs of the miniſters, with reſpect to the preſs. Strange and fatal blindneſs of the two firſt orders of the ſtate. Famine, as a cauſe of general diſcontent, another powerful inſtrument of the revolution. Real or imputed conduct of the duke of Orleans. National aſſembly ſeriouſly alarmed at the conflagrations and maſſacres which were ſpreading deſolation and ruin through many parts of the kingdom, the nobility being hunted down like wild beaſts in ſeveral of the provinces. This impreſſion of terror, produces the extraordinary events of the 4th of Auguſt. The viſcount Noailles, and the duke d'Aiguillon, make ſpeeches in the aſſembly, in which they propoſe ſubſtantial redreſs and relief to the peaſantry, by relinquiſhing and aboliſhing thoſe parts of the feudal rights and duties, which lay the heavieſt on, or were the moſt complained of by, that order of men. A ſudden fit of enthuſiaſm ſpreads at once through the two firſt orders, and the only conteſt after ſeemed to be, who ſhould ſacrifice the moſt, and who ſhould be the firſt to offer; while the commons ſeemed loſt in aſtoniſhment and applauſe. It was in an inſtant decreed, that all impoſts ſhould be equally and equitably laid on; that all the feudal ſervices ſhould be redeemable at an equitable price; and that perſonal ſervitude ſhould be aboliſhed for ever, without any purchaſe. Theſe are followed by a ſacrifice of the excluſive rights of the chace, of fiſhing, of warren, and of dove-cotes. The pariſh prieſts make an offering of all their parochial perquiſites, and the beneficiaries bind themſelves never to hold a plurality. Various other reſolutions paſſed on the ſame night, each of which was from that moment conſidered as an irrevocable decree, and afterwards made the foundation of a formal law. Aſſembly decree a medal to be ſtruck, to commemorate the acts of this glorious night. They likewiſe confer on the king the title of Reſtorer of the Liberties of France. Solemn* Te Deum *celebrated, at which the king and the national aſſembly aſſiſt. Aſtoniſhment and diſmay of the clergy, after the great ſacrifices which they had voluntarily made, upon a motion for the ſequeſtration of their tithes. Debates renewed with great violence on the following day. Cauſe of the clergy eloquently and ably defended by the Abbe Sieyes. In general they ſtand firmly in ſupport of their rights. Debate, after much tumult, adjourned late at night. Means uſed during the remainder of the night, and the morning, to bring over the heads of the clergy to a conſent. Archbiſhop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, ſurrenders all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation. His ſhort ſpeech on that occaſion. The old provincial names, diſtinctions, peculiar rights, and privileges, determined to be aboliſhed, and the whole nation conſolidated into one compact body, and under one equal form of government. Deputies of privileged towns and diſtricts make a ſurrender of their charters and municipal documents. Provinces which poſſeſſed a right of taxing themſelves, renounced that right and their* *ſtates together; and the parliaments were annihilated as well as the provincial ſtates. All fees and taxes to the court of Rome for ever aboliſhed. Some obſervations on the precipitancy, with which ſixteen laws of the utmoſt moment were hurried through in one night; as well as on the bad effect of paſſing laws by acclamation. Nobility and clergy in the provinces highly diſcontented with the conduct of their delegates on the 4th of Auguſt, in making ſuch vaſt ſacrifices without their conſent. Several members of the aſſembly likewiſe repent their own conceſſions, and become equally diſſatisfied. Landed proprietaries at length take up arms in their own defence, and repreſs the barbarous ravages of the peaſantry. King appoints a new miniſtry, with the approbation of the aſſembly. Diſtreſſed ſtate of the public, through the failure of the taxes. Loans attempted and fail. Scheme of patriotic contributions adopted.*

AS the city of Paris already poſſeſſed, or was faſt advancing to the poſſeſſion of the real power and authority of the nation, without a direct nominal aſſumption of its government, and the exerciſe of that power was rendered leſs diſtaſteful and invidious to the provinces and to the people at large, by its paſſing through the medium of the national aſſembly, which was apparently reſponſible for meaſures in which it acted little more than a ſecondary part; it may not perhaps be unneceſſary to make ſome inquiry, how that authority, which was thus paramount to all others in ſo great and extenſive an empire, and ſo immenſe a population, was itſelf conſtructed, regulated, and directed. We ſhall likewiſe take notice of ſome correſponding circumſtances and cauſes, which were either overlooked in our laſt volume, or did not at the time come within our knowledge, but which tended in a leſs or greater degree to facilitate the accompliſhment of a revolution, which, taken in all its parts, is without example in the hiſtory of cultivated nations, and of long-eſtabliſhed governments.

In the courſe of about three weeks, that vaſt and turbulent metropolis, which was deſtined to give the law to a whole empire, had undergone no leſs than three revolutions in its own conſtitution of government. Having in the firſt inſtance thrown off all eſtabliſhed authority, whether derived from the ſovereign or from their own municipal inſtitutions, the capital ſeemed expoſed a prey to every ſpecies of diſorder, violence, and of the moſt unbounded anarchy. In this alarming and dangerous ſtate, it happened moſt fortunately for that city, and probably ſaved it from continual ſcenes of plunder and maſſacre, that the better order of citizens perceived within their reach the means of eſtabliſhing, at leaſt, a temporary authority, which might tend to preſerve order and to afford ſecurity. The body of conſtituent electors, who returned the deputies from Paris to the ſtate, were of courſe compoſed of the principal citizens in their reſpective diſtricts; they amounted to about three hundred, and luckily for the capital, poſſeſſed in a high degree the good opinion and confidence of the people. On theſe the opulent and better part of the citizens immediately caſt their eyes, as capable of forming a central, effective, and what, with any other people to manage, might well have proved a permanent body of magiſtracy. There were ſufficient cauſes on which to found this expectation of permanence; for the electors were in fact, in their ſeveral diſtricts, the direct repreſentatives of the people, being elected by them, which the deputies at Verſailles were not, they being created by the three hundred, and holding a very remote connection with the people at large, to whom they were but little known, and to whom they were not bound by any obligation. It was however happy, that theſe conſiderations operated powerfully upon the bulk of the people in the firſt inſtance, thro' which the government of the capital was for ſome days carried on ſmoothly enough, and the authority of the new magiſtracy would have ſeemed complete, if it had not been for thoſe occaſions of murder or maſſacre which called forth the ferocity of the rabble, when all laws, government, and authority, and all reſpect to perſons, were trampled under foot.

The electors were too ſenſible of the critical ſituation of affairs, and too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the people for whom they were to act, to be at all ſolicitous for the pre-eminence to which they were called; on the contrary, it was at the earneſt ſolicitation and repeated entreaties of the moſt valuable part of their fellow-citizens, that they ventured upon the arduous taſk of governing the capital. Their conduct was ſuch, during the ſhort continuance of their power, as to gain the approbation of all the ſober part of the citizens; and for a few days, the applauſe which they received even from the rabble was boundleſs, and the merit and importance of their ſervices were univerſally acknowledged; nor did their ſubſequent conduct afford any fair ground of cenſure.

But the natural levity and inconſtancy of the Pariſians, their groſs ignorance, their mortal abhorrence of ſubordination, and above all, that horrid ſuſpiciouſneſs of temper, which induces them to imagine treachery or villainy in the moſt indifferent, the moſt innocent, or the moſt praiſe-worthy actions, rendered it impoſſible for any man or ſet of men long to preſerve their favour, or to conduct their buſineſs in any manner which could afford ſatisfaction, and which would not even in the concluſion be attended with imminent danger. We have ſhewn in our laſt volume the narrow eſcape which the electors had from the ſuſpicious rage of the multitude, when, on account of the impreſſion made on their humanity by Neckar's eloquence in favour of Bezenval, and of a ſimilar diſpoſition operating on themſelves to endeavour to heal the bleeding wounds of the nation by a general amneſty, the rabble conceived theſe acts of wiſdom and virtue to be ſo flagrant an invaſion of their new ſovereignty, and like other deſpots not enduring any partners in power, that they were on the point of carrying their reſentment to the extremity of puniſhment. Indeed, it ſeemed clear, that nothing leſs than the fortunate and inſtantaneous perception of their danger, which ſtruck the electors, and the conſequent immediate dereliction of their ſeats and authority, was likely to preſerve their perſons from the ſummary execution of the lanthorn, or their houſes and property from deſtruction.

It ſeemed, however, as if the

body of electors had either ſome previous notice that the tide was beginning to turn, or that they had ſo perfect a knowledge of the temper and diſpoſition of their new maſters, that they foreſaw to a degree of certainty the event which was to take place; for, ſome days before this final iſſue, while they were yet loaded with praiſe, and that all ſeemed to acknowledge the importance of their ſervices, they called a meeting of the ſeveral diſtricts, and propoſed to, and ſucceeded in perſuading them, to elect 120 deputies, who ſhould conſtitute a temporary adminiſtration, and who might in the mean time form a ſcheme for a future permanent municipal government. Nothing could have been more judicious or more fortunate than this meaſure. When the day of evil and of danger arrived, the new adminiſtration filled up the chaſm which their ſudden dereliction of office would have made, and by obviating the confuſion which muſt otherwiſe have taken place, afforded the electors an opportunity to retire with the leſs notice or obſervation, and to ſeek for ſhelter and oblivion in the maſs of the people. But neither their prudence, caution, nor the timely and ſignal proof which they had given of their diſintereſtedneſs, were ſufficient to preſerve them from the moſt virulent invective and abuſe, nor from the dangerous charge of ambitious deſigns, which they directed to the prolongation and increaſe of their power.

Among the novelties for which the late elections of deputies to the ſtates had given occaſion, one of the moſt eſſential, and which was indeed productive of conſequences that were at the time little thought of, was the new diviſion of Paris into ſixty diſtricts, which then took place. This meaſure, which was intended merely to facilitate the elections, held out an outline of form and order which could not be overlooked, and which was turned to great account in the ſucceeding convulſions. The eaſy means which it afforded of ſummoning the people of each diſtrict to conference or action upon the ſhorteſt notice was inſtantly perceived; and the committee of electors which, in the beginning, preſided in each, beſides introducing habits of regularity and order, were the means of paſſing reſolutions, or decrees, for the preſervation of internal quiet, and the ſecurity of perſon and property. By this means much of the violence and confuſion which muſt otherwiſe have taken place was prevented; and to this cauſe, and not to any ſuperior virtue in the people, (to which it has been cauſeleſsly aſſigned) we are to look for that appearance of order and government which was obſervable at the commencement of the revolution, and for ſome time after.

In each of theſe diſtricts general aſſemblies were held, at which every inhabitant was permitted to ſpeak and vote; and each formed permanent committees of police and adminiſtration. Theſe aſſemblies framed reſolutions, which carried the force and effect of laws in their individual diſtricts, and in as many others as they could induce to coincide with them; they likewiſe iſſued proclamations, granted paſſports, ſtopped and examined carriages and paſſengers, opened packages, and were beyond meaſure anxious and vigilant in the exerciſe of a moſt teazing and vexatious inquiſition, which reached to every thing, and which nothing could evade or reſiſt.

But the abſence or loſs of influence of the electors was ſoon followed by the departure of every degree of decency and decorum from theſe meetings. It has been aſſerted by creditable obſervers, that it would be impoſſible for a native of any other country to form even a remote conception of the noiſe and tumult which prevailed in theſe aſſemblies; and that the foreigner who could for any length of time withſtand the preſſure of the former upon his ſenſes, need never give any other demonſtration of the ſoundneſs of his head, or the firmneſs of his nerves. All the boldeſt and moſt impetuous of the ſpeakers, to the amount ſometimes of a hundred, were to be ſeen at the ſame inſtant, ſtraining their lungs together, each endeavouring to drown the voices of his competitors, and hoping that he alone would be heard. Yet this contention of noiſe, this confuſion of voices, ſo totally unintelligible to all ſtrangers, was ſo far underſtood by the ſurrounding crowd, whoſe organs of hearing and perception ſeemed endued with powers calculated for the purpoſe, that the general clamour was frequently increaſed, or the jarring diſcord of the haranguers entirely interrupted, by the loud ſhouts of approbation, or the deep roar of execration and threat, which they occaſionally drew forth. The ingenious device of one of the preſidents of theſe aſſemblies, will perhaps afford a clearer idea of the diſorder which prevailed in them than any deſcription. This man had a drummer conſtantly ſtationed at the back of his chair, and when the noiſe and tumult roſe to ſuch a pitch as to be inſupportable, and that all his efforts to produce order and ſilence were totally diſregarded, he gave the ſignal for beating the drum, which was done with ſuch vigour and effect, as ſoon to overpower all other noiſes; and this was continued, until the people ſhewed ſome ſigns of recovering their temper and reaſon.

In this ſtate of things, Paris was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy between ſixty diſtinct democratical republics, than as one commonwealth, or as acting under one ſimple form of government. Each individual diſtrict was independent in its own adminiſtration, and allowed no ſuperiority of diſtinction or authority to any other. Upon ſending deputies from one of theſe departments to confer with or make any propoſal to another, it was laughable, if not ridiculous, to behold the mimick forms of ſtate ceremonial which were obſerved on both ſides, the deputies being treated with all the obſervance and honours which could have been ſhewn by one ſovereign power to the ambaſſadors from another. In proceſs of time, a few of the moſt turbulent, noiſy, and generally profligate demagogues, became the leaders in every aſſembly, and leading the multitude as they pleaſed, all power in every department came by degrees to be virtually lodged in their hands; while the ſerious and better part of the citizens abſtained from going to theſe tumultuous meetings, where, beſides being ſtunned by the noiſe and clamour, they were expoſed to the groſſeſt inſults from the loweſt of the rabble.

Thus, by degrees, the government

ment of a million of people, who, having thrown off all eſtabliſhed authority and ſubordination, fancied themſelves free, and who, it might without much hyperbole be ſaid, had gone mad in their purſuit of liberty, became placed in the hands of a few hundreds of the moſt worthleſs among themſelves; men equally deſtitute of character, property, principle, and the moſt common portion of moral, political, or general knowledge. Theſe, however, naturally became the inſtruments of men of much greater knowledge and capacity, but as little troubled with ſcruples or principle as themſelves. The new republican clubs, of which the Jacobins became the moſt noted, and who had their dependent ſocieties, ready to execute their orders upon the ſhorteſt notice, in every town of France, were compoſed of the moſt turbulent, daring, and hotheaded men in the kingdom, or perhaps that exiſted in any country. Many of theſe were adepts in the new philoſophy, and all of them ſufficiently learned in the new viſionary theories of government, as to be capable of ſpreading confuſion and anarchy through all mankind, ſo far as their influence or communication could poſſibly be extended. All the republican party, the moſt viſionary theoriſts, and the boldeſt innovators in the national aſſembly, became members of this club; and it ſoon became the faſhion that all laws, all meaſures, and all buſineſs brought forward in that body, were firſt diſcuſſed, prepared, and digeſted by the Jacobins, whoſe ſanction was the ſure paſſport to ſucceſs. Being thus doubly fortified, ruling the tumultuous rabble in the ſixty departments of Paris through the inſtrumentality of the demagogues, who excited them to whatever pitch of outrage and violence they were directed, on the one hand; and governing the national aſſembly itſelf by a decided majority, as well as by the terror with which they ſtruck the moderate party, on the other, their power ſeemed to be unbounded; the more eſpecially, as it was extended through every part of the nation by their deputies and emiſſaries. Thoſe of the club, whether members of the aſſembly or not, who were the moſt violent in their republican principles, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their invincible animoſity to monarchy in all its forms and relations, which they deteſted ſo much as not to endure even the name of king, but ſubſtituted the terms deſpot and tyrant in its ſtead, held the firſt place among the Jacobins, and gave the tone to all the reſt.

It may be eaſily judged how ſmall and precarious a ſhare of authority the new temporary municipality could hold in ſuch a ſtate of things, and with ſuch a people. Nor have any of the changes which have ſince taken place in that capital, in any degree bettered its condition, either with reſpect to general government, to private happineſs, or to perſonal ſecurity. On the contrary, the ancient order of things has not been more completely ſubverted with reſpect to public affairs, than to domeſtic concerns, to the government and order of families, and to the ſeveral duties and relations by which their members were connected. Men and women ſeemed to have changed their nature; and both ſexes, with all ages and conditions, to be thrown into one undiſtinguiſhed maſs of general confuſion.

It appears from the letters publiſhed under the name of Groenvelt, who ſays he was preſent when many of the tranſactions which he relates took place, (and who, though profeſſedly a German, was a great admirer of the revolution, as well as a ſtrong democrate in principle) that falſehoods and forgeries were the conſtant reſources and favourite weapons of the cabals in Paris. Some of the inſtances which he mentions in ſupport of this aſſertion are ſo curious, and at the ſame time throw ſo much light upon the hiſtory of the time, that we ſhall inſert them. In writing to his ſuppoſed friend he ſays, "You cannot form an idea of the impudence, with which the moſt palpable lies are publiſhed and propagated among the people. The moſt poſitive aſſertions, the moſt minute detail of facts, the ſtrongeſt appearances of probability, are made to accompany the groſſeſt falſehoods. Fleſſelles was the victim of a pretended letter, which every body could repeat by heart, but which no body has ever ſeen. Of the letter which is the only evidence againſt Bezenval, there are in Paris a thouſand copies, but no original. No ſooner is it whiſpered in ſome obſcure corner, that a certain monaſtery is a magazine of arms, or of corn, than the report ſpreads with rapidity, gathers ſtrength, becomes a matter of certainty, and yet the moment the houſe is examined the whole is found to be groundleſs. The convent of Montmartre has been twice beſet by twenty or thirty thouſand men, who threatened it with deſtruction, for having engroſſed the provender of Paris; but no ſooner was it ſearched, by commiſſioners authorized for the purpoſe, than it appeared that it had barely proviſion enough to ſupply the houſe."——"At one moment it is affirmed, that the ariſtocratical conſpirators have thrown a vaſt quantity of bread into the Seine; at another, that they mowed the green corn; a party of the national guard is immediately ſent to the field, where the crime is ſaid to have been committed, and finds the corn ſtanding, and affording the proſpect of an abundant harveſt. In ſhort, the public is overwhelmed with lies and calumnies, and a prudent man can ſcarcely give credit to any thing that he has not ſeen himſelf."

And again, "Many of theſe falſehoods have certainly been deliberately fabricated to ſerve party purpoſes; and ſome men, who probably miſtake a diſregard of all moral obligations for profound policy, have been audacious and infamous enough to publiſh falſehoods with the ſolemnities of laws. Letters have been forged in the name of the national aſſembly, and edicts in that of the king, exhorting the peaſants to deſtroy the patents and pedigrees of the nobility, and to burn their caſtles. The effect of theſe forgeries is already ſeen in the ruins and aſhes to which ſome of the fineſt buildings in Dauphiny, Franche Compte, Britainy and Burgundy, have been reduced *."

Thus far Groenvelt; and this

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* See Groenvelt, Engliſh tranſlation, p.p. 209, 210, and 211; letter dated Auguſt 15th, 1789.

charge of the continued fabrication and propagation of public falſehoods has been more or leſs confirmed or acknowledged, by perhaps every writer who has given a narrative, with any appearance of impartiality, of the progeſs of the revolution. Certain authors, or publiſhers, however, of our own country, have adopted ſome of the groſſeſt and moſt abſurd falſehoods, ſome of the moſt ridiculous tales, which had been fabricated for the rabble in Paris during the firſt paroxiſms of confuſion, tumult, and madneſs, and to which they have endeavoured, ſo far as they were capable, to give the character, rank, and weight of hiſtorical facts. Of this claſs is particularly to be conſidered the injurious and cruel falſehood, that the unfortunate and murdered Launay, had treacherouſly enticed a number of Pariſians into one of the courts of the Baſtile, where he then had them maſſacred in cold blood. This horrible and wicked invention produced (as we have formerly ſhewn) its odious purpoſes at the time; in the firſt inſtance, by exciting the animoſity of the populace, and ſpurring them on to that pitch of outrage and cruelty which was intended; and in the ſecond, by holding out ſome palliation for the inhuman murder of the governor, and repreſenting it to the world as an act of juſt retribution for his treachery. The pleaſant tale of the heroic barber, who found himſelf ſo deeply involved in the weighty concerns of empire, that he attempted to blow the Baſtile and himſelf up together, though it ſeems intended only as a companion to the former, certainly poſſeſſes many advantages over it; for beſides its being totally innocent, and undoubtedly affording much ſatisfaction to the members of that fraternity, ſome of whom it may poſſibly ſtimulate to ſimilar deeds of chivalry, it has the poſitive merit of being an unique in that ſpecies of compoſition. It affords, however, an important and happy ſecurity to the veracity and purity of future hiſtory, that as ſuch productions can ſeldom laſt long enough to reach poſterity, there is no great danger of their hereafter contaminating the clear ſtream in which it ſhould flow.

Paris had ever been noted for the blind credulity, and at the ſame time the ſuſpicious nature of its inhabitants. Theſe qualities, ſo directly oppoſite, ſeemed undoubtedly to be oddly joined in the ſame perſons; but yet the fact is ſaid to be ſo; and thoſe who knew them well have aſſerted, that while, from time immemorial, they had ſwallowed, and ſeemed nearly to live upon, an eternal ſucceſſion of the moſt abſurd and improbable tales and ſtories, plain undiſguiſed truth was always received with caution and doubt, and ſuppoſed to conceal ſome guile, deception, or danger. The extreme general ignorance of theſe people, with reſpect to every thing beyond their own walls, (which was perhaps without example in any country of equal civilization, and ſo productive of men eminent in arts, ſciences, and learning, as France) had long afforded matter of obſervation to travellers, and of ridicule to poets and ſatyriſts. A conſideration of theſe circumſtances will tend much to account for and throw light upon many parts of the preſent and future conduct of that extraordinary people, which would otherwiſe have appeared inconſiſtent or unintelligible.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the ſame blind credulity, and the ſame vitious natural ſuſpicioufneſs of temper, prevailed throughout every part of the kingdom, and muſt be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe, the extreme ignorance of the people. Some inſtances in proof are at all times neceſſary to ſupport general obſervation; and a few out of a great number will ſuffice for the preſent purpoſe. The firſt was the impoſſible charge laid againſt the queen, that ſhe had procured the conſtruction of a well-charged mine under the hall of the national aſſembly, in order to blow the ſtates, without diſtinction, at once into the air; this ridiculous ſtory was not only verbally propagated throughout the kingdom, but a letter aſſerting the fact, and ſaid to have been written by one of the deputies to the ſtates, was, at about 300 miles diſtance from Paris, publicly averred by ſeveral perſons to have been ſeen and read by them. The fact was believed by all who heard it; which drew the following obſervation, in his own peculiar way, from our countryman Arthur Young, who was preſent at the recital, and the authority given: "Thus it is in revolutions, one raſcal writes, and 100,000 fools believe." Another inſtance was, the riſque which the ſame writer, and an old woman, his guide, encountered, on a ſuſpicion that they were combined with the queen in a conſpiracy againſt the volcanic rocks and mountains of Auvergne, and that he was the acting agent for blowing up the town of Clermont. The danger at this time, however ridiculous, was only trifling when compared with that which he ſuſtained ſhortly after; he being then ſeized in bed at midnight by a party of armed militia, on the very ſerious and alarming charge, of his being a party in the conſpiracy formed by the queen, the count d'Artois, and (their own lord) the count d'Entragues, againſt the territory of the Vivarois. The fortune he had of being extricated from this difficulty and danger, does not at all weaken the evidence which it affords of the extraordinary ignorance, credulity, and the unaccountably ſuſpicious nature of the people. Such inſtances would have excited ſome ſurprize if they had occurred in the interior and leſs frequented parts of Arabia; but that they ſhould be diſplayed in the center of Europe, in its oldeſt monarchy, and in a country long and deſervedly eminent for information and knowledge, can ſcarcely be conſidered as leſs than wonderful. They however afford full demonſtration, that no great portion of art or addreſs was neceſſary to the endowment of thoſe who were deſtined to play upon ſuch inſtruments.

The unbounded licentiouſneſs of the preſs, which was carried to an extreme before unknown under any government, was a moſt potent inſtrument of the revolution. Nor was its licentiouſneſs more extraordinary, than the unceaſing induſtry with which it was eternally ſupplied with an inexhauſtible ſource of the moſt dangerous and inflammatory matter, ſubverſive of all order and government, was aſtoniſhing. For amidſt the general darkneſs and ignorance which involved the people at large, there was a numerous portion of men who dedicated, or ſeemed to dedicate their lives to the purſuit of literature. Of theſe the capital alone was computed to contain twenty thouſand; including no doubt a conſiderable number of thoſe perſons who aſſumed the name of literati, becauſe they had nothing to do, and could not claſs under any other deſcription. This 20,000, however, from the advantage of their being concentrated in the capital, gave the law in matter of opinion, or at leaſt in whatever related to government and the new philoſophy to the whole nation.

The theories now publiſhed were derived from the tenets of Rouſſeau, Voltaire, and the other fathers of that philoſophy. They were in general abſtract, viſionary, unintelligible, or impracticable; and the authors ſeemed to have run wildly in the purſuit of an imaginary phantom of perfection, which neither did nor could exiſt. They went not only to the ſubverſion of government under all its known forms, but to the looſening all the bands of civil ſociety, and deſtroying its harmony, beauty and order. All the wiſdom of paſt ſages, philoſophers, and legiſlators, all that could be derived from the practical experience of unnumbered ages and nations, in their exertions to promote or ſecure the felicity of mankind, were now ſet at nought, to make way for the reveries of the new illuminators, who deſpiſed all experience, and diſdained all wiſdom but their own. It ſeemed as if the pages of paſt hiſtory had been for ever cloſed, and that their knowledge was totally forgotten, or that a new generation of men was juſt created, who were to begin every thing in this world anew.

Of all the heavy charges which have been laid againſt thoſe miniſters to whom the king had the irretrievable misfortune of entruſting the adminiſtration of public affairs, in none were they more faulty, nor in no inſtances, excepting only the affair of the double repreſentation, and the abſorption of the three orders into one, were their errors or conduct more fatally ruinous, than in the ſhameful and unaccountable ſupineneſs with which they beheld the flame which was ſpreading from the licentiouſneſs of the preſs through every part of the kingdom, without their uſing a ſingle exertion to correct the cauſe, or to counteract the effect.

The enormity was accordingly carried to an extent beyond all example in any country. The numerous preſſes in Paris hourly groaned under the number of ſeditious and levelling pamphlets which they were continually bringing forth. Indeed their number was ſcarcely credible; 13, and even 16 different pamphlets in one day, were no matter of ſurprize; and 92 came out in one week; while the avidity for reading and procuring them was ſo great, that it was a matter of ſome difficulty to enter the bookſellers ſhops they were ſo conſtantly crowded. The price of printing had accordingly riſen in the capital to ſomething near three times its cuſtomary rate per ſheet; and yet the preſſes in every part of France were ſaid to be at the ſame time equally occupied. But the moſt extraordinary circumſtances were the amazing diſpatch with which theſe innumerable productions were ſpread from the capital through every part of the kingdom, and the unknown fund by which the vaſt expences of the diſtribution were ſupported; the great body of the people being ſupplied with them gratis.

While theſe poured forth an unceaſing torrent of abuſe upon government, and were continually diſſeminating principles which went equally to the overthrow of the monarchy, and to the utter annihilation of the two firſt orders of the ſtate, the three parties whoſe exiſtence were at ſtake, the court, the nobles, and the clergy, ſeemed as if they had been involved in a general ſtupor, without action, feeling, or life. Not a ſingle writer of ability or eminence was engaged to refute the doctrines which were thus aſſiduouſly ſpread, or to counteract the poiſon which they ſo widely diffuſed. The few ſolitary volunteer pamphlets which appeared on that ſide, being written by men without parts or information, poſſeſſed no intereſt or ſpirit to allure readers, and could have produced no effect if they had. That written by the biſhop of Meaux, and perhaps ſome one or two more of character, being too few to be conſidered as an exception.

The famine, which was ſorely felt, though in a leſs or greater degree, in every part of the kingdom, may be conſidered as a main ſpring in accelerating all the movements of this ſingular revolution. Men in want of bread, neceſſarily execrate and abhor that ſtate of things which produces their miſery. They are little diſpoſed to enquire into natural, or to trace remote cauſes, as the ſource of their diſtreſs; they find leſs trouble in charging it directly upon their rulers, and fancy ſome alleviation to their miſery in venting their indignation and malevolence againſt them, even in words. The preſent ſtate of things in the other countries in Europe having prevented thoſe ſupplies from without, which would, in other caſes, have been procurable, and the internal ſtock of proviſion being deemed inſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, the moſt alert and wiſeſt government, ſuppoſing it to be otherwiſe at eaſe, and entirely unembarraſſed by faction or danger, would have found it a matter of great difficulty to apply any effectual remedy to the evil. But as things ſtood, the haſty ill-judged regulations, founded upon error, and ignorance of a ſubject generally ill underſtood, which were adopted, inſtead of good, produced the moſt unfortunate effects. Theſe, however, might have been palliated, if the ungovernable violence of the people, in obſtructing the free ſale of the markets, and compelling the proprietors to ſell their grain at whatever prices they pleaſed to give, had not completed the evil, and produced an artificial famine while plenty ſtill ſubſiſted. It has been even aſſerted, that the ſtock of corn produced this year in the kingdom would have been ſufficient, under due regulation, management, and diſtribution, if not to afford abſolute plenty, at leaſt to have prevented any great and pinching want.

In the general ill-temper of the people, continually goaded and irritated by the moſt urgent and inſupportable of all wants, it will be eaſily ſeen what advantages the emiſſaries of the factions poſſeſſed in working upon their paſſions; and ſpread as they were, like the preachers of a new religion, in every part of the kingdom, it will not be wondered at, the ignorance of the multitude being likewiſe always remembered, that they ſhould have ſucceeded in prompting them to the greateſt acts of outrage and violence.

But the great promoter, cauſe, and, it might perhaps be ſaid, author of the revolution; the man who, deſtitute of ſpirit in himſelf, poſſeſſed and applied the means of communicating energy to millions, and of infuſing diſaffection and diſloyalty in every order of men through that vaſt and populous kingdom, ſtill remains to be taken notice of. This was no leſs a perſon than the firſt prince of the blood; the man next in ſucceſſion to the crown, in the caſe of failure of iſſue male in the immediate reigning family. The name, character, and conduct of Philip Duke of Orleans are now too notorious, to render any delicacy in treating of them at all neceſſary. That immenſe fortune which, under the guidance of wiſdom, beneficence, or even the deſire of attaining fame, might have been directed to the accompliſhment of the nobleſt and moſt uſeful purpoſes, was now directed to the ruin of his country, to the ſubverſion of its government, and to the extermination of that royal family to which he was ſo nearly related.

Here then we are to find a ſolution for many things which would otherwiſe appear unaccountable, or remain hid in abſolute darkneſs. From hence it was that the gardens of the Palais Royale and all the open places of Paris were ſtocked with hungry, ignorant, and abandoned orators, and covered with riotous mobs, who ſucked in from theſe preachers every thing that could corrupt and poiſon the mind, and not only eradicate every moral principle, but deſtroy all the native feelings of humanity. Thus likewiſe was the ferocity of the Dames du Halle, and of all the other female furies of the capital, called into action; until the ſex, ſeeming to have totally changed its nature and character, was degraded and ſtained by atrocities, without example in any civilized country. And thus a numerous army of ragged *Sans Culottes*, of ruffians from the gallies, and from every part of the kingdom, being incorporated with the no leſs numerous or wicked native brood, were maintained and kept in readineſs for the purpoſes of rebellion, anarchy and murder, as time and occaſion ſhould call forth their ſervices.

From the ſame abundant ſource of the means of evil, crouds of couriers were diſpatched at the ſame inſtant of time from Paris to every part of the kingdom, conveying every where the falſe intelligence, as if proceeding from the firſt authority, that the ariſtocrates were raiſing troops or armies of brigands in order to deſtroy and maſſacre the peaſants; and calling upon the latter to prevent the danger by immediately taking up arms and deſtroying their enemies, the nobility in the firſt inſtance; an injunction which they moſt willingly and effectually complied with. In the ſame manner was the prodigious expence ſupported, of ſo long diſſeminating throughout the kingdom thoſe innumerable ſeditious publications, which were every day preſented to the people. By the ſame means majorities were ſecured, and ſeveral of the principal orators and moſt popular demagogues in the new clubs were retained; and theſe clubs, as we have ſeen, by their dependant and correſponding ſocieties, which were eſtabliſhed in every town of the kingdom, ſoon gave the law to the whole nation. Nor was the national aſſembly by any means free from the operation of the ſame cauſe, nor was the effect it produced on many of its members leſs known.

As the duke's annual revenues, great and royal as they were, and his fund of ready money, which was probably conſiderable, were ſtill unequal to the ſupply of theſe numberleſs drains, he deemed it neceſſary to apply to other ſources. Indeed, with ſuch vaſt objects in view, and after the ſacrifice of ſo much wealth as was already expended, it ſeemed upon the principles of gaming that it was better to encounter any riſque of future evil, than to ſtop ſhort in ſuch a ſtate of things, and when ſo much was already ſtaked. Holland always affords money, as well as numberleſs ſpeculators who wiſh to turn it to account, and the duke's vaſt eſtates ſeemed to hold out ample ſecurity for a loan. The amount of the ſums he borrowed is uncertain, and has been rated from £.300,000 to half a million ſterling. The niceſt and moſt difficult calculation would be to eſtimate the exact quantum of moral and political evil which ſuch a ſum, in ſuch hands, was then capable of producing in France.

It is evident that the duke not only totally miſtook his own abilities, but that he was as little ſenſible of the ill effects which his unfortunate character could not but produce, when he adopted the wild idea of being able to ſubvert or circumvent all other factions, and of being able to riſe upon the ſhoulders of men, poſſeſſing talents infinitely ſuperior to his own, and of rendering them the inſtruments to the accompliſhment of his ambitious views. The natural deficiency of reſolution and courage, with which every body knew he was curſed, was, independant of all others, an inſuperable bar to his ever becoming, under any change of circumſtances, or in any courſe of events, the ruler of ſo ungovernable and ſo outrageous a people. Yet in this blind purſuit he laviſhed treaſures, which, in many paſt periods, might, by proper application, have amounted in effect to the purchaſe or gaining of a kingdom.

The juſtneſs of an opinion which had been held by many, even early in the revolution, ſeems to have been much confirmed by the courſe of ſubſequent events; viz. that the French, as a nation, were not yet in a ſtate capable of receiving liberty; and that many intermediate preparatory ſteps would have been neceſſary to qualify them for ſo new and ſo great a bleſſing. Even Rabaid de St. Etienne, the eloquent apologiſt for, and advocate of the revolution, amidſt all his ſins of ſuppreſſion and miſrepreſentation, and all the artful colouring which he gives to facts and circumſtances, acknowledges, "That the people, "aſtoniſhed at ſeeing their chains "broken with ſuch facility, and at "feeling their own ſtrength, abuſed "that ſtrength in taking vengeance "of their oppreſſors; and their new "liberty was, as yet, but licentiouſneſs. General hatred, in its blind "rage, ſought every where to puniſh enemies, pointed out to it by "chance or by prejudice. A never-ceaſing inquietude tormented "thoſe freemen born of yeſterday; "in their neceſſity for a new order "of things, and for a ſovereign juriſdiction, they ſeized and engroſſed all juriſdiction to themſelves; "and ſeveral tumultuous aſſaſſinations were the fruit of this delirium."—And a little after, in treating of the two parties which divided the national aſſembly, he obſerves, "that one ſentiment, however, predominated there, and that was, "the dread of the effects which "anarchy, *too long continued*, might "occaſion."

We have marked the words *too long continued* as applied to anarchy, from the relation which this paſſage ſeems to bear to a ſerious charge brought againſt ſeveral of the leaders of the national aſſembly, that they had been the inſtigators, and in fact the authors, of many of the diſtractions and enormities which took place in the provinces. Of a number of circumſtances and facts from different quarters, and given by different narrators, in corroboration of this point, we ſhall ſelect one which occurred in Paris, in the beginning of the year 1790, and which is ſupported by teſtimony that cannot be called in queſtion. At that time the Count de Marguerite aſſerted publickly at the Duke of Liancourt's table, and in a numerous company, where near thirty members of the aſſembly were preſent, that the late revolt at Toulon had been inſtigated or ſupported by members of that body, who acted therein upon the principle "*that* "*more inſurrections were neceſſary*;" and this extraordinary charge was liſtened to by all the deputies preſent, without a ſingle word in denial, refutation, or excuſe being offered by any of them*.

The outrages, conflagrations, and maſſacres which were ſpreading deſolation through ſeveral parts of the kingdom, had, in a ſhorter ſpace of time than could have been well conceived, riſen to ſuch a pitch of enormity, as to communicate alarm and diſmay to the national aſſembly, fortified as it was by the ſuffrages of the nation, and ſupported by the numerous army formed in the capital. For in conſequence of the forged orders and falſe intelligence which had been ſo villainouſly conveyed to the peaſantry, the whole nation was inſtantly in arms, and theſe operating upon the ill diſpoſition of the people, and the abhorrence in which they held their ancient maſters, it ſeemed as if no bounds could limit their violence, and no exceſs of cruelty ſatiate their revenge. Thus the nobility were in many places hunted down like wild beaſts, their family ſeats or caſtles demoliſhed, and their patents, pedigrees, title deeds, family ſettlements, court rolls, and all records of paſt tranſactions, deſtroyed by fire. Happy were thoſe, who even in this ſtate, plundered of every thing, could eſcape half naked from the flames, without perſonal injury. But in too many inſtances ſuch atrocious acts were committed, that nature ſhudders and recoils at the recital. The wives of the nobility, it is aſſerted, were in ſeveral inſtances violated, and their daughters deflowered, in the preſence of the unhappy fathers and huſbands; and the horrid tragedy frequently concluded by the moſt inhuman murders, aggravated by circumſtances of deliberate and unheard-of cruelty, without regard to age or ſex.

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* See Young's Tour, p. 276.

We are ſorry, for the honour of humanity, that theſe cruelties are repreſented as not being in any degree confined to ſuch perſons as had previouſly rendered themſelves odious by their pride or oppreſſion; but that on the contrary, the moſt kind and benevolent landlords and maſters, the moſt humane and charitable to their neighbours and the poor, were expoſed to the ſame fate with thoſe of the moſt oppoſite diſpoſitions. A blind rage for indiſcriminate plunder, mixed with a paſſion for miſchief, and native cruelty, ſeemed to have been the moſt operative motives in many of theſe violences; it is not, however, to be doubted, but that a ſpirit of revenge, founded on a ſtrong ſenſe of paſt injury and oppreſſion, might have operated in a ſtill greater number. There may be ſome degree of juſtice in obſerving, that as ruffians of every order and denomination throughout the kingdom, robbers, galley-ſlaves, and murderers, lured by the unexpected proſpect of ſafe and general pillage, now held out, had ſeized this occaſion of mixing with the peaſants, it is not to be doubted but that they prompted them to the commiſſion of many of their moſt atrocious and bloody deeds.

Although the ſpirit of revolt appeared in various and remote parts of the kingdom at nearly the ſame inſtant, yet the degrees of violence and cruelty with which it was attended, were widely different in different parts. The northern provinces, and particularly Normandy, were much more temperate than the central and ſouthern. The exceſſes at Lyons, and in the country which bears its name, rivalled thoſe of Paris in violence and fury. The province of Dauphiny was in the moſt violent ferment, and the whole people up in arms. Franche Compte, and part of Burgundy, ſeemed particularly marked as ſcenes of deſolation. The Bretons, long trained in hoſtility with their lords, were in a ſtate of abſolute rebellion and anarchy. At Straſburg, the Hotel de Ville, or Town Houſe, was totally demoliſhed by the mob, being firſt plundered of all that appeared to them valuable, the court papers, records, and public archives being carefully deſtroyed, to the future diſtreſs and ruin of numberleſs families in the ſurrounding country, as well as in that city.

In a few places, the gentlemen and other land proprietors had the ſpirit and ſenſe to unite and ſtand ſucceſsfully on their defence. This was the caſe, though too late, in the Maconnois and Beaujolois, where the banditti, amounting to ſix or ſeven thouſand, and headed by a village attorney, had already ſpread deſtruction along the fertile banks of the Saone, having in a few days burnt ſeventy-two gentlemen's houſes, and plundered all the churches and ſmall towns in their way. A battle took place, in which the enraged proprietaries, with their friends and ſervants, defeated the plunderers with great ſlaughter. They then inſtituted a kind of temporary tribunal at Macon, for trying the ringleaders of the banditti, by whom twenty or thirty of them were ſentenced to execution. The democratic publications in Paris cried out loudly againſt this proceeding, as being highly illegal and arbitrary, although not a word of condemnation had been uttered againſt the ruffians who had plundered and burnt ſo many of the gentlemen's chateaux, nor of pity for the inhabitants of that beautiful country which they had deſolated. The national aſſembly ſeemed likewiſe to receive the impreſſion intended by theſe publications, for in a little time they interfered, by putting a ſtop to the proceedings at Macon, while a number of atrocious criminals ſtill remained to be tried.

Such was the ſtate of things in the beginning of Auguſt, 1789, the aſſembly being then deeply engaged in framing that memorable declaration of rights, which was to be the foundation of their new conſtitution, and which they conſidered as the firſt and greateſt of all their labours; when they were ſuddenly interrupted by the arrival in one day of expreſſes or letters from almoſt every part of the kingdom, with details of the dreadful devaſtations which were laying waſte the face of the country, and which, from their preſent appearance and violence, ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than ſpeedy and general deſtruction.

August 4th.

All the landed proprietors in the aſſembly were in a leſs or greater degree involved in the calamity; with the material difference, that while many had to lament the deſtruction of their houſes, and the plunder of all their moveable property, others had as yet no farther cauſe of complaint than the general refuſal of the tenantry to pay their rents, or to fulfil any of their other cuſtomary duties. The terror was, however, general; and having had leiſure during the ſeaſon allotted for dinner to ruminate upon the doleful details which they received, conflagrations, murders, and maſſacres were the only ſubjects which could be talked or thought of. Nothing could accordingly be more triſtful than their appearance in going to the evening ſitting; and before the commencement of buſineſs, an unuſual and extraordinary degree of agitation was viſible throughout the aſſembly. Upon the ſame principle on which mariners, under the immediate danger of a tempeſt, will throw much valuable property overboard, in the hope of ſaving the remainder, ſo it would ſeem upon this occaſion, that the great land-owners were ſeized with a ſudden impulſe of voluntarily ſacrificing a large portion of their rights and poſſeſſions, in the hope of retaining thereby quiet and permanent ſecurity for what was left. They ſeemed now likewiſe generally to adopt the idea, that coaleſcing heartily and without reſerve with the third eſtate, was become actually eſſential to their preſervation.

Under theſe or ſimilar impreſſions, the viſcount de Noailles, ſeconded by the duke d'Aiguillon, opened a ſcene, which, with reſpect to its effect and conſequences, was perhaps the moſt extraordinary ever exhibited in any aſſembly. Theſe noblemen repreſented with much energy, that the real cauſe of the preſent diſorders was the miſery of the country people, who were overborne by the double oppreſſion of public contributions and feudal duties; that although the lords in general might be lenient and humane, yet their ſtewards, their judges, their game-keepers, and their agents, were rigid and tyrannical; that the inſtant when that force, which was the only foundation of an oppreſſive government, was deſtroyed, the whole fabric muſt naturally be diſſolved, and every principle of order and ſubordination overwhelmed in its ruins; that it was therefore neceſſary to ſatisfy ſpeedily the claims of the peaſantry, leſt they ſhould proceed ſtill farther lengths, and deſpairing of juſtice in any other manner, aſſume to themſelves the entire means of attaining it; and that to give them the immediate enjoyment of thoſe advantages which they ſo much deſired, was the ſureſt means of attaching them to the revolution. They ſaid they would not, nor ought not to diſſemble, that France was at that moment in the laſt convulſions of departing life; that her exiſtence was prolonged, and her hopes cheriſhed, by nothing elſe but the attachment of the provinces to, and their confidence in the national aſſembly; and that nothing could prevent her impending diſſolution, but the prompt eſtabliſhment of a juſt and free conſtitution. They both concluded, by propoſing that all impoſts ſhould be equitably and equally laid on; that the feudal ſervices ſhould be redeemable at an equitable price; and that perſonal ſervitude ſhould be aboliſhed, without purchaſe; with ſome other articles, all tending to the eaſe and relief of the peaſantry.

Of all the known nations in the univerſe, perhaps there is no one ſo ſuſceptible of ſudden impreſſions, and ſo liable to the moſt impaſſioned emotions, as the French are and ever have been. Whatever the objects of purſuit may be, whether the moſt inſignificant trifles, or matters of the greateſt importance, the ardour and enthuſiaſm of the moment ſeem in all caſes to be the ſame. All deſcription would therefore be defective, in attempting to convey any idea of the tranſports which theſe ſpeeches excited both in the aſſembly and in the galleries. The very large poſſeſſions and extenſive royalties of the duke d'Aiguillon, added ſurpriſingly to the effect, and fired every body with a wiſh to be able in ſome degree to emulate the magnanimity of his conduct. The contagion ſpread inſtantaneouſly through the two orders of the nobles and clergy, and the contention was only which ſhould be the firſt to offer, and which ſhould make the greateſt ſacrifices to the public welfare. The commons ſeemed loſt in admiration at this ſudden and unexampled fit of patriotiſm, and frequently burſt into loud and involuntary acclamations of praiſe and gratitude for the benefits which were thus ſo unexpectedly and generouſly conferred on the people. This was particularly the caſe when the biſhop of Chartres, who was himſelf poſſeſſed of very extenſive foreſts, propoſed the abolition of the excluſive rights of the chaſe; which, from the extreme cruelty of the laws by which they were protected, as well as the miſchiefs done by the ſtags, boars, and other game to the farmers, had ever been deemed a grievance of the firſt magnitude.

The commons loſt no part of their temper or judgment in the paroxyſms of admiration or applauſe. They coolly perceived all the advantages that were to be drawn from the preſent fervour, and determined not to miſs any of them, but to obtain every poſſible conceſſion while it laſted, well aware of the extraordinary change which a few hours cool conſideration might produce in many of thoſe who now ſeemed the moſt ardent in their enthuſiaſm. The deſign was ſo well conducted that it ſucceeded perfectly; and, blinded by applauſe and emulation, nothing could be withheld that was demanded. The feudal ſervices were given up on all ſides; and the conteſt between the nobles and clergy ſeemed to be, who ſhould be foremoſt in ſacrificing the rights of chaſe, of fiſhing, of warren, and of dove-houſes. The pariſh prieſts, feeling the general impreſſion, and eager to emulate, ſo far as they were able, the example of their ſuperiors in rank and fortune, ruſhed forward impatiently to make a free offering of their cuſtomary perquiſites; while the beneficiaries, diſdaining to be left behind in this race for glory and popularity, diſclaimed all pluralities, and bound themſelves never to hold more than a ſingle benefice.

As if it had been to crown the events of this memorable night, and to afford a proof of the univerſality of the enthuſiaſm which then prevailed, the deputies of the Pais d'état, with thoſe of ſeveral privileged towns, advanced in ſucceſſion, and with a patriotic eagerneſs offered up the ſacrifice of their antique rights and charters, covering the ſteps of the bureau with their parchments and pendant ſeals; while they at the ſame time proclaimed their deſire, that there ſhould be no more provinces; that there ſhould be but one ſole nation, one ſole family, one ſole empire.

In the higheſt exceſs of the joy and enthuſiaſm which were ſpread through the aſſembly; both were ſuddenly checked through the ill-timed, and it might be ſaid inſatiate avidity of a member of the commons; who by ſtretching it too far, ſeemed upon the point of ſnapping the bow-ſtring. This member propoſed the total abolition of all manerial juriſdictions. As this did not come at all within the line of intended conceſſion, it could not but occaſion a ſhort pauſe; the nobility, however, agreed to the propoſal with a tolerable grace; but one of them inſtantly returned the favour by moving, that juſtice ſhould for the future be, in all caſes, adminiſtered gratuitouſly, and that judicial offices ſhould no longer be venal. Nothing could have pointed a more direct or vexatious blow at the commons than this motion, which went to cut them off from the only means they poſſeſſed of being ever ennobled. That body, however, diſdained to be outdone even in the appearances of patriotiſm; and the other ſide could not but be ſurpriſed at the vehemence of the approbation with which the motion was received and confirmed by the commons.

This circumſtance undoubtedly contributed to give riſe to that opinion which has been adopted by ſome, that the buſineſs of this celebrated night was neither more nor leſs than a game of *croſs-purpoſes*, played by the contending parties; that the ſacrifices made were moſtly dictated by a ſpirit of revenge, when one party, incenſed by the loſſes it had been made to ſuffer, propoſed to the other acts of generoſity by way of puniſhment; and that they mutually dared each other to conceſſions, of which thoſe who ſuggeſted them expected to enjoy the honour, without feeling the inconvenience.

Whether this opinion may be conſidered as too refined or not, it is however certain, that under the mixed operation of fear, hope, policy, emulation, enthuſiaſm, vanity, and impetuoſity of temper, ſeveral things were done on that night, which were afterwards, upon cool recollection, ſorely regretted; and it is poſitively aſſerted, that ſeveral of the nobility, who had from the beginning been eminent for their patriotiſm, and for the ſhare they had taken in forwarding a reform of the old government, were, notwithſtanding, ſo much diſguſted by the proceedings of this night, that they immediately abandoned the popular ſide and party, and ranked from thence among the moſt violent ariſtocrates.

The aſſembly, however, conſidering this as a complete regeneration of France, decreed that a medal ſhould be ſtruck, in order to immortalize the acts of that great and glorious night; and, tranſported by the warmth of their paſſions, and the eagerneſs of their zeal, they conferred upon the king the flattering and glorious, but ſhort-lived title of *Reſtorer of the Liberty of France*; and ordered a deputation to preſent him with the decrees, with the homage of his regenerated kingdom, and to addreſs him by his new title. When La Chapelier, the preſident, and the deputation, had addreſſed the king, he concluded his anſwer to them with the following words; "Let us go and return "thanks to God, for the generous "ſentiments which prevail in your aſ-"ſembly." A ſolemn Te Deum was accordingly celebrated, and attended by the whole aſſembly, La Chapelier, (the leader and founder of the famous Breton club, ſo determinedly inimical to monarchy) walking as preſident, though a commoner, by the ſide of the king, and thus, it is obſerved, properly ſupporting the majeſty of the people. It is likewiſe obſerved by the ſame writer *, that this was the firſt benediction of religion over the birth of liberty.

It is remarkable that the conceſſions made by the clergy, conſiderable as they were, and freely offered, did not procure them the ſmalleſt mark of favour or acknowledgment, ſome noiſy and tranſitory marks of immediate approbation excepted, from either the nobles or the commons. On the contrary, there were ſtrong indications, both then and after, that they were deſtined outcaſts from both parties; and all the joy, triumph, and good-humour of the 4th of Auguſt was wound up by a motion, ſucceeded by an earneſt debate which laſted till morning, for the ſuppreſſion of their tithes.

This debate was reſumed on the next day, and continued on the ſucceeding, and the motion oppoſed with great vigour. The celebrated Abbe Sieyes, with all his abſtract notions of government, was, however, a firm adherent to the rights of the church, at leaſt in thoſe things that related to her eſtabliſhment and independence, and he oppoſed this violent invaſion of both with great vigour and ability. He had not been preſent at the firſt debate, but hearing that it was intended to ſeize the tithes without an indemnification, he rapidly compoſed an elaborate written ſpeech, which he carried to the aſſembly, full fraught with argument, but not more argumentative than acrimonious, ſtrongly urging the violence, oppreſſion, and injuſtice of the propoſed meaſure, as well as the inſecurity and danger to which the precedent would expoſe all other property; and inſiſting that the cauſe he was ſupporting was not merely that of the church, but of all property whatever. We are to obſerve that it was the general mode adopted in the aſſembly, for the members to write their ſpeeches at home, and to read them in their places, there being as yet very few, not above three or four in the whole, who were capable of delivering their ſentiments in an extempore public ſpeech. The abbé, who was uſually collected and compoſed, upon this occaſion aſcended the tribune in great and viſible wrath; but this only ſerved to increaſe the animation and vehemence with which he urged his arguments. He concluded a very forcible ſpeech by boldly telling the aſſembly, that "if they "wiſhed to be *free,* they ſhould be- "gin by being *juſt.*"

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* Rabaut.

Though the abbé had been no ſmall favourite with the aſſembly, and his ſpeeches upon other occaſions were particularly well attended to, yet his arguments now, inſtead of producing effect or conviction, were heard with the utmoſt impatience, and with marks of diſapprobation which amounted even to interruption, both by the nobility and commons. Whether his reaſonings were ſo ſtrongly founded, or not, as to afford no room for controverting them, it is certain that the conduct on the other ſide gave no little countenance to the affirmative opinion, not the ſmalleſt attempt being made to refute or to anſwer any one of his poſitions. The abbé was ſo much diſguſted, and felt himſelf ſo deeply inſulted by what he deemed this unworthy treatment, that, if we are rightly informed, he never after took that eager and active part in public affairs which he had previouſly done.

We are to obſerve, that through the unaccountable and unexampled rapidity with which ſuch a vaſt maſs of buſineſs, had been carried through in the night of the 4th of Auguſt, ſixteen reſolutions of the greateſt importance being paſſed in a few hours, moſt of which ſingly would require the cool deliberation of more than one day, aſſiſted by much knowledge and judgment, for its due determination, from this circumſtance, as well as from the continual diſarrangement of thought, occaſioned by the general clamour and acclamation, it became extremely difficult for the moſt comprehenſive mind to catch the nature or object of the ſubjects which were unexpectedly brought on, and hurried through with little diſcuſſion or explanation. The clergy are repreſented as having been in this ſtate of blindneſs or ignorance, when the queſtion in which they were ſo much intereſted relative to tithes was on that night brought forward. They had generally conceived, from whatever cauſe it proceeded, that they were to receive a juſt, or at leaſt a reaſonable pecuniary compenſation, an idea which afforded the higheſt gratification to them, as they would thereby be relieved from that odious neceſſity of taking tithes in kind, which above all things they wiſhed to be exonerated from, and for that purpoſe would willingly have ſubmitted to no ſmall ſubſtraction from their value on the ſuppoſition of a commutation.

But when they found that they were to be ſtripped of their only means of living, and deſtined to look for ſome undefined compenſation, which was to depend entirely upon the future degree of benevolence that might happen to operate upon the nation or aſſembly, nothing could exceed their ſenſe of the wrong, or their indignation at the injury. Nor did the contemptuous treatment which the abbé Sieyes had juſt experienced, nor the clamour which was oppoſed to their own arguments and remonſtrances, nor even the galling ridicule which occaſionally intervened, and would paſs a ſubject, to them much too ſerious for merriment, off as a jeſt, at all deter them from contending vigorouſly for their rights, and ſturdily defending their daily bread. It was upon this occaſion that one of the country vicars, in the bitterneſs of his heart, addreſſed himſelf to the commons; and calling out, with the higheſt and moſt marked indignation, aſked, "Was it then to "devour us, that you invited us to "join you in the name of the *God* "*of peace*?" It cannot be doubted that a ſenſe of their own conduct in abandoning the nobility, with a recollection of the means uſed to draw them to that meaſure, and a galling compariſon between the fraternal embraces, along with the flattering title of ſaviours of their country, which they had ſo lately received, and the immediate ingratitude of thoſe very men by whom they had been ſo highly careſſed and bepraiſed, and to whom they had in reality done ſuch eſſential ſervice, muſt all together have ſerved to embitter the preſent ſcene in the moſt extreme degree.

The debate, if a continued ſcene of tumult, noiſe and confuſion might be allowed to uſurp that name, was continued through the whole day. In vain did a number of the deputies, who wiſhed to get quit of ſo tireſome a diſcuſſion, by that ſhort deciſion which conſiſted only in the counting of heads, and in which they were certain of a majority of two or three to one, call loudly and repeatedly for the queſtion. The diſorder was too great, and the paſſions on both ſides too much inflamed, to admit of the coolneſs and regularity neceſſary even for a diviſion; ſo that the buſineſs was by common conſent adjourned to the following day.

The popular writers not only acknowledge, but ſeem to mention it as an inſtance of the activity and ability of the leaders on their ſide, that the night of the 5th of Auguſt, which was that immediately ſucceeding the debate on tithes, was by no means idly or ineffectively ſpent. Every engine was ſet to work, to overcome the obſtinacy, or to mollify the minds of the clergy. Hope, terror, and flattery were alternately tried, and each in its turn found a ſoil fit for its reception, and produced its proper effect. The object in view was to obtain from themſelves a formal, and at the ſame time an apparently voluntary ſurrender of tithes. In fact, the clergy could not but ſee, that the union of the nobles and commons againſt them muſt of neceſſity render all their efforts abortive; and it required no great trouble to determine, whether it was not better to ſubmit with a good grace to an inevitable evil, than by a vain, and what would be deemed a pertinacious reſiſtance, to exaſperate that power on which they were ſtill deſtined to rely for ſupport and protection.

In theſe circumſtances, and under theſe and ſimilar impreſſions, the point was gained in the courſe of the night; and at the commencement of the ſitting on the next morning, the archbiſhop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, ſurrendered all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation; accompanying the ſurrender with the following ſhort ſpeech: "Let the goſpel be "preached; let divine worſhip be "celebrated with decency and dig"nity; let the church be provided "with virtuous and zealous paſtors; "let the poor amongſt the people "be ſuccoured. This is the deſti"nation of our riches; theſe are "the objects of our miniſtry, and "of our wiſhes: we truſt ourſelves, "without reſerve, to a juſt and ge"nerous nation." This ſacrifice was received with an affected acclamation of applauſe, as if any one could be perſuaded that it was a free and voluntary gift. It was not an incurious circumſtance to obſerve the ſudden change which took place in the countenance and manner of the aſſembly. That body, ſo agitated, ſo noiſy, ſo tumultuous and violent on the preceding day and night, was now ſo calm, ſo tranquil and placid, that it was difficult to ſuppoſe it compoſed of the ſame men.

It coſt the aſſembly ſeveral days to digeſt and frame into laws the reſolutions paſſed on the night of the 4th of Auguſt and the tranſactions and debates of that night are ſo intermixed, in the publiſhed relations, with thoſe which ſucceeded, and that without any mark of diſtinction, that it is not eaſy to aſſign their proper time or place to ſome of them. It ſeems, however, to have been on that night that the deputies from Dauphiny reminded the aſſembly of the wiſh declared by that province, that France ſhould no longer remain parcelled out amongſt Bretons, Dauphinois, and Provençaux, but ſhould for the future be inhabited by French citizens only. It was ſtated, in ſupport of this propoſal, that the French had not hitherto been properly a nation, but rather an incoherent and fantaſtical aſſemblage of different people, who had fortuitouſly paſſed under the ſame monarchy; ſome, by virtue of a will, bequeathing them as property; others, in conſequence of a marriage, which transferred them as a daughter's portion; and all by different titles, and upon different conditions; all preſerving their diſtinct laws and cuſtoms, and having nothing in common, but the diſadvantage of ſuffering all the miſeries of ſervitude, without the ſolitary recompence of poſſeſſing uniform laws and ſimilar intereſts.

This application was received with great and univerſal applauſe; and it was probably upon this occaſion that the deputies of ſeveral privileged towns and diſtricts made a ſurrender, as we have already ſeen, of the charters and municipal documents of the places they repreſented. But many other of the deputies, being more ſcrupulous, did not chooſe to ſurrender the local privileges of their conſtituents without conſulting them; and although the aſſembly had already declared or decreed, that no poſitive inſtructions from the conſtituents ſhould be conſidered as binding; yet upon this occaſion they allowed time for their communicating with them. But for the intermediate time a proviſional ſurrender was however made of all excluſive privileges, and it was underſtood and announced, that there ſhould be one common conſtitution throughout the kingdom, and that no privilege, or ſuppoſed right, ſhould be admitted to obſtruct the attainment of that deſired object. The final reſult was, that every excluſive right and privilege throughout the kingdom was at length reſigned. The provinces which poſſeſſed a right of taxing themſelves, renounced that right, and their ſtates, together; and the parliaments, which had ſo long been the boaſt of France, and conſidered as the able and inflexible guardians of the public rights, were ſoon annihilated, as well as the provincial ſtates. All the ancient ſyſtems of theology and of the ſchools, together with the canon, political, and eccleſiaſtical bodies of law, were ſwept away like cobwebs; as were, with ſtill greater eaſe, all the claims or ſuppoſed rights of the court of Rome, and all fees or taxes heretofore paid to it for ever aboliſhed. In a word, every thing changed its ancient form and aſpect.

It was obſerved, by men of ſhrewd obſervation, that however brilliant the generous enthuſiaſm of the 4th of Auguſt appeared, and whatever honour the great ſacrifices made by the nobility and clergy to the people conferred on the parties, yet that this new mode of haſtily paſſing the moſt important laws by acclamation, was fraught with much inconvenience and evil; that it took away from that reſpect, from that opinion of wiſdom, which ever ſhould attend the proceedings of a great deliberative aſſembly; more particularly the preſent, engaged as it was in the moſt arduous taſk that ever had been committed to the hands of a ſimilar body of men, that of correcting all the abuſes accumulated in the courſe of a long ſeries of paſt ages, and of framing a new and perfect conſtitution for the government of a great and powerful empire, as if it had now been only commencing its exiſtence. They held, that one eſſential law coolly paſſed in favour of the people, marked with its proper characteriſticks of due deliberation, diſcuſſion and enquiry, would have produced better effects upon their temper and diſpoſition, and inſpired them with higher ſentiments of gratitude, than the whole bundle of laws thus precipitately hurried through by the voice of clamour and acclamation. That ſuch a torrent of benefits coming upon them at once, was more calculated to turn their heads, to looſen all the bands of ſubordination, to eradicate every ſenſe of their reſpective duties, and to indiſpoſe them to every form whatever of government, than to render them good citizens, and uſeful members of the ſociety, in their proper ſphere of life. That theſe laws ſhould have been promulged, and theſe benefits communicated gradually, to give them proper effect, and thereby to render them uſeful; but that in the preſent ill-choſen ſeaſon of paſſing the one, and no leſs ill mode of diſpenſing the other, the people muſt naturally attribute them either to a ſudden paroxyſm of fear or of madneſs; and that under this impreſſion, their gratitude on the one hand, and all the good effects which were hoped to proceed from theſe prodigious conceſſions, on the other, would be equally ſuperſeded. They farther inſiſted, that independently of all extrinſic conſiderations, ſo important and ſo intricate a body of laws, which went to change the whole law and policy of the nation, to diſarrange or diſpoſe of near half its property, and to draw eternal lines of demarcation between the rights and claims of the rich and the poor, the great and the ſmall, required, whether with regard to their ſtability, or to the character of the legiſlators, that none of them ſeparately, much leſs the whole, ſhould have been paſſed, without deep thought, calm deliberation, long diſcuſſion, cloſe enquiry into facts and conſequences, and a vigorous exertion of all the human foreſight in looking to poſſible or probable conſequences.

The event was, that the nobility and clergy in the provinces, feeling no part of that enthuſiaſm which operated on their brethen upon the 4th of Auguſt, and being, on the contrary, in the higheſt degree irritated by the devaſtation and ruin which they were enduring, were much diſſatisfied with, and very generally condemned the conduct of their delegates, in thus haſtily ſacrificing their rights and property, without their concurrence, and without obtaining the ſmalleſt ſecurity, either preſent or future, for their perſons, or for whatever ſtill remained of their poſſeſſions. On the other hand, the illiterate peaſantry, having received only very imperfect accounts, and forming very confuſed ideas of what had paſſed in the aſſembly, yet the mixture of truth and falſehood which reached them, that the feudal ſyſtem was entirely overthrown, all privileges and diſtinctions between men for ever aboliſhed, that all open lands were the property of the nation (by which they underſtood themſelves) with that addition, which was received more greedily than any other, that no rents were in future to be paid, theſe things they thought not only afforded a full juſtification of their paſt violence, but ſufficient authority for its continuance; nor is it much to be wondered at, that they ſhould conſider theſe ſudden and extraordinary benefits as either the reward or the effect of their own outrages. Under this perſuaſion they accordingly renewed them with greater violence than ever, being now freed from the dread which had hitherto attended the perpetration of ſimilar crimes. The national aſſembly paſſed very ſevere laws, to prevent theſe diſorders, and to puniſh the offenders; but they not being ſupported with vigour, and no proper force aſſigned for carrying them into execution, they produced little effect.

But the proprietaries at length, whoſe ſupineneſs hitherto had been a matter of general aſtoniſhment, took up arms in their own defence, and checked the barbarous ravages of the peaſantry. To this late-diſcovered vigour on their ſide Rabaut attributes the ſalvation of France; for he obſerves, that that claſs of men who had nothing to loſe, and every thing to gain in the confuſion of revolutions, was thereby deterred from aſſembling.

As an appearance of ſome tranquillity and good-temper now prevailed in the court and aſſembly, the king ventured upon the appointment of a new miniſtry. The great ſeal was given to the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux; the nomination of benefices to the archbiſhop of Vienne; the war department was committed to M. de la Tour du Pin; while St. Prieſt and Montmorin, who had been recalled with Neckar, were reinſtated in their former offices. The three former were members of the aſſembly, but they ceaſed from ſitting or voting there after their appointment. The aſſembly expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the choice of theſe miniſters, which the king had immediately communicated to them by letter.

It happened unfortunately, that the ſame evil, which had already proved ſo fatal to the king and to his adminiſtrations, ſtill continued to preſs upon the executive government with greater weight than it even had done before. The payment of the taxes was generally refuſed or evaded in moſt parts of the kingdom, and there was no money to ſupport government or carry on the public buſineſs. In this ſtate of things the new miniſters demanded an audience of the aſſembly; and the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, as keeper of the ſeal, having expatiated largely on the diſordered and melancholy ſtate of public affairs, M. Neckar, as miniſter of finance, demanded that the aſſembly ſhould give its ſanction to a loan of thirty millions of livres, as a meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary. The neceſſity was too evident to admit of a diſcuſſion; but ſome objections were made on account of the inſtructions which the delegates had received from their conſtituents, not to grant any ſubſidies until they had completed the conſtitution. Theſe objections, however, gave way to the inſtant and extreme diſtreſs of the ſtate for want of money; but this occaſion afforded the firſt inſtance of the total change which had taken place in the countenance of the aſſembly with reſpect to Neckar. Inſtead of adopting the ſcheme formed by the financial miniſter, whoſe abilities and integrity they had ſo often extolled in a degree which approached to the hyperbole, they now declared their total want of confidence in him, by altering his plan, and narrowing the terms which he propoſed as an inducement to the lenders for ſubſcribing to the loan. The conſequence was natural; the monied men would not part with their caſh, and no body ſubſcribed; and by this very ill-judged management the weakneſs or failure of public credit, which might otherwiſe have been kept in the dark, was expoſed to all Europe. This conduct, however, drew a degree of unpopularity, and even of odium, upon the national aſſembly, which it did not eaſily get quit of; for as Neckar did not ſcruple publicly to vindicate himſelf, the whole blame fell upon that body, to whom in reality it properly belonged.

Upon this failure, the neceſſity for money every hour increaſing, Neckar was permitted to preſcribe ſuch terms as he thought would anſwer the purpoſe, for raiſing a loan of eighty millions of livres, at five per cent. on the credit of a vote paſſed by the aſſembly. But the fortunate moment was paſt, and could not be regained; although the propoſals were ſufficiently alluring, the ſubſcription hung too heavily on hand to produce the deſired effect, and, in fine, was not half filled. In the mean time a ſcheme of promoting and receiving patriotic conrributions was adopted; and, like other novelties in that country, raged for its time as an epidemic. Silver buckles and gold rings were the moſt common contributions to the aſſembly; ſo that in a few days not a ſilver buckle was to be ſeen, nor probably many wedding rings to be found, any where in or near Paris. The national aſſembly themſelves, in a ſudden fit of enthuſiaſm, diſmantled all their own ſhoes one day in a moment. Such was the rage of faſhion while it laſted, that the pooreſt people, even thoſe who were little better than living on charity, preſented their offerings. The loweſt as well as the higher orders of courtezans were eminently diſtinguiſhed for their patriotiſm on this occaſion, freely offering a ſhare of their earnings to the ſupport of the public.—It was undoubtedly the moſt diſgraceful meaſure, with reſpect both to the nation and to themſelves, that ever was adopted by any body of men in ſimilar circumſtances.

CHAP. II.

King and queen ſend their gold and ſilver plate to the mint. Patriotic donations incapable of relieving the neceſſities of the ſtate. Extraordinary tax decreed, under the name of a patriotic contribution, by which each man was to contribute one fourth of his annual revenue to the exigencies of the ſtate. Loud complaints and violent animoſities excited by this partial tax. Embarraſſments and difficulties which the national aſſembly experienced in framing the new declaration of rights. Great debates upon the propriety or inexpedience of adopting the meaſure. Declaration at length paſſed and promulgated. Saying of Mirabeau upon the ſubject. Aſſembly divided into a number of ſections or committees, to each of which is aſſigned ſome ſpecified part of the new conſtitution, on which it is to make a report. Grand queſtion ariſes, What ſhare of authority it was fitting the king ſhould poſſeſs in the new legiſlature? This operates like a touchſtone in trying every man's principles, and compelling him to an open avowal of them. Aſſembly arranged, face to face, in two great hoſtile diviſions, apparently equal in ſtrength and numbers. Violent conteſts enſue, and are ſo long continued, that the people without, and at length the whole nation, become parties in them. State of the parties within and without, who thus divided the aſſembly and the nation. King's veto, *or negative, with reſpect to the paſſing of laws, one of the ſubjects moſt violently and generally agitated. Populace of Paris interfere openly in the queſtion of the veto; while the crowds in the galleries of the aſſembly become ſo daringly audacious, as by hootings and revilings to endeavour to drown the voices, and by inſults and menaces to deter from giving their votes all thoſe members who ſupported the rights of the crown. Long liſts of members who were marked for proſcription, and deſtined to be victims to the vengeance of the people, publiſhed in Paris, and diſtributed through every part of the kingdom. Popular fermentation in Paris riſen nearly to its higheſt pitch. The notorious St. Huruge, attempts to have the king, the dauphin, and the national aſſembly, brought to Paris; but by the ſpirited exertions of La Fayette, Bailly, and the Hotel de Ville, the leaders are committed to priſon, and the ſedition quelled. Heavy complaints made to the aſſembly by ſeveral of its members of thoſe treaſonable attempts againſt the freedom of the king, as well as of that body itſelf; and likewiſe of the liſts of proſcription which were publiſhed, and of the incendiary letters by which they were continually menaced with deſtruction; but Mirabeau with his faction turn the whole complaint into ridicule. Numberleſs charges of ſuppoſed plots and conſpiracies now made againſt the royaliſts; which effectually anſwer one purpoſe, in exciting* *a general alarm and ferment through the nation. The Pariſians, in particular, become again dangerouſly outrageous, and every thing bears the ſame aſpect as in the preceding months of June and July. In this ſtate of affairs, the king, ever wiſhing to preſerve or reſtore tranquillity, ſends Neckar with a propoſal to the aſſembly, declaring that he would be contented with a ſuſpenſive veto, whoſe operation ſhould not laſt longer than one or two legiſlatures. This propoſal received with ſatisfaction; and it was decreed, that the royal ſuſpenſion ſhould continue during two legiſlatures. Great debates on the queſtion, whether the national aſſembly ſhould be compoſed of one or two chambers. Queſtion at length carried for a ſingle chamber by a prodigious majority. Members obliged to procure certificates how they had given their votes, to preſerve their houſes and families from deſtruction. Aſſembly decree, that the legiſlative body ſhall be renewed every two years by elections. Receive a letter from the king, containing his objections to certain parts of ſome of the new laws, which occaſions much diſcontent in the aſſembly. King obliged to give his ſanction ſimply, and without comment, to the laws in queſtion. Things tending faſt to an extraordinary criſis both in Paris and Verſailles. Aſſembly, however, confirm the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown; and declare the king's perſon ſacred and inviolable. Arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Verſailles, the cauſe or pretence of the enſuing miſchiefs. Entertainment given by the officers of the king's life guards to thoſe of the new corps, productive of much licentiouſneſs and folly. This banquet occaſions a violent ferment both at Paris and Verſailles. Numerous army of women, after plundering the town houſe, and ſupplying themſelves with arms and artillery, march from Paris to Verſailles. Are followed by unnumbered bands of ruffians. And not long after by La Fayette, at the head of a conſiderable army of the national guards. Events of the 5th and 6th of October. King and royal family led captive to Paris. Tumult in Paris, and the murder of a baker, ſoon after the arrival of the national aſſembly, occaſion the greateſt alarm and apprehenſion in that body. Severe decree paſſed, by which the magiſtrates are empowered to proclaim martial law, and to proceed to the laſt extremities in repreſſing the future outrages of the mob. La Fayette procures the Duke of Orleans' departure to England.*

IN the pinching ſcarcity of money which now prevailed, the king and queen ſent their gold and ſilver plate to the mint for coinage. We had originally underſtood this to have been, in the preſent ſpirit of the time, a patriotic donation, intended to give a ſanction and countenance to the offerings of ſilver trinkets, ſmall ſums of money and pieces of plate which were continually made. But it appears from Neckar, who could not be miſtaken, that this meaſure proceeded from mere abſolute poverty in the royal perſonages, who were obliged to deſtine the plate to be converted into current coin for the relief of their immediate neceſſities.

It ſoon appeared, and might have been eaſily foreſeen, that the patriotic offerings were totally incapable of relieving the public neceſſities, which were of too vaſt a magnitude to be at all affected by ſuch trifling reſources: ſo that the danger of a public bankruptcy, and of a total ceſſation of all the operations of government, could not but ſtrike every mind with apprehenſion; the taxes being almoſt entirely unproductive, and no means appearing for ſupplying their place with an adequate ſubſtitute. It was in this ſtate of hard and trying difficulty, when the greatneſs of the neceſſity ſeemed almoſt to afford a ſanction to any meaſure that might be purſued for obtaining relief, that Neckar ventured to lay before the aſſembly the ſcheme for a ſupply, which the boldeſt miniſter that ever lived, and in the moſt deſpotic government, would perhaps have heſitated at adopting. This was the extraordinary contribution of the fourth part of each man's yearly revenue, to be paid at different aſſigned periods during the courſe of three years. The eſtimate of each man's income, and conſequently the amount of the ſum which he was to contribute to the ſtate, being left to his own honour.

It was ſurely a ſingular caſe, that a tax almoſt without example in the moſt arbitrary governments, ſhould have been paſſed by a body of men, not only highly republican, but who were the avowed aſſertors of liberty. The peculiar ſituation of the aſſembly will, however, explain this circumſtance. They were already labouring under great and general odium on account of the failure of Neckar's firſt ſcheme for raiſing money by a loan, which was entirely and juſtly charged to their injudicious and wanton interference in the buſineſs. At the ſame time, inſtant bankruptcy, with all its fatal conſequences, were ſtaring them full in the face; and if they rejected the preſent plan, they would have made themſelves thereby anſwerable for all the evils that might follow. Mirabeau's eloquence was, however, neceſſary to make the decree paſs glibly through the aſſembly; although he took care to inſinuate, in a manner which could not be miſunderſtood, that Neckar poſſeſſed neither his confidence nor eſteem.—It was too late now for the aſſembly to reflect, that much of the public diſtreſs proceeded from their own extraordinary, and as it proved unfortunate declaration, which taught the people to conſider all the preſent taxes as illegal, from their not being laid on by their repreſentatives.

Nothing was, however, left undone by the aſſembly, which could tend to render this ſcheme of ſupply palatable; and to prevent its aſſuming the odious denomination of a tax, it was repreſented entirely as a patriotic contribution, or donation. An addreſs to the nation was likewiſe paſſed, ſtating the neceſſity of her making great ſacrifices in caſes of great emergency. But neither theſe meaſures, nor a knowledge that the ſcheme of this tax originated with Neckar, could prevent a great number of thoſe who were expoſed to its effect from conſidering this decree, as the reſult of a combination, formed by men without property, to ſtrip thoſe who ſtill retained any, of the laſt farthing they poſſeſſed. For the example being once ſet, of thus partially taxing a part of the community, and condemning them to bear all the burthens of the ſtate, who could pretend to define the extent to which the injury and oppreſſion might not be carried under the ſanction of ſuch a precedent; eſpecially as all power was lodged, and liable to continue, in the hands of thoſe very men who had committed the original wrong?

If ſtate neceſſity was pleaded as the colour or pretence, they obſerved, that it was at beſt the plea only of tyrants, and that the ſame pretence would anſwer the ſame purpoſe, while they had any thing left to loſe. If the total failure of the cuſtomary taxes was brought as an argument, the queſtion was readily put, why the people were armed to reſiſt their payment, until better, or at leaſt other taxes were provided, to ſupply the deficiency? They ſaid that the landed proprietors had already ſacrificed a great part of their rights and property to the public good; that another great portion had been totally deſtroyed, by the cruel devaſtations committed on their eſtates and houſes, by thoſe very people on whom they were ſhowering benefits; and that now, in the ſeaſon of their humiliation and diſtreſs, ſcarcely breathing from the horrors and ruin which they had experienced, to condemn them to the ſupport of all the expences of the nation, was a meaſure of ſuch injuſtice and cruelty, as to be without example in all the annals of tyranny. Nor did the ſanguine and active part which Mirabeau had taken in paſſing this decree, ſerve in any degree to leſſen theſe impreſſions, or to render the meaſure more pleaſing.—Upon the whole, nothing had yet taken place in the courſe of the revolution, which ſerved ſo much to embitter the minds of men, to increaſe the animoſity and malignity of parties, and that through the violence of their colliſion produced ſuch unfortunate and diſgraceful conſequences, as this meaſure of partial taxation.

During theſe endeavours to remedy the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the diſordered ſtate of the finances, (which took up no ſmall ſpace of time) the national aſſembly was buſily occupied in forming different parts of the new conſtitution, and particularly in framing their celebrated declaration of the rights of men and of citizens. On this laſt ſubject the aſſembly ſeemed greatly to bewilder themſelves in abſtract queſtions and metaphyſical diſquiſitions. La Fayette, whoſe principles were truly and entirely American, brought forward a declaration, which was little more or leſs than an epitome of all thoſe that had been adopted by the different members of the united ſtates. This might poſſibly have been ſo far received as to become in ſome degree a ſort of ground-work to their own, if the abbé Sieyes had not compoſed an abſtract and difficult work, in which he defined and traced the rights of man to their firſt principles. Though the abbé's friends and admirers were unſucceſsful in their ſupport of this production, they, however, procured the overthrow of La Fayette's ſyſtem; but this double failure, inſtead of operating as a diſcouragement, was ſucceeded by ſuch a multitude of plans of new declarations, that the aſſembly, embarraſſed by the variety of choice, found it neceſſary to appoint a committee, in order to reduce the ſubſtance of thoſe numerous plans into one digeſt, which they might refer to, as a text book in their deliberations.

This digeſt was as far from affording ſatiſfaction as the ſeparate plans of individuals. In the mean time eſſays were every day written upon the ſubject, and every man ſeemed to think it the eaſieſt thing in the world to do, that which none did. Opinions multiplied upon opinions in the aſſembly, every time the ſubject was canvaſſed; every line teemed with new difficulties; the mutual jealouſies and diſtruſts of the parties led them to ſuſpect ſome dangerous myſtery or hidden fraud to be involved in the moſt ſimple and obvious axioms; and while they reciprocally accuſed each other without ceremony, either of intending to give the reins entirely to licentiouſneſs, or of wiſhing to check the progreſs of liberty, cool debate and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion were in ſuch circumſtances things to be wiſhed for but not expected.

A declaration which was propoſed by one of the ſections into which the aſſembly was divided, was at length ſo far received, as to become the ſubject of general debate, with a view to its affording the foundations for the grand ſuperſtructure. Every article became a ſubject of much diſcuſſion, and was not unfrequently productive of great heat and bitterneſs. The debates were exceedingly tedious and unintereſting; being in many caſes a mere war of words, running much into metaphyſical abſtractions, grammatical niceties, and verbal diſputes of no value. They were rendered ſtill more irkſome and difficult from its being ſcarcely poſſible to arrange any number of words in ſuch a form, as would equally ſtrike the ears, and be received with the ſame degree of comprehenſion, by ſo great an aſſemblage of men as twelve hundred, even ſuppoſing that they were all equally ſincere in their purſuit of the truth, and that none were prompted by particular motives to deviate from the right line of direction. It became indeed now evident, if it had been before doubted, that ſo numerous a body was by no means properly calculated for a deliberative aſſembly.

The debates were not, however, entirely confined to the ſubject or compoſition of the declaration, for one of the moſt conſiderable, and perhaps the moſt intereſting with regard to matter, aroſe upon the queſtion of adopting the meaſure, conſidered with reſpect to its expedience and propriety. It was ſaid, by thoſe who oppoſed the meaſure, that this American idea was, in fact, more brilliant than ſolid; that it originated from a new and peculiar ſtate of things, which did not exiſt with reſpect to France; but that whether it ſuited or not the circumſtances and condition of thoſe by whom it was firſt adopted, was not the queſtion to be conſidered, but whether it ſuited their own? This they endeavoured to diſprove. They ſtated in the firſt place, that ſuch a declaration, in the preſent ſtate and temper of the nation, would not only be inexpedient, but might probably prove dangerous, from an improper uſe being made of it; that the people, juſt delivered from oppreſſion, and indulging themſelves in a momentary licentiouſneſs, were unprepared for ſuch new doctrines; that when they were intoxicated with the unaccuſtomed ſpirit of independence, they would no longer acknowledge the authority of the laws, but would be too apt to conſider them only as remaining appendages of that ſyſtem of ancient tyranny, from whoſe other ſhackles they had ſo lately ſet themſelves free; and under this blind deluſion they would eagerly exert their new liberty in enforcing by violence every claim which caprice, folly, or the worſt paſſions might ſuggeſt.

They added, that in order to avoid theſe miſchiefs and dangers, which were too obvious to be overlooked by any body, the aſſembly, after involving itſelf in a taſk of great moment and expectation, would be afraid to execute, conſiſtently and properly, that difficult buſineſs which it had ſo needleſsly and wantonly undertaken; for that under theſe ſhackles it could only form a patched up, imperfect, inconſiſtent work, under the name of a declaration of rights, which would be a diſgrace to the authors as well as to the ſubject, the parts militating againſt each other, and contradicting the title, from the number of reſtraints and limitations with which, in ſuch untoward circumſtances, it muſt of neceſſity abound; and thus the mighty whole, when it came forth, inſtead of a political creed, which ſhould convert all mankind by the juſtneſs and ſimplicity of its principles, would prove an inſignificant, incoherent, contradictory jargon. They ſaid, the aſſembly, by this premature attempt, would find itſelf involved in other difficulties which it did not ſeem aware of, with reſpect to the great caution which was to be uſed in not confining its own powers of legiſlation, and the danger of a contradiction between general principles and particular laws; this muſt occaſion their declaration of thoſe principles to be timid and circumſpect, if not equivocal; and the production will appear to be merely the offspring of their preſent neceſſities, and of the ruling prejudices of the moment.

Were it not better, therefore, ſaid they, to defer your declaration of rights, until the conſtitution is completed and eſtabliſhed? We ſhall then have it in our power to appropriate the one to the other, and to make them harmonize together.—A ſhrewd queſtion was put by Malouet: "Why," ſaid he, "ſhould we tranſport men to the "ideal ſummit of a mountain, and "ſhew them the extenſive domain "of their rights beneath, when we "ſhall moſt aſſuredly be obliged to "make them deſcend, and to bring "them into the real world, where "they will find every ſtep fettered "with reſtraints."

The much more numerous party who ſupported the meaſure, hooted at and ſcoffed the idea of ſuppoſing danger in enlightening the public, and communicating to them a knowledge of their rights. It was not difficult, eſpecially in the preſent ſtate of things, to find a circle of common place arguments upon this head—That it had been the old trick of deſpotiſm in all ages and places to keep the people ignorant, in order to rivet their chains the more firmly, and to render their ſlavery eternal. They talked in lofty language, but not always eaſily underſtood, about the native rights of man, which, they ſaid, are eternal, inalienable, and impreſcriptible; that their ſource is in nature itſelf; that they are equal and unchangeable in every age and every country, and can never yield to any reaſon of convenience or neceſſity. That, as the ſole object of ſociety is the preſervation of theſe rights, to declare what they are, is an indiſpenſable preliminary to the eſtabliſhment of a political conſtitution. That the repreſentatives of the people are ſpecially called upon to declare them, becauſe it is their duty to lay the foundations before they raiſe the edifice; to eſtabliſh principles before they draw concluſions; to fix upon a determinate and invariable end, before they make choice of the means by which it is to be obtained. That it is neceſſary to declare them, in order that the people may underſtand and decide upon the motives of their legiſlators; that our ſucceſſors may tread in our footſteps, and, ſeeing clearly our object, and comprehending fully the ſcope of our deſign, may be enabled to bring our work to perfection; and that other nations may be made ſenſible by our precepts of the injuries they ſuffer, and may learn by our example how to redreſs them. It is a debt which France owes to mankind.

This celebrated declaration of rights has been ſo long before the world, and has every where, particularly in this country, been already ſo much diſcuſſed, that any obſervation now upon it would not only be needleſs, but could ſcarcely avoid being a repetition of what has been already ſaid. It was allowed by all parties, even in France, to contain much good matter, and the nobles and clergy acknowledged that many of its articles were excellent. Conſidered as a compoſition, it bears evident marks of haſte, and is by no means a regular and homogeneous work. Sometimes it announces rights; again it preſcribes reſtraints: here it anticipates the objects of legiſlation; and there it directs and attack againſt deſpotiſm, which it could not conſiſtently ſuppoſe to exiſt. It was not till the end of Auguſt that the production was finiſhed.

Perhaps there was ſcarcely leſs truth than wit in Mirabeau's obſervation on this declaration, "That it "would anſwer no other purpoſe "than that of a political almanack "for the current year."

Through this whole courſe, the aſſembly was divided into a number of ſections or committees, to each of which was aſſigned ſome ſpecified part of the new conſtitution, on which it was to give its opinion and advice in a report, which then became a ſubject of general diſcuſſion. But in thus ſettling the conſtitution, a queſtion (as all things were now unhinged) neceſſarily aroſe, which ſerved more to divide the opinions and to agitate the minds of men than any other; this was the grand queſtion, What ſhare of authority it was fitting the king ſhould poſſeſs in the new legiſlature? This operated like a touchſtone. In other matters, the different orders and parties were conſtantly divided among themſelves; but now, every man found himſelf under a neceſſity of avowing and ſupporting his principles, or of giving them up for ever. What had never happened before, the preſident now ſaw, on his right hand and on his left, the whole aſſembly arranged in two grand hoſtile diviſions, and theſe ſo nearly poiſed in point of number, that the moſt experienced eye could not determine on which ſide the advantage might lie. The conflicts were ſo hard fought on both ſides, ſo often renewed, and ſo long continued, and the ſubject of debate ſo induſtriouſly ſpread and univerſally known, that the whole nation became parties in the conteſt, and the diſſention and agitation was not leſs among the people at large, than it was within the walls of the aſſembly. All the paſſions which had hitherto been in ſome degree ſmothered, now burſt forth with greater force from their reſtraint, and many ſprung from recent cauſes, appeared in all the ardour of juvenility. Rabaut owns, that every debate in the aſſembly was now a quarrel; and the heat and violence without was ſtill greater.

On the one ſide were arranged, in the firſt inſtance, thoſe who had at all times conſidered the ſovereign as the ſole and rightful legiſlator; with theſe were joined thoſe who, without entering into the abſtract principle, were from habit or opinion attached to monarchy, and who were ſtruck with dread and horror at the ſudden torrent of republicaniſm which now ſo ſuddenly overſpread the land; to theſe were to be added the ſmaller band, who felt themſelves attached by affection to the king's perſon, and that much more numerous, which, from intereſted motives, found itſelf bound at all events to the ſupport of kingly government. But the great force on that ſide was a new acceſſion; being compoſed of the nobility and clergy, who, though reduced in power, were ſtill reſpectable, if not formidable, from their number, as well as from what ſtill remained of their influence. Theſe, become at length ſenſible of the baleful effect of their paſt tergiverſation, reflecting in bitterneſs of heart upon the manner in which both orders had been alternately duped by the commons, and led blindly to play their own game into their hands, and clearly perceiving now that nothing leſs than their final ruin was intended, were equally convinced that nothing could avert that ruin, but the retaining of ſo much power in the hands of the king, as might prove ſome check to the prevailing ſyſtem, and enable him to interpoſe with effect in their preſervation.

On the other ſide was oppoſed, in much cloſer and firmer array, and much better officered and commanded, the whole body of republicans throughout the kingdom; who, notwithſtanding the innumerable diviſions into which they were formed, and the great diſtances by which the parts were ſeparated, were ſo intimately connected, and their correſpondence and union ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, that their general movements diſplayed the facility which might have been expected from thoſe of a ſingle individual. With theſe were joined no ſmall number of men, who ſtood in the very odd predicament, that though they joined the republicans in every thing, they were notwithſtanding attached to ſome undefined or unknown ſpecies of monarchy, but were unable to decide in themſelves what that ſhould be; theſe having no other principle of union or action than one common fear, that the crown might recover its former preponderance and power, could ſee no other evil or danger whatever; but that was ſo ſtrongly fixed in their minds, that it ſeemed difficult to aſſign what degree of humiliation or weakneſs it could be reduced to, which would prove ſufficient to remove their apprehenſions. Under this impreſſion, although they were directly adverſe to republicaniſm in principle, their conduct produced the ſame effect as if they had been the warmeſt and moſt determined zealots in the cauſe; nor were they awakened from this deluſion till the buſineſs was over, when their opinion and action were become as uſeleſs as their repentance.

But that great power which overruled all others in the kingdom, that turbulent metropolis which contained within its old walls a very numerous and a moſt peculiar nation, was not only ſufficient to turn but directed the management of the ſcale in all caſes as it liked. Paris, therefore, little needed the aid of Rennes in Brittany, and ſeveral other of the more conſiderable cities and towns, which having received the ſame republican bias, were, however inferior in ſtrength, ſcarcely leſs zealous in the cauſe.

One of the queſtions which aroſe upon this ſubject, and which was the longeſt and the moſt violently agitated, both within and without the aſſembly, was that relative to the king's *veto*, or negative, upon the paſſing of laws. The difference between the two parties upon this queſtion was ſo wide, that it ſeemed ſcarcely poſſible they could ever meet or unite; for while one brought ſtrong reaſons to ſhew that this authority in the crown was indiſpenſably neceſſary to the public intereſt, in order to preſerve a check upon the tumultuary nature of public aſſemblies, and prevent their paſſing not only without due conſideration, but under the influence perhaps of the moſt ſudden and outrageous paſſions, laws, which from their abſurdity, their iniquity, or impolicy, might draw on national diſgrace, public injuſtice, or even foreign danger. On the other ſide, the retaining of this power in the king's hands, it was repreſented, would be the means of overthrowing every thing that had yet been done for the liberty and good of the people; that by this negative, without aſſigning reaſon or motive for his conduct, he might obſtruct thoſe meaſures which were of the higheſt utility to the people, merely to favour the intrigues of his court, or the machinations of his miniſters; that by thus impeding or arreſting the operations of the aſſembly, the great work of regeneration, which the people now ſo confidently expected, would be rendered impracticable, and all their hopes fruſtrated; that if the ill effects of this dangerous power did not even immediately take place, they would not be the leſs certain when the proper ſeaſon arrived for their operation; that when the preſent vigilance of the people and their repreſentatives was relaxed, and means uſed to lull them into a fatal ſecurity, then the king might ſuddenly, at his pleaſure, inflict a paralytic ſtroke upon the legiſlative body, which would diſable and render it totally uſeleſs. And that, in fact, this *veto* was a never-failing inſtrument of tyranny, and the moſt odious and dangerous relick of ancient deſpotiſm which could poſſibly be retained.

The queſtion was branched out into ſeveral parts. After they had been occupied in the firſt inſtance to make ſuch proviſion as ſhould prevent the operation of the *veto* with reſpect to the acts of the preſent aſſembly, the clear diſcernment of Mounier ſhewed that this was mere waſte of time, the ſubject not admitting of a queſtion; for the preſent aſſembly being appointed by the nation, for the ſpecial purpoſe of framing a conſtitution, it was thereby placed in a ſituation different, with reſpect to the royal negative, from what its ſucceſſors might be; the real fact being, that the royal power, during their performance of that duty, was, of neceſſity, virtually though not formally ſuſpended: ſo that their conſtituent acts were not to depend upon the king's pleaſure or ſanction—they required his direct acceptance, which could not be refuſed.

The firſt part of the ſubject being thus diſpoſed of, the poſſible or probable future conſequence of the royal ſanction's being retained or aboliſhed, became the ſubject of diſcuſſion; and another queſtion ſprung from this, If the king is allowed to have a negative upon laws, ſhall that negative be final, or ſhall it only be ſuſpenſive for a limited time?

In the mean time, the ſecondary agents or leaders of the populace in Paris began to interfere openly on the queſtion of the *veto*, and on all the other points relative to the conſtitution, which were then agitated by the aſſembly; while the crowds in their own galleries became every day more inſolent and outrageous, drowning the voice of thoſe members whom they did not like, by hootings and revilings, and endeavouring to over-awe them by inſult and menace; while long liſts of members who were marked to be proſcribed, were diſperſed not only in the capital, but through every part of the kingdom.

The popular fermentation in Paris was riſing to the higheſt pitch. All the old manœuvres which had produced ſuch extraordinary effect in the preceding months of June and July, were renewed in the gardens of the palais royal, and in the adjoining political coffee-houſes. The turbulent St. Huruge (formerly an officer in the king's ſervice) but noted for the great ſhare which he had held in all the diſturbances of the capital, propoſed to ſend a deputation to Verſailles, to inſiſt that the king, the dauphin, and the national aſſembly, ſhould reſide at Paris; and ſent deputies to the Hotel de Ville, to demand the approbation of the repreſentatives aſſembled there to this meaſure. The Hotel de Ville, under the influence of M. Bailly, the mayor, together with La Fayette, behaved with ſenſe and ſpirit upon this occaſion: the former ſtrongly prohibited all tumultuous aſſemblies; and La Fayette, by the aſſiſtance of his national guards, gave effect to the decree, by committing St. Huruge, Tinlot, and ſome of the moſt violent motion-makers and agitators to priſon.—Thus was ſedition for a ſhort ſpace checked.

The counts of Clermont Tonnere, Lally Tollendal, with Mounier, and other men of eminence, made heavy complaints in the national aſſembly of thoſe rebellious attempts againſt the freedom of the king, and of that body itſelf; as well as thoſe liſts of proſcription which were every where ſpread, including the names of all thoſe members who wiſhed well to the project of two chambers, or who ſupported the royal negative; and of the anonymous letters which they daily received, threatening them with deſtruction.

Mirabeau, and ſome of his friends, ſaid they had received letters equally violent and threatening, for voting againſt tithes; and the firſt affected to treat with the greateſt contempt and ridicule the panic terrors to which certain cowardly members were liable. The aſſembly, according to its eſtabliſhed cuſtom in all caſes relative to that people, paſſed over the inſults of the Pariſians, without ſhewing the ſmalleſt ſpirit, and thereby became liable to the neceſſary conſequence, of being expoſed to ſtill greater inſults in future.

For ſome time paſt, but particularly ſince the late animoſities which had ariſen among the parties, ſtories of plots and conſpiracies had been moſt unaccountably ſpread through every part of the kingdom, and deeply affected the minds of the people. Some of theſe were charged directly upon the court, among which the intended eſcape of the king and the royal family from Verſailles to Metz, formed the principal figure. Others were charged upon the ariſtocratic party, who were ſuppoſed to intend the reſtoration of the king to his former power, merely to render him an inſtrument for the attainment of their own ends, and for further ſecuring what they attained. How far theſe plots were real or pretended, it is impoſſible at preſent to decide. There certainly never was a period or a country in which fabrications of this ſort, however falſe, and however palpably inconſiſtent and abſurd, would have been received with greater avidity, or credited with leſs enquiry, than France at this time. It is likewiſe to be remembered, that ideas of plots were at this time highly neceſſary to the prevailing party; and we have ſeen, that they poſſeſſed means, which have not often been equalled, of making ſuch impreſſions on the public mind as they deemed neceſſary.

On the other hand, it would be idle to ſuppoſe, that the multitude of men, whoſe ſituation and condition in life had been ſo ſuddenly and totally changed, muſt not be much diſcontented, and that they would not readily embrace any well-founded ſcheme for the recovery of what they had loſt; ſo that we may take it for granted, that there would have been an abundance of plotters, if there had been any feaſible plot formed. But the total defect of evidence to prove the exiſtence of any, at a time when the diſcovery was ſo eagerly ſought, and ſo much depended on the proof, ſtrongly indicate that theſe reports and alarms were mere political fabrications, calculated to anſwer certain purpoſes, and to produce certain obvious effects. Indeed the ſtate of public affairs, the temper that prevailed throughout the country, and the arms in the hands of the peaſantry, all concurred in rendering it impoſſible for the ariſtocrates to form any rational and well-founded ſcheme, for the preſent recovery of their affairs. It is not to be doubted but that they were guilty of great indiſcretions; and that in their cups, through their habitual looſeneſs of ſpeech, and natural turn for boaſting, they ſaid many things which they never thought of, when ſober. This was in character, and to be expected.

The reports, however, produced the ſame effect in one reſpect, as if the plots had been real, by exciting a great and general ferment through the nation. It was not to be expected that the Pariſians, ever credulous, and ever ſuſpicious, ſhould be the laſt that were thus affected. Every thing began to bear a moſt dangerous appearance in that city, and all who had witneſſed their late violences, had every thing now to

apprehend;

apprehend; and a ſecond exploſion like that of the Baſtile ſeemed already in view. The king's *veto* was, however, the preſent oſtenſible cauſe of tumult. If that was allowed, the clergy and nobles, they cried, will renew all their power;—"We muſt act, and inſtantly too, "elſe, in three days, France will "be enſlaved." In the height of this ferment, two violent reſolutions, which were tranſmitted from the towns of Rennes and Dinant, produced a ſimilar effect to what a large quantity of oil poured upon a fire already raging might have done.

In this ſtate of things the king, ever diſpoſed to accommodate and conciliate, in the hope of reſtoring quiet, and if poſſible of eſtabliſhing good temper, determined to ſoften matters with reſpect to the *veto*; a conceſſion which came the better from him, as the aſſembly were involved in a ſort of a dilemma from their own paſt declaration, that his ſanction was neceſſary to the paſſing of laws, ſo that they could not with any propriety proceed to thoſe extremities on the ſubject, which the moſt violent of the republican party wiſhed. Neckar was accordingly diſpatched to the aſſembly with a memoire, propoſing a *veto* which ſhould only have the power of ſuſpending laws during one or two legiſlatures. This was received with evident ſatisfaction, excepting by ſome of the moſt violent of thoſe who ſupported (not the king, but) the ſovereignty, who would not admit any modification of the *veto*, and inſiſted that he had been [illegible] by his miniſters in granting the conceſſion. They being, however, over-ruled, it was at length agreed, that the king ſhould have the power to ſuſpend a law during two legiſlatures; but, that if the third aſſembly perſiſted in it, he ſhould then be obliged to give his ſanction.

It was a curious circumſtance in Mirabeau's conduct, that while he ſupported the royal *veto* with the utmoſt vehemence of his character, and that one of the beſt ſpeeches he ever made was upon that ground, his emiſſaries in Paris were inſtructed to perſuade the people that he oppoſed it with all his might; and to ſupport the deluſion, he took care to quit the aſſembly juſt before the diviſion, that his vote might not appear as a record againſt it.

Another buſineſs of not leſs importance underwent at the ſame time a courſe of long and great diſcuſſion. This was, "whether the national "aſſembly ſhould be compoſed of "one or two chambers?" The committee of conſtitution had already given their opinion upon this ſubject, by recommending a ſenate and a houſe of repreſentatives, each of which ſhould poſſeſs a negative upon the proceedings of the other. This, or ſomething like it, bearing ſome reſemblance to the Britiſh conſtitution, was, as we have formerly ſeen, the favourite ſcheme with Lally, Clermont, and the other leaders of the moderate party, who, equally zealous with the republicans, for the eſtabliſhment of a free government, conſidered a limited monarchy, with a conſtitution ſo formed as that the principal parts ſhould operate as mutual and perpetual checks upon each other, as affording the faireſt proſpect for the attainment and permanence of that object.

It may be eaſily underſtood, that the party who now held all power excluſively in their own hands, and ruled the nation as they willed, without any reſponſibility upon their conduct, were little diſpoſed to ſubmit to the laying of any checks or reſtraints upon their proceedings. It would have been as if the long parliament in England, after aboliſhing the houſe of lords, had then appointed another body to be its ſubſtitute in controlling their own arts. It is ſaid, and the fact is affirmed to be now publicly known, that the influence, public opinion, and patriotic diſintereſted character of the leaders of the moderate party, having rendered their ſanction and countenance highly neceſſary in many of the late arrangements, they had been artfully amuſed and led along with an idea that their favourite ſcheme of two chambers and of mutual checks was ſo rational and neceſſary a meaſure, that in ſettling the conſtitution it muſt be generally agreed to.

It is not to be forgotten, that the minds of the people had been already poiſoned in an extreme degree upon the ſubject of the three chambers, which they were taught to conſider as the great land-marks of deſpotiſm, and as utterly incompatible with every ſcheme of reform, and every principle and hope of liberty. This prejudice was eaſily directed againſt any plurality of chambers; againſt two, as well as againſt any greater number. It was like the cry of "A mad dog!" The people accordingly took a moſt decided part in the buſineſs; eſpecially thoſe in the galleries, and the Pariſians. They muſt be ſceptical indeed who are in any great doubt, whether preſent means were wanting to excite this fermentation. Even in the aſſembly, every power diſtinct from that of the repreſentatives of the people at large was branded with the name of ariſtocracy; and ſenates were rendered odious by being indiſcriminately compared to that of Venice. A ſchiſm likewiſe aroſe, as uſual, among thoſe parties, who were bound by every principle of reaſon and policy to have acted with one accord; moſt of the nobility and clergy voting againſt the meaſure, becauſe they thought it would entirely preclude the renewal at any future time, of their old favourite ſyſtem of ſitting in three orders. The very reaſon, if it had been valid, why the friends of the new conſtitution ſhould have ſupported the meaſure.

Under all theſe circumſtances, within and without, the queſtion of one or two chambers was finally put to the vote, when only eighty-nine members voted for two chambers, againſt a majority of above nine hundred. Although it is evident that the meaſure muſt have been rejected without any external violence, yet it is not incurious to ſee the freedom of ſuffrage which prevailed in this new temple of liberty. Of this, excluſive of liſts of proſcription and incendiary letters, we have two ſpecific inſtances: The firſt is from Lally Tolendal, who aſſerts, that ſeveral members of the popular ſide ſaid to him individually, "Would you have me expoſe my wife and children to be murdered by the mob?"—The ſecond is from Mounier, who declares, that different members came to him to beg certificates that they had not given unpopular votes, as they had heard their country ſeats were to be burnt.

Sept. 10, 1789.

The aſſembly likewiſe decreed, that the legiſlative body ſhould be renewed every two years by elections, and that this biennial period ſhould be denominated a legiſlature. This meaſure of limiting the term of each convention to two years, was founded on the prejudices derived from that numerous body of Engliſh writers, who conſtantly repreſent our ſeptennial parliaments as fraught with the greateſt dangers to the ſtate, and as actually productive of all our public evils. The effects produced by the adoption of this guarded meaſure in France will appear in its time.

It was about this time, that the aſſembly received a letter, written directly in the king's name, in which, after approving of the general ſpirit of their determinations, he, however, declared, that there were a few articles to which he could give only a conditional aſſent; promiſing, however, to modify or renounce his own opinions, if convinced by the obſervations of the national aſſembly. He then remarked on the hardſhip of aboliſhing, without any compenſation to the landlord, thoſe rents, which had once, indeed, been paid as a compenſation for perſonal ſervitude, but which, having been ſettled between the lords and their vaſſals ages ago, had ſince frequently changed hands, had been exchanged, or bought and ſold for a valuable conſideration, without the purchaſers obſerving or thinking of the odious origin of their titles.

The king then took notice in his letter of the danger of offending, and the impropriety of offering wrong and injury to ſeveral of the German princes, who held great feudal poſſeſſions in Alſace, and ſome of the neighbouring territories, which were guaranteed to them by the moſt ſolemn treaties; but whoſe eſtates and property were all indiſcriminately involved in the general effect of the decree for the reform of the feudal ſyſtem. He concluded by obſerving the various difficulties which would attend the unconditional abolition of tythes, without making an honourable proviſion for the clergy, and laying the burden of their ſubſiſtence equally upon all claſſes of the citizens.

This letter was ill received, and occaſioned much general diſcontent; not on account of its matter, which, whether agreed to or not, none could pretend to be unreaſonable, but on account of the interference of the executive power in attempting to influence the legiſlative, by entering into a diſcuſſion of laws which it was only called upon to give a ſanction to; or, in this inſtance, as being parts of the new conſtitution, merely to accept. The conſequence may be eaſily judged. The king was obliged to give his ſanction ſimply, without obſervation or comment; and the principle was eſtabliſhed or avowed, that ſo far from ſuſpending, he could not even offer his advice upon, much leſs criticiſe the meaſures of the preſent legiſlature. The aſſembly, however, paid ſo much attention to him as to ſend word, that in the future diſcuſſion or carrying into act the principles to which he objected, they would conſider, and pay a proper regard to the opinions he had given.

In the mean time, things were tending faſt to an unexampled criſis, which was to produce a new and extraordinary face of affairs. The violent republicans, both within and without the aſſembly, had it long in contemplation, and were now determined,

mined, that by ſome means or other, the reſidence both of the court and of the national aſſembly ſhould be transferred from Verſailles to Paris. This deſign being known, the court, and particularly the queen, were ſtruck with horror at the idea of being compelled to reſide among ſo tumultuous a people, who from their bloody acts of cruelty had already been ſtigmatized in the public prints by the name of the cannibals of Paris. At the ſame time, that the nobility might have no doubt remaining as to their impending and abſolute ruin, they were regaled in every coffee-houſe with writings, in which the ſtrongeſt hopes were expreſſed, that in a very ſhort time, the term 'nobility' would for ever be baniſhed from the French language. Under theſe circumſtances on both ſides, it is not to be doubted (although the fact has in no degree been proved) that the queen liſtened eagerly to any propoſal for removing the court to ſome reaſonable diſtance, which might prevent that, to her, moſt dreadful of all events, the being committed to the jealous and dangerous cuſtody of the frantic, uncontrolled, and ever ſuſpicious Pariſians; nor will it be doubted, on the other hand, their character conſidered, that many raſh and imprudent things were ſaid or propoſed by the diſcontented nobles.

As correlative to this ſtate of things, the moſt atrocious accuſations, which the bittereſt rancour could imagine, were unſparingly laid by each party againſt the other. The nobles and clergy were every day charged with new conſpiracies againſt the revolution; and each garniſhed with its peculiar circumſtances of alarm or of horror. It was ſeriouſly and confidently aſſerted, as if the writer had himſelf ſeen it, that a ſubſcription was ſecretly opened for the murder of all good citizens; and that prieſts and nobles were the ſubſcribers to this bloody inſtrument of proſcription. It was further ſaid, that it was reſolved once more to inveſt Paris and Verſailles with an army, to diſſolve, ſword in hand, the national aſſembly, and to kindle in every part of the empire the flames of civil war. On the other ſide a charge was openly laid, by men of eminence, who did not ſhrink from ſupporting it, that the violent republicans were reſolved, at the hazard of murder and civil war, to compel the king and the national aſſembly to reſide within the walls of Paris, and thus render both, and through them the whole nation, ſubſervient to the influence, and inſtruments to the caprice of that turbulent capital.

The rebellious French guards, who had deſerted and fought againſt their ſovereign, and who were now in the actual pay of the city of Paris, under the denomination of center companies, were ſeized (unleſs it proceeded from ſome hidden cauſe) with a moſt unaccountable fit of ambition, to have again the honour of attending and guarding the king's perſon, which they claimed as an undoubted right, and even talked of marching to Verſailles to enforce the claim. St. Huruge, who was now at liberty, was the chief inſtigator and caballer in this matter. It will be eaſily judged that, excluſive of the apparent danger of entruſting the king's perſon in ſuch hands, nothing could be more perſonally odious or mortifying to him, than to be compelled to endure the ſight and attendance of men, who had already ſo ſhamefully trampled upon their oaths, and violated all the bonds of military ſubordination, duty as ſoldiers, and loyalty as ſubjects.

The only protection the king could rely on in caſe of any ſudden incurſion from Paris, or of any ſudden attack from the rabble of Verſailles (who were only ſecond to their brethren in the capital in all acts of violence and cruelty) reſted in his *gardes des corps*, a regiment formed upon the ſame principles with our ancient Engliſh life guards, being compoſed entirely of gentlemen; upon which account, they were at this time peculiarly deteſted by the people. He was likewiſe attended by the national guards of Verſailles, who had placed themſelves for that purpoſe under the command of D'Eſtaing; but their principles were known to be too deeply infected by thoſe of the community to which they belonged, to warrant the ſmalleſt confidence being placed in their protection. It appears that letters from La Fayette to D'Eſtaing, indicative of ſome approaching or apprehended danger, had been communicated by the latter to the municipal committee of Verſailles, who were accordingly perſuaded to demand an additional regiment, in order to protect the town from any ſudden violence. The compliance with this requeſt, which was not obtained without difficulty, and the conſequent ſending for the regiment of Flanders to perform that duty, were the common, and, in all other caſes, indifferent and innocent circumſtances, which, under the fatality of the preſent times, opened the way to all the horrid miſchiefs which ſo ſpeedily enſued.

Sept. 15. In the mean time, the aſſembly had confirmed the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown in its ancient form, and according to the Salic law; and ſeemed diſpoſed to recur to ancient loyalty, by declaring the king's perſon ſacred and inviolable. The duke of Orleans and his party brought on a violent debate upon the ſubject of the ſucceſſion, in which Mirabeau took an eager part, and which was productive of words and circumſtances that ſerved to open the eyes of many, who had not before diſcerned the operative motives of many parts of their conduct, and the grand object of their views. They eagerly contended, that the aſſembly ſhould confirm the renunciations made by Philip the Vth of Spain, of his right of ſucceſſion to the French crown, by declaring them to be valid and legal; and of courſe that the Orleans branch would be the next in ſucceſſion, after the failure of the preſent royal line. The aſſembly, however, deemed it too imprudent and dangerous a meaſure, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, for them to enter at all upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh renunciations; and that it would be equally idle and ridiculous to agitate queſtions now upon events which might never take place. Mirabeau, who was the moſt unguarded of mankind in his expreſſions, ſeemed to count as nothing all the lives now exiſting, which muſt, ſome how or other, be diſpoſed of, before any diſpute could ariſe upon the ground of ſucceſſion; he ſaid openly, that ſuch a ſubject of diſcuſſion might ariſe much ſooner than was expected; that the corpulence of the king and of Monſieur afforded little cauſe for expecting their lives to be laſting; that the dauphin was only a weakly infant; and as to the count d'Artois, and his two ſons, he affected ſcarcely to conſider them as exiſting with reſpect to that queſtion, repreſenting them not only as fugitives, but nearly as outlaws.

The arrival of the regiment of Flanders cauſed as great a ferment at Paris and Verſailles, as that of a powerful foreign invading army could have done. The uſual baggage, ſtores, and ſix-pounders of a regiment, were immediately ſwelled into magazines of warlike ſtores and trains of artillery. All the orators of the palais royal were ſet to work, and ſeemed inſpired with new vigour in their ſucceſsful efforts to inflame the minds of the people; aſſuring them, as a matter of fact of which they had direct knowledge, that the king intended to make his eſcape under the eſcort of this regiment; and ſtating in dreadful colours the conſequences which muſt neceſſarily take place from the accompliſhment of this deſign.

In the mean time, numerous detachments of thoſe zealous and indefatigable ſupporters of Pariſian liberty, the women of pleaſure, were diſpatched to Verſailles, in order to make converts and eſtabliſh their influence among the new-comers; one of their principal objects being to embroil the private ſoldiers and their officers, by continually leading the former into thoſe petty neglects of duty, which, though apparently trivial in themſelves, are ſo totally ſubverſive of all military diſcipline and order, that no relaxation of them can be admitted in any army. We are informed by Rabaut, that on the arrival of the regiment of Flanders, the citizens of Verſailles and the court ſtrove which ſhould ſhower moſt careſſes upon it; the former on the ſoldiers, the latter on the officers. It is evident that this regiment, for the ſhort period that the ſunſhine laſted, needed not to have envied any other in Chriſtendom for the goodneſs of its quarters; the ſoldiers, from the firſt day, being in ſuch a ſtate of fraternity with the inhabitants, that they ſeemed incorporated in one body; and ſuch a continual ſcene of feaſting and good chear prevailing, as left little time or diſpoſition for recalling to remembrance the ſeverity of military duties.

Before we enter into the particulars of the ſucceeding convulſions, perhaps it may not be diſpleaſing to many of our readers, to take a view of that picture of the ſtate of public affairs at this time which was drawn by Rabaut; which he aſſures us was faithfully done; and which includes the pre-diſpoſing cauſes which operated upon the Pariſians in their conduct. He ſays, that "Paris was a prey to all the miſeries of famine, even in the midſt of abundance; bread was dear, and of a bad quality; the inhabitants were knocking at the doors of the bakers, in order to obtain relief; it ſeemed that meaſures had been taken to exaſperate the people againſt the new popular powers; and perſons, evidently paid for occaſioning diſturbances, beſieged the ſhops of the bakers, carried away the bread, threw it into the river, and returned for the purpoſe of renewing this practice. The provinces were affrighted by a circulated whiſper, of the approaching flight of the king, and of a counter-revolution; and the party which deſired it, already vaunted of it loudly, and with that overweening confidence, which it hath ſhewn upon every new conſpiracy. At length, the alarmed capital ſaw no other means of terminating its fears, both for France and for the deputies, than by poſſeſſing the national aſſembly and the king within her walls, where a hundred thouſand arms were ready to defend them, where ſix hundred thouſand perſons were continually on the watch againſt conſpiracies."

A queſtion, which ſhould never be out of mind in reading this account is, In whoſe hands was the government of Paris at that time placed? and, as derived from the ſame, Who were the perſons employed to provide the capital with corn; and if they did not fulfil their duty, why were they not removed? It might have been ſuppoſed, that the rabble of Paris in that ſeaſon of famine, would have been much more profitably employed along the Seine, in angling for the loaves newly thrown into the river, than in raiſing uſeleſs riots in the ſtreets, and about the bakers ſhops. It will perhaps be a matter of ſurprize to ſome, that of the ſix hundred thouſand pairs of jealous and ſuſpicious eyes which were ever watching conſpiracies in Paris, they ſhould all look ſo directly one way, as never to take a view of the banks of the river, nor of the paſſages leading thereto; and that neither chance or fortune ſhould ſo far befriend them, as to enable them in a ſingle inſtance to detect any of that atrocious gang of conſpirators, who thus wantonly robbed them of the means of ſubſiſtance and life. We cannot help obſerving, that the abundant plenty of which Rabaut ſpeaks, accords but badly with the immenſe ſums of money which were ſoon after diſpoſed of to foreign nations, in order to induce them to tranſport corn or grain of any kind into France; a meaſure which was not, however, ſufficient to preſerve that country from all the bitterneſs of famine.

But whether the picture be correct or not, it was at the period which it intends to deſcribe, that October 1. the officers of the king's life guards at Verſailles gave an entertainment to thoſe of the regiment of Flanders; it being, according to the writers on one ſide of the queſtion, the uſual etiquette in the ſervice, for the officers in garriſon to entertain the new-comers upon their being joined by ſtrangers; but Rabaut aſſerts, that this was the firſt banquet which the king's guards, as a *corps*, had ever yet given. He farther aſſerts, that the great object of this feaſt was, to attach the military to the king; and that, in purſuance of endeavours which had been uſed for ſome days to gain over the national guards of Verſailles, ſeveral of their officers were invited upon this feſtive occaſion. Rabaut ſeems to conſider it in every reſpect as the effect of a ſettled plan, contrived by the court. However that was, the proceedings of this extraordinary day and night were too ridiculouſly contemptible, to merit any enquiry, whether they were the effect of deliberative folly, or of caſual intemperance and madneſs.

The king and queen were moſt injudiciouſly adviſed to viſit theſe bacchanals after dinner, and to bring the infant dauphin with them. The extravagance of the joy that prevailed upon their appearance was beyond all deſcription, and the whole company ſeemed to be men mad with loyalty. A loyal air, which, with a ſong appropriated to it, "*O Richard, O mon Roi!*" &c. had till very lately been highly popular, being now played by the muſic, excited the general fever to the higheſt pitch. Rabaut ſays that the dauphin was carried by his royal mother completely round the table; that enthuſiaſm then taking poſſeſſion of the gueſts, they, ſword in hand, drank the auguſt healths of all the family, while the court, bowing and curtſeying, retired.

The banquet was continued through the greater part of the night, and ended in the moſt complete drunkenneſs. It will be no great matter of ſurprize, that the moſt imprudent and the raſheſt things were ſaid or done. It is ſaid on one ſide, that after repeated libations to the royal family, one of the preſent faſhionable toaſts, either the nation, the new conſtitution, or the aſſembly, being propoſed by one of the Verſaillian officers, it was rejected with the greateſt marks of contempt. It appears that the ancient white cockade had never been quitted by the royal life guards, who had conſtantly refuſed adopting the new ſtriped one of the Pariſians; and that the officers of Flanders, in one of the freaks of their feſtivity, having adopted a ſimilar determination, ſtripped the national cockades out of their hats, and, it is ſaid, were ſupplied by the court ladies with white ones, as faſt as they could make, or procure them to be made. It was likewiſe added, and had a prodigious effect in inflaming the populace, that the national cockades had been torn, trampled upon, and treated with every mark of contempt which folly or outrage could inſpire. This, however, appears to have been one of thoſe numerous calumnies which were now ſo ſucceſsfully propagated, on every occaſion in which the court was any way concerned; the charge being abſolutely refuted by the ſolemn teſtimony on oath of all or moſt of the officers who were that night preſent.

Nothing could exceed the rage which the account of this ill-fated banquet, loaded with all the additional circumſtances which malice and invention could ſupply, produced upon the populace of Paris. The famine which preſſed ſo ſorely upon ſo vaſt a multitude, would in itſelf, independent of all political cauſes, have been ſufficient to diſpoſe a much more temperate and better-conditioned people to outrage and violence. They immediately charged the queen with being at the head of a conſpiracy for carrying off the king and exciting a civil war; and they repreſented this affair at Verſailles as the opening of the plot; this they ſaid was too manifeſt to admit of a queſtion; and the contempt ſhewn for the national cockade, with the refuſal to drink proſperity to the nation, were to be conſidered as a declaration of war; that it was time to terminate at once all theſe inquietudes; and that as ſome were deſirous of carrying off the king to place him at the head of a party, they had no other courſe to take, than to be beforehand with them, by ſecuring his perſon in the capital.—We paſs over the ſcurrilities and motives to immediate violence which were thrown out by the caballers and demagogues. At the ſame time, the ſtarving multitude, having been taught to believe that the famine proceeded from the court, and had been particularly excited by the ſchemes for carrying off the king, were loud in their outcries for proceeding to Verſailles, in order to demand bread from him, and for bringing him to Paris, and keeping him there, as the only means for re-producing plenty to that city. It needs ſcarcely to be obſerved, that accounts of the recent exceſſes at a banquet, cannot tend much to tranquillize the minds of hungry men.

Nothing ſeemed more unlucky than that the king ſhould at this critical period have involved himſelf in a diſpute with the national aſſembly. It appears that ſome of the firſt articles of the conſtitution, particularly that which enacted the indiviſibility of the aſſembly, the ſuſpenſion on the royal *veto*, with the declaration of rights of men, had not yet received the king's ſanction; and he ſeemed now, in the moſt dangerous ſeaſon which could poſſibly have been choſen, to aſſume an air of confidence, and ſome diſpoſition to preſerve his rights, which, though now totally out of time, might have long ſince been exerted to great advantage. Being now preſſed for the ſanction, the king entered into a ſort of an argumentative written diſcuſſion with the aſſembly, in which the following words were particularly marked as affording great cauſe of offence: "I grant, according to your deſire, my acceſſion to theſe articles; but on the poſitive condition, which I will never depart from, that by the general reſult of your deliberations, the executive power ſhall have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch."

This capitulary meſſage or anſwer was delivered on the morning of the 5th of October, and immediately produced the moſt violent debates: in the courſe of theſe, Petion having inveighed againſt the late imprudent feaſt of the life guards, and aſſerting that it had been attended both with criminal words and actions, a member on the other ſide aſked, whether he would venture to denounce (that is to impeach) any particular perſon, and ſeemed to dare him to it? With that Mirabeau ſtarted up, and with the utmoſt fury in his looks and manner, cried out, "Declare that the king's perſon alone is *ſacred*, and I will bring forward the impeachment myſelf." When he ſat down, he informed the people near him, that the queen and the duke de Guiche, colonel of the life guards, were the objects he had in view. Mounier happened to be preſident, and values himſelf highly for thoſe laſt but powerful exertions of his official authority, by which he prevented the agitation of a queſtion, which moſt probably would have led to the maſſacre of the unfortunate queen. The debate on the king's anſwer was reſumed, in which it was declared, that the aſſembly ought not to be contented with any thing leſs than his entire acceptation; that this pretended aſſent, including its cauſes, amounted to a real proteſt; and that the rights of nations had exiſted long before kings were ever thought of. The preſident was deputed to ſtate this matter to the king; but a new ſet of legiſlators from Paris were deſtined to intervene, and to throw all things into confuſion. The king, however, in the courſe of all the tumults and dangers of the ſucceeding day and night, was obliged to find leiſure for retracting, as uſual, his own poſitions; and for giving a full acceptance, pure and unmixed, without comment or reſerve, to all the decrees of the aſſembly.

The ferment in Paris had riſen to its higheſt pitch on that very day, and the flame which had for ſome days been rather ſmothering than lighting, burſt out in its utmoſt violence. There are the ſtrongeſt reaſons for ſuppoſing, that the Orleans cabal, though aſſiſted and ſupported by the republicans on very different grounds, were the immediate and principal authors of the preſent diſturbances; none other could, in any degree, equally influence and command the rabble of that city, as the faction in queſtion. An univerſal cry was raiſed in the morning to go to Verſailles, to demand bread of the king and the aſſembly, and to take vengeance on the *gardes du corps*. It was deemed fitting that the women ſhould take the lead in this inſurrection, and fitter inſtruments could not have been choſen. Beſides the Dames du Halle, and all the other claſſes of female auxiliaries to Pariſian liberty which we have heretofore deſcribed, and of which the lanes, allies, cellars and garrets, poured out ſo vaſt an abundance, they are ſaid to have preſſed every woman they met with into the ſervice. It may be conſidered as ſome ſort of concurrent teſtimony that this ſcheme was preconcerted, and that the cabal had more prudence than to truſt the buſineſs entirely to the conduct of theſe heroines, that a great number of men, diſguiſed in women's clothes, were intermixed in the ranks of this ſuppoſed female army. Bread, was at firſt the watch word and the univerſal cry of this ſtrange aſſemblage, which Rabaut deſcribes as compoſed of mothers frantic with deſpair, through the dreadful circumſtance of not having bread to give to their famiſhed children.

Arms were, however, thought neceſſary, as affording more effectual means for the obtaining of bread than mere ſupplication. They accordingly proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, or Town Houſe, which they broke open and plundered; and gave an early ſpecimen of their courage in paſſing thither, by making their way boldly through ſeveral battalions of Pariſian guards who were drawn up armed in the open ſpace before that building. Having met on the ſtairs of the Town Houſe an unfortunate eccleſiaſtic, they, as an eſſay in the buſineſs of death, immediately hung him up by the neck. Some of their male followers, whether it was through mercy, or by way of varying the paſtime, cut the prieſt down before he was quite dead; and then ſo effectually kicked and toſſed his carcaſe about, that in a ſhort time he fully recovered his ſenſibility, and was moſt unexpectedly permitted to get home, as he could. After plundering the Hotel de Ville, ſeizing a magazine of arms, gathering the artillery together, and forcing open the priſons, with tumult undeſcribable, this hermaphrodite army ſet out about noon, for Verſailles, the cannon being dragged behind as a rear-guard. The vociferous cries for bread were now changed into loud threats and horrid imprecations againſt the queen, the life guards, and the clergy, all of whom they devoted as victims to their vengeance. One Maillard, in the proper garb and character of a man, appeared now as their leader; on whom Rabaut beſtows high praiſe for the diſcipline, order, and government which he eſtabliſhed among them; at the ſame time that he ſeems to think, no limits could otherwiſe have been aſſigned to the effects of their capricious uproar.

A ſecond army of Amazons was preparing to follow the firſt, who were with much difficulty diſperſed by La Fayette, the national guards telling their general that they could not fire upon, or uſe any force againſt their fellow-citizens who were aſking for bread. At the ſame time, the rage for going to Verſailles, which had for ſome days been induſtriouſly fomented among the people, was now become general, and ſo ſtrongly infected the national troops, that they rather commanded than deſired their officers to lead them thither. Upon this occaſion ſome of the grenadiers told La Fayette without reſerve, *that underſtanding the king was an idiot, there was no doubt but matters would go on much better by the appointment of a council of regency.* As this was not only the peculiar language and doctrine of Mirabeau, and of thoſe other leaders of the cabal who were initiated in its moſt ſecret myſteries, but as it was publicly known that the eſtabliſhment of a council of regency was the moſt immediate object of their ambition, none could be at a loſs to determine from what ſource the grenadiers had derived this idea.

La Fayette, who ſeemed aſtoniſhed at even the idea of offering any violence to the king's perſon, or laying any reſtraint upon his inclination with reſpect to reſidence, endeavoured to allay this fermentation, and temporized with the troops as long as poſſible; but they becoming every inſtant more outrageous, and at length directing their menaces againſt himſelf, he and his principal officers, under an immediate apprehenſion for their lives, were compelled to ſubmit to the demands of the ſoldiery: but in order to legalize his proceedings as much as he could, he firſt required and obtained an order from the mayor and council of Paris, to lay before the king the uneaſineſs of his people. This done, he began his march from Paris, at the head of the national army, accompanied by its artillery, and with every diſplay of military pomp and parade, about five o'clock in the afternoon. Rabaut obſerves, "No pencil can depict the frantic joy of Paris, on "beholding her militia march, "with the intention of ſeeking "and bringing away the king. The "capital is aſſured that her diſtreſs "ſhall at length be terminated."

Notwithſtanding the boaſted diſcipline and order which Maillard was ſaid to have ſo ſuddenly, and it might almoſt be ſaid miraculouſly, eſtabliſhed in his Amazon army, it appears their march to Verſailles was marked by ſuch circumſtances of outrage, ſuch brutality, and groſs obſcenity of language, and ſuch horrid and profane curſes, oaths and imprecations, as were without example in any country under the name or character of civilization. It was currently reported at the time, and we never heard it contradicted, that having hung up to death two unfortunate paſſengers whom they met on the way, they had the audacity to boaſt to the national aſſembly of theſe wanton and horrid murders, which, it ſeems, no member would venture to reprove them for. Maillard prevailed on the women, which certainly could have been no eaſy taſk, to permit him to be their ſpokeſman to the aſſembly; but they frequently, notwithſtanding, interrupted him by their oaths and menaces. The orator inveighed againſt the ariſtocrates as the authors of the famine, and for inſulting the national cockade; and he complained of the life guards, for wearing white cockades. The aſſembly ſent a deputation of the moſt decent of the women, with their orator Maillard, accompanied by their own preſident, M. Mounier, to wait upon the king: the ſubject of the deputation being confined to the ſcarcity of proviſions only. The king, who was juſt returned from the chace, received them kindly, and iſſued the ſtrongeſt orders in his power to give, for the immediate ſupply of Paris with proviſions.

In the mean time no words could deſcribe, if the recital of ſuch a deſcription could even be endured, the extravagance of the ſcenes which the women exhibited at the national aſſembly. They not only filled the galleries, and all the open parts of the hall, but in proportion as they became intoxicated, which they were not at all ſlow in doing, they mixed with the members, crouded into their ſeats, overwhelmed them with their vociferation and noiſe, and at length, upon the abſence of the preſident with the king, in procuring the royal ſanction to the decrees, they mounted into and took poſſeſſion of his chair. Such was the ſcene of confuſion, and ſuch was the ſociety, in which the moſt awful and momentous buſineſs that perhaps was ever tranſacted by any body of men, the eſtabliſhment of a new conſtitution in a vaſt country, which went to the total overthrow of the old, and of all its appendant rights, laws, and inſtitutions, which had been confirmed by the ſanction of untold ages, was completed and promulgated. It is reported, that Mounier, as an act of duty to his ſovereign, and independent of his official ſituation, adviſed the king to ſubmit ſo far to the neceſſity of the time, as to give his pure and ſimple acceptation to the conſtitutional articles, although he acknowledged that they were in ſeveral parts extremely faulty, with reſpect both to policy and to juſtice; but that he at the ſame time adviſed the king to reſiſt courageouſly, and to the utmoſt, the inſolent and violent attempts of the Pariſians; and to call on the national aſſembly, that at the time he was ſacrificing every thing to their deſire, they would exert themſelves in aſſerting their own freedom and that of their ſovereign. It is likewiſe ſaid, that the king was diſpoſed to adopt this counſel, but that the danger to which the queen was expoſed clogged his meaſures and deſigns; to remedy this evil he ſent for the royal carriages, in order that ſhe might be removed to ſome place of greater ſafety than the preſent, but the carriages were ſtopped and ſeized by the rabble. The queen, however, as ſoon as ſhe heard of the deſign, put an end to all farther thought of it, by nobly refuſing to abandon her huſband in the hour of danger; declaring, with a magnanimity worthy the daughter of Maria Thereſa, that, "ſhe would "ſtay and die at the king's feet."

The events of this day, night, and the enſuing morning, could ſcarcely be more irregular and confuſed, than the narratives of them which have been laid before the public. Scarcely any two of them agree, in time, fact, or circumſtance,

ſtance, as to any thing; ſo that it is hardly poſſible in ſome inſtances to trace, what was the preceding or the ſubſequent act; and we muſt truſt more to opinion than knowledge for placing them in their proper and natural order.

We are informed by Rabaut, that after Maillard, with his female army, had ſet out from Paris, "there iſſued forth alſo a multitude "of men, armed with pikes, battle-"axes, and ſharpened ſtakes, men "whoſe hatred was principally di-"rected againſt the queen, and "againſt the warriors of the life "guards." That, "with this "ſecond army of invaders, came "ſeveral perſons, whoſe appearance "betokened that they were foreign-"ers, and who ſeemed to have been "ſummoned for the occaſion; for "the men of Paris have a caſt of "countenance peculiar to them-"ſelves, and thoſe who are ac-"quainted with it are well able to "diſtinguiſh ſuch ſtrangers as mix "among them. Theſe ferocious "battalions had taken the lead of "the national guards, with whom "we muſt be careful to avoid con-"founding them. They proved "the cauſe of all the diſturbance "which enſued on the following "day." This ſtrange ſtory of imaginary foreigners, ſeems calculated merely to remove from his favourite Pariſians ſome part of the odium attached to the enſuing atrocities, and to perſuade his readers that an infuſion of foreign ferocity into the milky diſpoſition of thoſe peaceful citizens, was abſolutely neceſſary to their production.

While the extraordinary appearance and conduct of theſe unnumbered hoſts of male and female ruffians ſtruck terror into all beholders, and each of their movements ſeemed calculated to overwhelm every object that came in their way, the firſt meaſure adopted by the king was an order to the troops not to fire by any means upon the people. The next was naturally an enquiry into the means of protection and ſafety which he poſſeſſed; and theſe were found miſerably defective indeed. The dragoons of Flanders had already been as thoroughly debauched at Verſailles, and as totally ſeduced from their duty, as the French guards had before been at Paris. The national guards of Verſailles, who amounted to about four thouſand, and who might have been expected to be the natural and zealous protectors of their ſovereign, who had ſpent his life amongſt them, were in fact his moſt determined enemies, and vied with the Pariſians, if they did not exceed them, in their inveteracy againſt the whole royal family. As if this had not been ſufficient, they likewiſe bore a long and particular animoſity to the life guards, which one Le Cointre, of Verſailles, had for ſeveral days been equally inceſſant and ſucceſsful in his endeavours to increaſe to the higheſt poſſible pitch. In theſe circumſtances, the king ordered the dragoons to retire from Verſailles, retaining only a ſmall number, who acted as centinels in the interior parts of the palace. Thus his whole means of ſecurity and defence, environed on every ſide, as he was, with enemies and danger, was at length reduced to the ſingle body of the *gardes du corps*: and theſe, whoſe courage and fidelity were undoubted, were, however, far from being numerous; and were at the ſame time ſurrounded by private as well as by public enemies.

It is impoſſible to ſpeak with any accuracy as to the manner in which the firſt ſcuffle originated at Verſailles; nor would it be eaſily ſettled, at what particular time even it took place, any farther than that it was in ſome part of the evening, and probably before it was dark. The democratic accounts ſay, that the life guards fired wantonly upon the national guards of Verſailles, and having wounded ſome of them, occaſioned a return of their fire. This appears ſo contrary to all reaſon and probability, that it would require the ſtrongeſt and moſt poſitive evidence to render it credible. Another account, which ſeems much more probable, ſtates, that an inhabitant of Verſailles, whoſe name is mentioned, having mixed with the rabble, and endeavouring with them to force his way through the iron gates, was wounded by the life guards who defended the entrance, and that this being reſented by the national guards as an attack upon the whole corps, immediately drew on their fire. However it happened, it was productive of leſs miſchief than could have been expected; a few were wounded on both ſides, but we do not learn that any perſon was killed. The hoſtile parties came to ſome explanations; and it ſeems as if ſomething like an armiſtice was concluded between them for the preſent.

As ſoon as the king's ratification of the conſtitutional articles, which was about ten at night, was received by the aſſembly, moſt of the members, if not all, were glad to make their eſcape from the capricious rage and eternal clamour of the frantic female bacchanals, by whom they were ſtill accompanied, ſurrounded, and in every ſenſe incommoded: ſo that the hall and the ſeats of legiſlation were literally abandoned to them. In the mean time, the furious banditti without, who filled every place, excepting the interior of the caſtle or palace, which they ſurrounded and beſieged, ſpread terror and confuſion through the whole city, as it was impoſſible even for their friends to determine to what objects the rapine or fury of ſo lawleſs and frantic a rabble might chance to be directed.

The deputies had ſcarcely time to eſcape from the noiſe and tumult in their hall, and to ſeek for retirement and quiet in their reſpective apartments, when a new alarm was given, which occaſioned their immediate recal, and appeared more formidable than any that had yet taken place. This proceeded from the unexpected news, that Fayette was marching, at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to Verſailles; and this intelligence was ſoon confirmed by ſignals of muſquetry and rockets which were ſeen and heard at a diſtance. To expedite the march, and for the better preſervation of order, he had divided his army into three columns, each of which proceeded by a ſeparate route; but adjuſted their movements with ſo much regularity, that they all arrived about the ſame time. As no intelligence had yet been received of the cauſes or objects of this march, it could not fail to excite doubt, and ſome degree of alarm, in all the different parties.

It is ſeriouſly told, that Fayette made his troops ſtop in the avenue of Verſailles, and ſwear fidelity to the king and to the laws. Who can avoid being ſurpriſed that the fabricators of this abſurd ſtory ſhould not once have reflected, how many hours it would coſt, even in open day light, to adminiſter an oath to an army of 30,000 men? nor how extenſive a plain would have been neceſſary for the purpoſe; or at leaſt for the troops who were ſworn to file off to and form on, while their remaining fellows were undergoing the ceremony. It is, indeed, not impoſſible, that Fayette, and thoſe principal officers who were immediately about his perſon, might, at the awful appearance of the caſtle, to which they were approaching, and perhaps ſome recollection of former greatneſs and ſplendour, have entered into ſome ſuch compact or oath.

However that was, La Fayette certainly ſhewed the moſt pacific diſpoſition. He preſented himſelf firſt before the king, and then before the aſſembly, and behaved to both with every appearance of the greateſt reſpect and even ſubmiſſion. He lamented to Mounier, the meaſures which a powerful cabal had forced him into; and it was underſtood from his diſcourſe, that by a few ſubmiſſions from the *gardes du corps*, and their adoption of the national cockade, all the exiſting differences would be reconciled, and all jealouſies removed. This was excellent, and ſpeaking like a man of honour; without ſacrificing any part of his principles, or deviating in any degree from his duty, with reſpect to the cauſe which he eſpouſed. And if it had not been for the ſubſequent error, miſtake, imprudence, or whatever it may be called, which he fell into, the event might poſſibly have been happy, much, if not the whole, of the ſucceeding evils prevented, and his name long remembered with praiſe.

It was about midnight when La Fayette arrived at Verſailles: between two and three in the morning, he moſt unfortunately and fatally perſuaded Mounier to break up the aſſembly and retire to reſt; an advice which opened the way to all the ruin which enſued. It is not to be doubted, but that, through the buſtle, fatigues, and fears of the preceding day, Fayette muſt have been greatly exhauſted, and ſleep highly neceſſary to him; but he ſhould have remembered, particularly as a ſoldier, that in caſes of great emergency, moment, and danger, it was his duty to reſiſt to the utmoſt, and even to overcome, if poſſible, the calls of nature. He well knew the cruel and bloody diſpoſition of that uncountable crew of male and female ruffians, who filled and ſurrounded the whole city and its environs; and if he thought at all, he could not but expect, knowing ſo well as he did the motives and objects of their coming, that they would take ſome fatal advantage of his going to reſt. Nor were the national aſſembly at all excuſable, in purſuing his advice; they could not but perceive the preſſure of the motive on his part which produced it; and as they had ſo lately made no difficulty of ſitting up and watching a night for their own protection, they ſhould not have heſitated in paying a ſimilar attention to the ſafety of their ſovereign at this moment of ſuch imminent danger, when his own life, and the lives of his whole family, were evidently at ſtake.

Notwithſtanding the horrors of the ſituation, the hearing her life repeatedly threatened, and her blood howled for, the queen poſſeſſed ſuch a ſtock of intrepidity and coolneſs, that ſhe retired to reſt at two o'clock, and if we credit the atteſtations of her bed-chamber women, ſlept ſoundly. At ſix o'clock, a numerous body of thoſe ruffians who had arrived the day before from Paris, broke, with furious menaces, into the courts of the palace, where they ſeized Monſrs. de Huttes and Varicourt, two of the life guards, dragged them from their poſts, and murdered them in the moſt cruel manner; their heads being, with many blows, ſevered from their bodies by the bungling hands and blunt axe of one Nicolas, a ſelf-conſtituted executioner, who had from liking taken up this buſineſs, and from the beginning of the troubles gloried in mangling and beheading all the ſuſpected royaliſts that were put into his hands.

Another party ruſhed into the queen's apartments, with loud outcries, execrations, and threats, too horrid to be related or endured, by any but the moſt ſavage minds, in the recital. The centinel, M. de Miomandre, after bravely reſiſting for a few minutes, finding himſelf entirely overpowered, opened the queen's door, and called out with a loud voice, "Save the queen, her "life is aimed at! I ſtand alone "againſt *two thouſand tigers!*" He ſoon after ſunk down covered with wounds, and was left for dead; but coming again to the uſe of his ſenſes, he had the fortune to creep away unobſerved through the crowd: it will afford pleaſure to all admirers of courage and fidelity to know that he was afterwards cured of his wounds. The unhappy queen flew almoſt naked through the apartments, ſtarting at the ſound of the piſtols which were continually fired in the courts, and calling eagerly to ſuch guards as ſhe happened to meet, "O my friends! ſave my "life, ſave my children!" From whatever cauſe it proceeded, ſome inſtantaneous impulſe ſeemed to fix a perſuaſion in the minds of the attendants, that the life of the poor young prince, the heir to the crown, was particularly aimed at; and this operated ſo ſtrongly, that without waiting for orders, they ran inſtantly, as if by a common ſympathy, to the children's apartments, and brought them away half-naked, to place them under the protection of their royal father. Such being the force of ancient prejudice and opinion, that they ſtill thought Frenchmen could not but pay ſome reverence to the perſon of their king.

The king, awakened by the noiſe, flew through a private paſſage to the queen's apartment, in order to ſave her life, or to periſh along with her. He was met by ſome of his guards, who eſcorted him back to his own apartment, where the queen was already arrived, and the children ſpeedily after. The guards were in the mean time hunted from place to place, through all the purlieus of the palace, much in the ſame manner that the proteſtants had been after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. A conſiderable party of thoſe who had been on duty in the interior palace had only time to barricade themſelves in ſome of the rooms adjoining to the royal apartments; and being there completely encloſed, the purſuing murderers were in the act of forcing open the doors. At this critical moment La Fayette and his officers fortunately appeared, and with much perſuaſion and intreaty induced them to deſiſt. It would ſeem ſtrange in any other poſſible caſe, that a general at the head of a powerful army, inſtead of immediately applying the force in his hands to diſperſe, if not to puniſh, a body of ruffians, whom he had detected in the very acts of murder and treaſon, ſhould degrade himſelf to intreaty and ſupplication to procure their forbearance. But ſuch was the preſent unexampled ſtate of affairs, that Fayette could not act otherwiſe. His faithful ſoldiers, the Pariſian or national guards, had already declared that they would not uſe force againſt their fellow citizens, in which deſcription they included all the banditti who were now in and about Verſailles; and a few of them had this very morning afforded a ſpecimen of the diſpoſition and conduct to be expected from the whole; for being on duty near the ſpot where MM. de Huttes and Varicourt were ſo barbarouſly murdered, and in full ſight of that inhuman tranſaction, no principle of generoſity or ſympathy could induce them to interfere, or make the ſmalleſt attempt to ſave them.

It cannot but excite ſurprize that a man who, like Rabaut, had ſome character to ſupport and preſerve, ſhould have ſo diſguiſed, altered, and miſtated the tranſactions of this night and morning, that no one, acquainted with them, could, without referring to the date, judge, from his account, what period he alluded to, or what events he was deſcribing. In the face of the moſt irrefragable teſtimonies, and in ſome inſtances of facts corroborated upon oath before a tribunal of juſtice, he ſtates things directly contrary. In particular, with reſpect to the conduct of the national troops and the banditti, he ſtates ſeveral rencounters to have taken place between them; that the former, by force, not only ſoon cleared the palace and its environs of the ruffians, but that they likewiſe compelled them to leave all the plunder which they had ſeized behind; that, upon ſome new occaſion, they purſued and routed them again; and they ſeem at length to have driven them quite away, and obliged them to purſue a new route to Paris. So that by this ſtatement, the national troops would have merited high praiſe for the zeal and activity with which they quelled and diſperſed this rabble.

But it is time to return, and to ſee things as they really were. The king, accompanied and protected by La Fayette, went through the palace, his mind being ſo occupied by the danger of the guards, that it could dwell upon no other ſubject than that of recommending them to the mercy of the crowd, with aſſurances to all that they were unjuſtly accuſed. He then went to a balcony, where he repeated the ſame interceſſion to the crowd who filled the courts below; but the mob, inſtead of paying any attention to the ſupplication of their ſovereign, roared out with the utmoſt violence and indecency for the queen. Fayette accordingly went for her. She heſitated a moment, and aſked if her preſence was neceſſary to appeaſe the people? He aſſured her it was. "Then," ſaid ſhe, "I will go, even if "I was ſure that I went to execution." She accordingly appeared in the balcony, with the dauphin in her arms; and the popular fury ſeemed in ſome degree to ſubſide; although in the depoſitions given before the chatelet it is teſtified, that muſkets were at that very time ſeen levelled in the crowd, which appeared to the deponents to be pointed directly at the queen. Some ſort of calm, however,

ever, took place for a few minutes, which was ſuddenly interrupted by an univerſal cry, directed to the royal pair, "To Paris, to Paris!" There was no refuſing nor remonſtrating; the whole royal family were at the mercy of the rabble; nor could Fayette have inſured their lives for a moment, if they appeared only to heſitate.

The king's aſſent was ſoon notified to all the parts of the crowd by papers immediately diſperſed for the purpoſe; and after a preparation not much longer than that of changing horſes on an Engliſh poſt road, one of the moſt degrading and melancholy proceſſions commenced, of which there is any record in hiſtory. The ſovereign of one of the greateſt, moſt powerful, and moſt ſplendid monarchies in the univerſe, governing a people long and far renowned for arriving near the ſummit of civilization, learning, arts, and ſcience, a nation likewiſe particularly renowned for the valour, generoſity, and nice attention to honour which has diſtinguiſhed its nobility through a courſe of ages; and yet this ſovereign, without foreign invaſion or war, without any avowed domeſtic competitor for his throne, and even without any acknowledged rebellion of his ſubjects, is, in the face of day, with his queen and family, dragged from their palace, and led captives in ſavage triumph, by bands of the meaneſt and moſt contemptible ruffians in his dominions, and by thoſe modern furies the abandoned women of Paris, who, for every degree of infamy and wickedneſs, but particularly for ferocity and thirſt of blood, have not, moſt fortunately for mankind, their ſimilitudes upon any part of the face of the globe. To render the triumph more complete, or, as if it were to inſult fallen greatneſs by mockery, a party of the obnoxious life guards, deprived of their arms, and treated as priſoners of war, were, with drooping heads, and revolting hearts, appointed, under the name of an eſcort, to attend their ſovereigns. That the proceſſion, however deplorable, might, in all its parts be characteriſtic, the mangled and bloody heads of the two guards who had been murdered in the morning were carried along on pikes to grace the ſpectacle; and, it is ſaid, were frequently and deſignedly exhibited before the windows of the carriage which conveyed the royal captives. We ſhall not defile our page, nor inſult the delicacy, or ſhock the feelings of our readers, by repeating any of the obſcene, ſavage, and horrid expreſſions, which the beaſts of women uſed in the hearing of the queen, and directed to her hearing.

Such was the mournful proceſſion, which attended the removal of Louis XVI. King of France, from his palace at Verſailles, to his priſon in Paris.

Oct. 6th, 1789.

As time brings out many of thoſe hidden circumſtances, in caſes of plots and conſpiracies, which are not at firſt known, or perhaps ſuſpected, ſo it has for ſome time been reported, both on the continent and here, and we find is credited by perſons who have more than common means of information, that the too great and overgrown ſubject, who is now conſidered as the principal author and cauſe of thoſe diſturbances which have ruined France, was himſelf preſent in diſguiſe among the mob who were deſtined in the morning to the attack of the palace; that he was revealed, notwithſtanding his diſguiſe, to the leaders, by certain prefixed marks or ſignals; that the principal ſervice which he intended was, from his intimate knowledge of the interior of the palace, to lead the banditti by the neareſt way to the royal apartments, in which caſe it is ſuppoſed, that all that part of the royal family would have been inſtantly ſacrificed. That fortunately his heart, according to its uſual cuſtom, failed when he arrived at the ſcene of action; and that he accordingly ſlunk away from his aſſociates, whoſe numbers, violence, and ferocity, were poſſibly among the cauſes of his terror. It is likewiſe told, as a part and confirmation of the ſame ſtory, that Mirabeau, in his rage at what he conſidered ſuch ſhameful conduct, threw out the following extraordinary ſarcaſm: "That man conſtantly carries a "cocked piſtol loaded with miſchief "in his hand, but his cowardice is "ſo extreme that he never can draw "the trigger."

Mounier, who had relied too much upon La Fayette's vigilance, and upon the order of ſafety which had he eſtabliſhed for the night, when awakened late by an account of the horrid tranſactions which were taking place, at once augured the downfall both of liberty and monarchy, to each of which he was moſt zealouſly attached. He haſtened to the aſſembly, and propoſed that they ſhould immediately proceed to the palace, hold their meeting in the grand ſaloon of Verſailles, and aſſiſt the king with their advice, as well as with their aſſiſtance and protection, at this momentous criſis. But it did not at all ſuit the views of the patriots in any degree to impede, much leſs to prevent, the diſmal proceſſion to Paris: Mirabeau anſwered, in his uſual character, that it was beneath their dignity to meet in the king's palace; and this anſwer was received by the reſt of the party, as a full and ſufficient reaſon for continuing as they were. Mounier declares, that the joy of Mirabeau, Barnave, and others of the moſt violent leaders, was ſo extreme, as to become indecently apparent; whilſt the members on the other ſide, expecting every moment to be ſurrounded by an armed rabble, trembled for their lives, and dared not utter a word. To while away time it was voted, that the national aſſembly was inſeparable from the king; after which any trifling buſineſs that could be thought of was brought forward, to afford ſome appearance of debating until the buſineſs at the palace was entirely over.

The broken remnants of the middle or moderate party, of whom Mounier was the head, and who had ever endeavoured to eſtabliſh, what they conceived to be the ſafeſt and moſt permanent ſyſtem of liberty for the people, under the form of a limited monarchy, to be regulated and kept within proper bounds by a conſtitution ſomewhat reſembling that of England, held a meeting in the evening, at which it was ſtated, that having long, with great peril to themſelves, diſcharged their duty as honeſt men, in endeavouring to ſtem the torrent of republicaniſm, to defeat the unavowed, and therefore more dangerous deſigns of ſome of the factious leaders, to eſtabliſh the liberty of the people, and at the ſame time to preſerve the proper and neceſſary rights of the monarchy inviolate; that after this long and virtuous ſtruggle, it was now a matter of grievous reflection to perceive, not only that all their efforts were fruitleſs, but that a directly contrary and moſt dangerous ſtate of affairs had taken place. They ſaw the monarchy overthrown; the king a priſoner, not merely to his own ſubjects, conſidered generally as ſuch, but to the rabble of Paris; while his life hung ſuſpended by a hair, which it was in the power of every ruffian to ſnap or to cut in a moment. They ſaw that liberty for which they had ſo much contended, now placed in ſuch a train, that if cauſes produced their proper effects, it was likely to be deſtroyed before it was formed. The national aſſembly muſt now remove to Paris, which had for ſome time been the prime wiſh, and chief object in view, with ſome of the moſt dangerous of the factious leaders who ruled that body. In Paris, the repreſentatives of the people would become as abſolute priſoners as the king; and France would be governed by laws, framed by theſe leaders, and enforced on the aſſembly by the terror of their inſtruments, the cabals and mobs of the capital. As for themſelves, the purity of their views and the integrity of their conduct could not preſerve them from continual danger and menace to their lives; indeed it was unhappily too clearly ſhewn, that theſe were qualities now ſo little regarded, that they could procure neither eſteem nor ſafety. The queſtion now for them to conſider was, Whether, having fulfilled the duty which they owed to the public to the utmoſt of their power, but without effect, and finding affairs now in a ſtate which not only rendered them totally uſeleſs for the preſent, but which cut off all hope of their ever being otherwiſe under the preſent ſyſtem, they ſhould, notwithſtanding, perſevere in the ſame fruitleſs toil, and devote their lives, without a competent object, by placing them in the hands of the Pariſians; or whether they ſhould at once ſecede from the aſſembly, and ſubmit their conduct in every thing, along with the cauſes of this procedure, to their conſtituents, as well as to the public at large?

The greater part of the members preſent, notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, in the veracity of which they all equally agreed, were yet unwilling to abandon their ſeats. Mounier and Lally Tolendal were at the head of the ſeceders.

But before Mounier had quitted the preſident's chair, he had the addreſs, with the fervent aid of his friends, to carry a very important reſolution, and which there was little reaſon to expect could have been paſſed. This was an order for an enquiry into the horrid maſſacre, intended and actually commenced on the 6th of October, and for proſecuting the authors thereof. This was the foundation of all the proceedings which were conducted in the chatelet upon the ſubject; and though ſubſtantial juſtice was not obtained, nor probably could be expected, yet it could not be without ſome good effect, by letting wanton murderers ſee, that they might not always be ſafe in the gratification of that horrid propenſity; and reminding them, that public enquiries, and public proſecutions, were not pleaſant matters to play with. It would have done much honour to the national aſſembly, would have prevented much well-founded reproach, which will not wear off while the memory of any of their acts continue, and would have prevented acts which will be an eternal ſtain to their country, if they had paſſed, and ſupported with vigour, many ſimilar reſolutions; inſtead of turning accounts of the moſt inhuman murders to ridicule, and ſhamefully joking upon the purity or impurity of the blood thus ſhed.

Nothing at the ſame time can afford a ſtronger demonſtration of the homage paid to Mounier's character, and of the awful aſcendancy which virtue holds over thoſe even who abhor its name, than that he ſhould have been able to carry a reſolution ſo abhorent to the likings of all the principal leaders of the factions; — they evidently ſhrunk before it. He has declared himſelf, that the reflection of his having carried this meaſure of humanity and juſtice, was no ſmall ſolace to him in his ſubſequent troubles and misfortunes. This was his laſt public act; and he, who had not long ſince been one of the moſt popular men in the kingdom, was, at no diſtant period, deſtined to fly from his country, and to retire to Geneva for the preſervation of his life. This obligation he owed to Barnave and others of his brother deputies, who, unable to reſiſt or endure his virtue when preſent, took care to prepoſſeſs the minds of the people ſo effectually againſt him, as to prevent the poſſibility of his being ever again troubleſome. Mounier was, with reſpect to ſtrictneſs of integrity, purity of principle, love and admiration of virtue, undoubtedly the firſt man in the aſſembly, and ſeemed to belong to another age rather than to the preſent. In talents and abilities he was ſecond to none in that body; but they were not ſhowy, nor calculated to catch the vulgar; ſo that his popularity aroſe from the general ſenſe entertained of his virtue. He was an enthuſiaſtic lover of liberty, and as determined a foe to tyranny in every ſhape and form; but the liberty which he adored, and wiſhed to eſtabliſh, was a rational and regular one, fenced in with inſuperable reſtraints againſt its degenerating into licentiouſneſs and anarchy, as well as with impaſſable mounds againſt the inroads of deſpotiſm. In political affairs his faults were, being too refined and ſpeculative, and ſometimes being immoveable in his opinions.

We thought it both becoming and a part of our duty, to ſay thus much of a fallen and unfortunate, but a very eminent man; and the more ſo, as there is little probability that he will ever again come within our obſervation.

Mounier declared to a few particular friends, at his quitting Paris, how much he was oppreſſed by the melancholy reflection, that all his efforts in favour of liberty had only ended in enſlaving France to the deſpotiſm of faction, inſtead of the deſpotiſm of royalty.

Two factions, with views totally different and incompatible, had an equal ſhare in promoting the late diſorders and violence. The republican levellers intended, by the removal to Paris, to place the unhappy ſovereign ſo entirely in their own power, and by the aid of the Pariſians to purge the aſſembly ſo totally of all who oppoſed them, that neither the king, the nobles, nor the clergy, could find it poſſible afterwards to defend any of their rights, not only by arms, but even by legal reſiſtance. And they well ſaw that the bare name of the king, which did not produce the ſmalleſt benefit to himſelf, might be turned to great account by affording ſome ſanction to their proceedings, and thereby become a moſt uſeful inſtrument in the confirmation of their power. Upon theſe principles no deſigns that affected the king's life could originate or be received in this party.

The other faction, of which Mirabeau was, at leaſt, the oſtenſible head, and the leaders of which were generally called the cabal, held very different views, though they purſued the ſame means, and uſed the ſame inſtruments, the mobs of Paris, for their attainment. The firſt, as we have ſeen, wiſhed to confine the king, perhaps for life, within the walls of that capital; but the ſecond hoped to terrify him into a flight; in which caſe they would have proceeded to depoſition; and poſſibly the circumſtances of the flight might have afforded an opportunity for greater and more deciſive violence. Though theſe aſſumed the character of republicans, and generally acted along with them, yet ſo far were they from wiſhing the overthrow of the ſovereignty, that they very reluctantly admitted even the reductions that were made in its authority; they wiſhed it to continue perfect and whole, but wanted to change the hands in which it was placed; ſo that having ſet up a phantom of power, which, from its weakneſs, they knew they could manage as they pleaſed, a very few of their principal leaders would be enabled afterwards to govern with ſupreme authority. This party was from two cauſes particularly dangerous; one was the extreme profligacy, and total want of principle, joined with uncommon abilities, of ſome of its leaders; the other was the profound ſecrecy with which its ultimate views were kept concealed, ſo that the real objects of its purſuit and conduct were never apparent.

The republican party were triumphant upon this occaſion; and the views of the cabal, if not entirely ſeen through, were at leaſt ſo far underſtood, as to excite much miſtruſt, and draw no ſmall degree of odium upon their leaders.

Though the revolution was now completed, and no viſible obſtacle remaining which could check the republicans in their future career, yet the idea of ſhutting themſelves up within the walls of the turbulent city of Paris, where 100,000 pair of jealous and ſuſpicious eyes were to be an eternal watch upon their conduct and actions; where they were to be ſubjected to the caprice of a frantic and bloody populace, who had conſtituted themſelves both judges and executioners of the law in all caſes of life and death; and where the moſt zealous patriot was liable to become an inſtantaneous victim to the falſeſt report, or to the moſt unfounded ſuſpicion; theſe conſiderations, acting altogether, could not but ſtrike a great part of the aſſembly with the moſt ſerious and alarming apprehenſions, and thereby ſerve much to leſſen that ſatisfaction and exultation of pride and ſucceſs, which their ſignal triumph over the crown, and that extreme and abject ſtate of degradation to which it was reduced, might otherwiſe have afforded.

In order, by every means in their power, to guard againſt this danger, which, however unavowed, was equally obvious to all, the aſſembly immediately paſſed the ſtrongeſt reſolutions that could be framed, reſpecting the ſacredneſs and inviolability of their perſons. But theſe being in no degree ſufficient to remove the general impreſſion of danger which had taken place, ſo great a number of members were continually applying for leave of abſence, that it ſeemed at length as if the aſſembly would be entirely deſerted; and it was found neceſſary, as a remedy for the evil, to paſs an order or reſolution, that no farther applications for leave ſhould be received.

Theſe apprehenſions had not, however, time to wear off before an event took place which ſufficiently ſhewed that they were by no means ill-founded. For the aſſembly had not been long in Paris, when thoſe loyal and peaceable citizens, being perhaps apprehenſive that their rights and authority might, without frequent exertion, become dormant, and lapſe into what the lawyers call a ſtate of deſuetude, determined to give their new viſitants of the aſſembly an early ſpecimen of what thoſe rights and that authority were, ſo as to prevent all future miſtakes about their nature and extent, and at the ſame time to afford a ſtriking inſtance of their own due qualification, from the eaſe and facility with which they adminiſtered ſummary juſtice. There could be no want of an object on which to diſplay their juſtice and dexterity, while there remained a baker ſtill in exiſtence. The lot accordingly fell upon an unfortunate member of that fraternity, who happened to be totally innocent of any known crime, or of any breach whatever of the laws; but the pithy death-term of 'monopolizer' being ſuddenly ſounded in his ears, he was, at noon day, dragged out of his own houſe, and inſtantly hanged before the door, in the ſight of his wife and family.

While the aſſembly were at a diſtance, matters of this ſort were paſſed over without concern or notice; but this tumult taking place under their eyes, and the danger ſeeming already at their own doors, the alarm and apprehenſion excited by it were beyond deſcription. This paroxyſm of terror, however, produced an excellent effect, it rouzed the aſſembly into a degree of exertion, the want of which had been long and lamentably felt; and its very exceſs proved the means of inſpiring them with courage. They likewiſe could not but feel how much their authority and dignity were ſet at nought and degraded, and that public opinion, upon which every thing depended, would be ſhaken, if ſo violent an outrage, committed almoſt in their preſence, and as if it had been to ſhew who were in future to be their maſters, had been ſuffered to paſs with impunity. Under theſe, and ſimilar impreſſions, the aſſembly immediately paſſed a very effective and ſevere law, founded much upon the principle of the Engliſh riot act, by which the municipal magiſtrates were obliged to proclaim martial law whenever the mob proceeded to outrage; and were beſides furniſhed with a red, or, as it is called by ſeamen, a bloody flag, which, upon ſuch occaſions, was to be diſplayed from the town houſe, as a formidable emblem of the conſequences which would enſue. In the ſame ſpirit, the Pariſian rabble were condemned to the inexpreſſible mortification of beholding two or three of the moſt notorious of their brethren, who were concerned in the late tumult and murder, publicly hanged. Theſe vigorous meaſures produced an immediate happy effect; and order and quiet were for ſome time eſtabliſhed.

An event now took place which could not fail to aſtoniſh all thoſe who were not admitted deeply into the ſecrets of affairs. This was the extraordinary meaſure of ſending the duke of Orleans out of the kingdom. To underſtand this we are to obſerve, that nothing could exceed the indignation of La Fayette at the unexpected diſobedience which he experienced from his troops on the 5th of October. All the mutual ties which ſhould unite a general and his army ſeemed at once diſſolved; and, beſides the diſappointment, and wound to his pride, the perſonal ſecurity of a commander ſeemed in a very precarious ſtate, whoſe troops diſdained to obey, and who made no ſcruple of flying in the face of his authority and command. He well knew that their diſobedience and mutiny did not originate with themſelves, but were produced by the machinations of the cabal; and he directed all his indignation and reſentment to their proper object, the ſuppoſed father of that faction. For, whatever La Fayette's private political views might have been, there certainly was nothing farther removed from them, or which he abhorred more, even in idea, than that the duke of Orleans, through any convulſion, or change of circumſtances, or under any denomination, of regent or otherwiſe, ſhould ever be placed at the head of public affairs. He ſaw that the ſeaſon was highly favourable to the gratification of his enmity; that the views of the cabal were thoroughly ſeen through, and they had conſequently loſt all influence, weight, and confidence in the aſſembly; that Mirabeau had not been more unfortunate in his views to aggrandize his principal than himſelf; and that his late deſign of forcing himſelf into the royal adminiſtration, was ſo well underſtood, that his preparatory motion was rejected, with every mark not only of diſguſt but abhorrence.

It is ſaid, that the leading party in the aſſembly had already derived all the benefits from the duke which they wiſhed, or at any time intended: his pecuniary aid had from the beginning been indiſpenſably neceſſary to their ſucceſs, without it they could have done nothing; but now things were totally changed: if his treaſures had not even been pretty well exhauſted, they were not, however, in that ſtate of neceſſity which rendered them once indiſpenſable; he had been as long the inſtrument to their purpoſes as was neceſſary, to continue it longer would be folly. Beſides that his ſervices were no longer wanted, his preſence was becoming troubleſome; and might, under certain circumſtances, through his influence with the rabble, poſſibly prove dangerous.

Whether the opinion that theſe motives operated upon the aſſembly be well founded or not, it ſeems evident that La Fayette muſt have had a certainty of being well ſupported when he ventured upon ſo bold, and ſeemingly ſo dangerous a meaſure. He ſettled the buſineſs like a ſoldier, with little ceremony but peremptory effect. In a ſhort and ſudden conference with the duke, he informed him in a few words, that his preſence in France was at this juncture incompatible with the good of the nation; that England, where he was well acquainted, was deemed the country moſt fitting for him to retire to; that a paſſport from the king was ready for him; and that, to cover the matter, he ſhould be apparently ſent to execute a private commiſſion from his majeſty in that country. The mandate was ſo peremptory, delivered with ſuch firmneſs, and accompanied with an air of ſuch deciſive authority, that the duke, ſurprized and ſubdued, ſhrunk under its effect; and, every thing being prepared, was diſpatched to England.

Mirabeau's rage was unbounded at this cowardly ſubmiſſion, as he termed it, of the duke. It was given in evidence before the chatelet, that he concluded a torrent of the groſſeſt abuſe by exclaiming, "He does "not deſerve the trouble that has "been taken for his ſake!"

C H A P. III.

Effects of the tranſactions in France upon the minds of the people of Great-Britain. General diſpoſition in their favour at the commencement of the revolution. Various political ſpeculations thereon. The evils which followed foreſeen by more accurate obſervers, and particularly foretold in the celebrated work of Mr. Burke. The intereſt which the French leaders had in involving the ſurrounding ſtates in the ſame diſtractions. Their attempts, and the effects of them, particularly in Great-Britain and Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Speech from the throne. Addreſs voted in both houſes without debate. Act of indemnity relative to the order of council for ſtopping the exportation of corn. Military eſtimates animadverted upon by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Marſham, and Mr. Fox; and defended by Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt. Some expreſſions of Mr. Fox, applauding the French revolution, and the conduct of the French army on that occaſion, cenſured by Col. Phipps. The ſame ſubject taken up by Mr. Burke. His ſpeech upon the ſpirit and conſequences of that event, and his regret at differing in opinion from Mr. Fox. His opinion concerning the conduct of the French army, and concerning the compariſon between the French revolution, and the revolution of 1688. *His ſpeech received with general applauſe. Mr. Fox, in reply, laments the difference of opinion between them. His encomium upon Mr. Burke. Explains his own ſentiments reſpecting the French revolution. Profeſſes his political principles. His opinion of the revolution of* 1688. *His apology for the exceſſes of the French patriots. Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech upon the ſame occaſion. Declares his entire difference of opinion from Mr. Burke. Defends the French revolution. Apologizes for its exceſſes. Charges Mr. Burke with being an advocate for deſpotiſm. Compliments the marquis de la Fayette, and other French patriots. His opinion of the revolution of* 1688. *Mr. Pitt, and other members, riſe to expreſs their obligations and gratitude to Mr. Burke for the ſentiments he had expreſſed during the debate.*

IT was impoſſible that tranſactions of the kind we have juſt been relating, ſhould not, in every point of view, forcibly attract the attention of all the ſurrounding nations of Europe. But, to the people of theſe kingdoms, they became, at an early period, from ſeveral peculiar circumſtances, a ſubject matter of a more direct, as well as ſerious intereſt. Before we proceed, therefore, to the detail of our parliamentary proceedings, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the general impreſſion which the tranſactions of France made upon the public mind; to point out the different views they ſuggeſted to political parties, and the firſt appearance of a deſign to form a common cauſe between the ſpeculative reformers of our own nation, and the levelling party, which ſoon became all-powerful, in France.

The reader will have remarked the many favourable circumſtances, under which the ſtates-general of France were at firſt aſſembled, and which ſeemed to require but an ordinary degree of public virtue and political prudence to improve them into the moſt important advantages. With a ſpirit of conceſſion tending to facility, the repreſentatives of the two firſt orders, the clergy and the nobility, were empowered, by the inſtructions of their reſpective conſtituents, to concede upon almoſt all the points, which had ever been conſidered as invidious, or were then in diſpute, and particularly thoſe of pecuniary privileges. Every thing that could be required from a prince, to whom the happineſs of his people had ever been the object neareſt his heart, was to be reckoned upon as certain; and, amongſt the reſt, the future periodical meetings of the ſtates, by which the gradual improvement of the conſtitution, without convulſion, perhaps without conteſt, was almoſt a neceſſary conſequence.

Whilſt the affairs of France wore this promiſing aſpect, the Engliſh nation ſeemed diſpoſed to congratulate, with ſincerity, its ancient rival upon the dawn of its liberty. A laudable partiality for their own country had, indeed, excited apprehenſions in ſome, that France, by availing itſelf of the advantages of a free conſtitution, might become a more powerful, and conſequently a more dangerous neighbour: whilſt others, led away by the faſhionable theories of the day, conceived, that whatever temptations to ambition France might derive from its future proſperity, they would be more than counterbalanced by thoſe principles of equity and moderation, which might be expected to prevail under its new ſyſtem of government, in proportion to the predominance of the popular intereſts in it. This latter opinion had its advocates particularly amongſt thoſe, who were admirers of republican forms of government, and willing to caſt an odium upon monarchy by attributing all the wars which have deſolated the world, to the ambition and avarice of princes.

Such, in general, were the opinions which floated upon the public mind; and rather as matter of curious ſpeculation, than of national concern. But upon what a ſuperficial view of things theſe opinions were formed, in all their parts, the events, that have ſince happened, have fully evinced. The evils, however, which at that time exiſted only in their principles, or in ſuch effects as might be ſuppoſed occaſional or collateral, did not even then eſcape more experienced obſervers. They were developed and purſued to the dreadful conſequences, which have ſince enſued. Before the cloſe of the year 1789, a celebrated member of the Britiſh parliament, in a work, which will remain to the lateſt poſterity as a monument of enlightened patriotiſm and unrivalled political judgment, not only warned the French nation of the dreadful precipice, upon which it ſtood, but foretold, with a circumſtantial exactneſs, theſe horrors, which, though ſince acted almoſt under our eyes, we heſitate to believe. At the ſame time, he laid open to the view of all Europe, the deſigns of a faction, which aimed directly, both from policy and upon principle, at the total ſubverſion of all its eſtabliſhed governments.

It was evident to the projectors of the French revolution, that their plan muſt neceſſarily exceed the limits of their own territory. Conſcious of the deſperate lengths to which their ſyſtem led, and reſolved to puſh it to its utmoſt extent, they could not expect, that either the policy or generoſity of the neighbouring ſtates would ſuffer them to remain unconcerned ſpectators of the ſcenes they were preparing to act, or inattentive to the principles eſtabliſhed, in order to juſtify or produce them. They ſaw, that it was not leſs neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the general plan, than to the execution of that part, in which they were immediately engaged, to involve the other nations, without delay, in the ſame diſtractions. And notwithſtanding they failed, for the moſt part, in this attempt, yet it is not to be doubted, but that the countenance they received amongſt individuals in foreign countries, though not attended with fatal conſequences to thoſe countries themſelves, yet by the credit it gave to the exaggerated accounts given by their journaliſts of the general prevalence of their principles, contributed, in no ſmall degree, to encourage the prevalent faction to the perpetration of thoſe dreadful exceſſes, which they were afterwards wrought up to commit.

Such were the zeal and activity of the French agitators, and ſuch the extent and boldneſs of their plans, that it is notorious, that there was no part of Europe in which their agents were not eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of diſſeminating their pernicious principles. Great-Britain and Ireland offered, upon many obvious accounts, the faireſt field to the induſtry of theſe democratic miſſionaries. It was not neglected, and was cultivated not without ſucceſs. Active and zealous partizans were found ready to co-operate with them. Nor was this confined to individuals: but various political ſocieties, of more or leſs ancient denomination, made it their buſineſs to propagate their principles, and recommend their example. The nobility of France had not been long proſcribed and the church plundered, nor the king many days led captive to Paris, before letters of congratulation were ſent from ſeveral of theſe ſocieties in both kingdoms, and a regular official correſpondence opened between them and the leaders in France. In the tranſactions of theſe ſocieties, the means by which the revolution was carried on and effected, if not always praiſed, were yet pronounced to be ſanctified by the end; the example was recommended as a glorious pattern for the imitation of mankind, and ſanguine expectations were held out, that it was but the firſt, though an eſſential and leading ſtep to the general emancipation of Europe. That theſe public declarations might not miſs their effect upon the minds of the people, they were accompanied with plaintive compariſons between the auguſt perfection of the new French conſtitution, and the imperfections of our own; and the palm of having ſo ſoon outſtripped their ancient rivals, in the glorious race of freedom, was conceded with affected regret and humiliation.

At the ſame time the preſs teemed with the moſt daring libels upon the conſtitution of this country, and all its conſtituent parts. They were diſtributed gratis, and circulated with aſtoniſhing induſtry, not only amongſt the loweſt claſs of the community, but through the army and the navy. In theſe writings the people were invited to form themſelves into clubs and ſocieties, after the manner of the French; and many were actually formed in a great number of the moſt populous towns of the kingdom, avowedly affiliated (to uſe an expreſſion of their own) by the democratic clubs in France.

Such was the ſtate of things previous to the meeting of parliament, which took place on Thurſday the 31ſt day of January.

In the ſpeech from the throne, his majeſty, after expreſſing his concern at the continuance of the war on the continent, and lamenting the internal commotions which diſturbed the tranquillity of different parts of Europe, informed the two houſes, that he continued to receive aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of all foreign powers towards theſe kingdoms; and that he was perſuaded they would entertain with him a deep and grateful ſenſe of the favour of providence in continuing to his ſubjects the increaſing advantages of peace; and the uninterrupted enjoyment of thoſe invaluable bleſſings which they had ſo long derived from our excellent conſtitution.

After the uſual demand of ſupplies for the ſervices of the year, he informed them of the meaſures he had been under the neceſſity of taking, during the receſs of parliament, for preventing the exportation and facilitating the importation of corn, and that he had directed a copy of the order iſſued for that purpoſe to be laid before them.

Before the houſe of lords proceeded to take his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, the marquis of Bath, the marquis of Saliſbury, the earl of Mount Edgecumbe, and the earl of Forteſcue, who had been advanced, during the receſs of parliament, to their ſeveral reſpective ranks in the peerage, took their ſeats with the accuſtomed ſolemnities.

The uſual addreſſes were moved, and ſeconded in the houſe of lords by lord viſcount Falmouth and lord Cathcart; and in the houſe of commons by the viſcount Valletort and Mr. Cawthorne, and voted without oppoſition or debate. The topics chiefly inſiſted upon by the ſeveral ſpeakers, were the notoriety of the facts mentioned or alluded to in the ſpeech from the throne, and the ſtriking contraſt which the happineſs and proſperity of this nation exhibited, when compared with the ſituation of almoſt every other power in Europe; circumſtances which, they ſaid, were to be attributed, in the firſt place, to the ſuperior excellence of our conſtitution, and, in the ſecond, to the wiſe and prudent adminiſtration of the executive government.—In the houſe of commons, as ſoon as the addreſs was voted, an act of indemnity was ordered ed to be brought in, reſpecting the orders of council alluded to in the ſpeech from the throne.

The eſtimates for the military eſtabliſhments were nearly the ſame with thoſe of the preceding year, and were not voted without ſome objections from the ſide of oppoſition. It was obſerved by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Marſham, and Mr. Fox, that eight years of peace had elapſed, and that the military eſtimates were not yet reduced even to the peace eſtabliſhment of 1775, though the committee of finance, which ſat in the year 1786, had preſumed upon a ſtill greater reduction. That there was nothing in the actual ſituation of affairs that called for this extraordinary military force: but, on the contrary, that his Majeſty had aſſured them of the pacific diſpoſition of all the foreign powers; that our antient rival and enemy, in conſequence of her internal diſturbances, would probably be diſabled from giving us any moleſtation for a long courſe of years; and, laſtly, that the alliances we had made, and the ſubſidiary treaties we had entered into on the continent, inaſmuch as they multiplied the chances of our being involved in war, were proportionably miſchievous, if they did not enable us to reduce our expences in time of peace.

To theſe arguments it was anſwered in general by Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt, that though there was no reaſon at preſent to apprehend that we ſhould be engaged in hoſtilities with any foreign power; yet the unſettled ſtate of Europe, and the internal ſituation of ſeveral parts of it, made it neceſſary for us to keep ourſelves in ſuch a ſtate, as might enable us to act with vigour and effect if occaſion ſhould require. That it was a prepoſterous œconomy to tempt an attack by our weakneſs, and for a miſerable preſent ſaving to hazard a great future expence. That our foreign alliances, which had been approved of by all parties as neceſſary for the preſervation of that balance of power in Europe, upon which the permanence of its tranquillity depended, could only be rendered effectual for that purpoſe, by our being able to ſupport them with an adequate force; and, laſtly, that it would be found upon an examination of the detail of all our military eſtabliſhments, that they could not with common prudence be reduced to a narrower ſcale.

In the courſe of the debate upon this ſubject, Mr. Fox took occaſion to remark, that the conduct of the French ſoldiers, during the late commotions, tended greatly to remove one of the objections, which he had always entertained againſt ſtanding armies. That army, by refuſing to obey the dictates of the court, had ſet a glorious example to all the military of Europe, and had ſhewn, that men, by becoming ſoldiers, did not ceaſe to be citizens.

This remark did not paſs without animadverſion at the time it was made. Colonel Phipps begged leave to enter his proteſt againſt the compliment which had been paid to the profeſſion, to which he had the honour to belong, ſo far as it was connected with any approbation of the proceedings of the French army. He conceived, that the conduct of the Britiſh army in the year 1780, might have furniſhed the right honourable gentleman with a much more unexceptionable ground of panegyric. He would there have found the ſoldiery of this nation not joining thoſe, who were riotouſly diſturbing the public peace and ſcattering ruin among individuals;

not the firſt, in violation of their oaths and of their allegiance, to head anarchy and rebellion; but men really feeling as citizens and ſoldiers, patiently ſubmitting to the inſults of the populace, and, in ſpite of provocation, maintaining the laws and acting under the conſtituted authorities of the realm.

On the 9th of February, when the military eſtimates were reported from the committee, a further debate took place; in which Mr. Fox having again let fall ſome expreſſions of applauſe of the French revolution, Mr. Burke roſe, and after a few obſervations upon the general ſtate of Europe, as it affected the queſtion of encreaſing or diminiſhing the military force of Great Britain; he adverted, in a more particular manner, to the ſituation of France. That country, he remarked, by the mere circumſtance of its vicinity, ought to be the firſt object of our vigilance, not only with regard to her actual power, but alſo to her influence and example, which had once been, and might again become, more dangerous to us than her worſt hoſtility. He inſtanced the earlier part of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and the difficulty, with which the patriots of that day ſtruggled in this country againſt the influence of an example, which, by its ſplendor and ſucceſs, had not only captivated our then ſovereigns king Charles and king James, but gained ſomething upon all ranks of people. The danger, in the laſt age, he obſerved, was from an example of deſpotiſm in government, and of intolerance in religion. In the preſent the diſeaſe was altered, but it was far more likely to be contagious; it was on the ſide of religion, atheiſm, and, with regard to government, anarchy; it was the danger of being led through an admiration of ſucceſsful fraud and violence, to an imitation of the exceſſes of an irrational, unprincipled, proſcribing, confiſcating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy.

He then proceeded to obſerve, that the very worſt part of the example ſet us in France was, in his opinion, the late aſſumption of citizenſhip by the army. As this opinion was in direct oppoſition to the ſentiments of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke expreſſed the great regret he felt in differing from his right honourable friend; and after pronouncing a fine panegyric upon his ſuperior abilities, and bearing teſtimony to the natural moderation, diſintereſtedneſs, and benevolence of his diſpoſition, he begged the houſe to judge from his coming forward to mark an expreſſion or two of his beſt friend, how anxious he was to keep the diſtemper of France from the leaſt countenance in England, where, he was ſure, ſome wicked perſons had ſhewn a ſtrong diſpoſition to recommend an imitation of the French ſpirit of reform; ſo ſtrongly, he ſaid, was he oppoſed to any the leaſt tendency towards the means of introducing a democracy like theirs, as well as to the end itſelf, that he would abandon his beſt friends, and join with his worſt enemies, to oppoſe either the means or the end.

Mr. Burke then took a conciſe view of what had been lately done in France. That nation, he obſerved, had gloried (and ſome people in England had thought fit to take ſhare in that glory) in making a revolution; as if revolutions were good things in themſelves. All the horrors and all the crimes of the anarchy, which led to their revolution, which attend its progreſs, and which may virtually attend it in its eſtabliſhment, paſs for nothing with the lovers of revolutions. The French have made their way, thro' the deſtruction of their country, to a bad conſtitution, when they were abſolutely in poſſeſſion of a good one. They were in poſſeſſion of it the day the States met in ſeparate orders. Their buſineſs, had they been either virtuous, or wiſe, or had been left to their own judgment, was to ſecure the ſtability and independence of the States, according to thoſe orders, under the monarch on the throne. It was then their duty to redreſs grievances.

Inſtead of redreſſing grievances, and improving the fabric of their ſtate, to which they were called by their monarch, and ſent by their country, they were made to take a very different courſe. They firſt deſtroyed all the balances and counterpoiſes, which ſerve to fix the ſtate and to give it a ſteady direction, and which furniſh ſure correctives to any violent ſpirit which may prevail in any of the orders. Theſe balances exiſted in their oldeſt conſtitution, and in the conſtitution of this country, and in the conſtitution of all the countries in Europe. Theſe they raſhly deſtroyed, and then they melted down the whole into one incongruous, ill-connected maſs.

When they had done this, they inſtantly, with the moſt atrocious perfidy and breach of all faith among men, laid the axe to the root of all property, and conſequently of all national proſperity, by the principles they eſtabliſhed, and the example they ſet, in confiſcating all the poſſeſſions of the church. They made and recorded a ſort of inſtitute and digeſt of anarchy, called the rights of man, in ſuch a pedantic abuſe of elementary principles as would have diſgraced boys at ſchool; but this declaration of rights was worſe than trifling and pedantic in them; as by their name and authority, they ſyſtematically deſtroyed every hold of authority by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. By this mad declaration, they ſubverted the ſtate, and brought on ſuch calamities as no country, without a long war, has ever been known to ſuffer, and which may in the end produce ſuch a war, and, perhaps, many ſuch. Should they even perfectly ſucceed in what they propoſe, as they were likely enough to do, and eſtabliſh a democracy, or a mob of democracies, in a country circumſtanced like France, they would eſtabliſh a very bad government—a very bad ſpecies of tyranny.

But the worſt effect of all their proceedings, he ſaid, was on their military. If the queſtion was, whether ſoldiers were to forget they were citizens, as an abſtract propoſition, he could have no difference about it; though, as it is uſual, when abſtract principles are to be applied, much was to be thought on the manner of uniting the character of citizen and ſoldier. But as applied to the events which had happened in France, where the abſtract principle was clothed with its circumſtances, he thought that his friend would agree with him, that what was done there furniſhed no matter of exultation, either in the act or the example. It was not an army embodied under the reſpectable patriot citizens of the ſtate in reſiſting tyranny. Nothing like it. It was the caſe of common ſoldiers deſerting from their officers, to join a furious, licentious populace.

He expreſſed his concern that this ſtrange thing, called a Revolution in France, ſhould be compared with the glorious event, commonly called the Revolution in England; and the conduct of the ſoldiery, on that occaſion, compared with the behaviour of ſome of the troops of France in the preſent inſtance. At that period, the prince of Orange, a prince of the blood royal in England, was called in by the flower of the Engliſh ariſtocracy to defend its ancient conſtitution, and not to level all diſtinctions. To this prince, ſo invited, the ariſtocratic leaders who commanded the troops, went over with their ſeveral corps, in bodies, to the deliverer of their country. Military obedience changed its object; but military diſcipline was not for a moment interrupted in its principle.

But as the conduct of the Engliſh armies was different, ſo was that of the whole Engliſh nation at that time. In truth, the circumſtances of our revolution (as it is called) and that of France, are juſt the reverſe of each other in almoſt every particular, and in the whole ſpirit of the tranſaction. What we did was in truth and ſubſtance, and in a conſtitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took ſolid ſecurities; we ſettled doubtful queſtions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the ſtable, fundamental parts of our conſtitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy: perhaps it might be ſhewn, that we ſtrengthened it very conſiderably. The church was not impaired. The nation kept the ſame ranks, the ſame privileges, the ſame franchiſes, the ſame rules for property. The church and the ſtate were the ſame after the revolution that they were before, but better ſecured in every part.

Accordingly the ſtate flouriſhed. Inſtead of lying as dead, in a ſort of trance, or expoſed, as ſome others, in an epileptic fit, to the pity or deriſion of the world, for her wild, ridiculous, convulſive movements, impotent to every purpoſe but that of daſhing out her brains againſt the pavement, Great Britain roſe above the ſtandard, even of her former ſelf. An æra of a more improved domeſtic proſperity then commenced, and ſtill continues, not only unimpaired, but growing, under the waſting hand of time.

This ſpeech of Mr. Burke was received with great and general applauſe. As ſoon as he ſat down, Mr. Fox roſe and ſaid, that his right honourable friend had mixed his remarks upon what he had ſaid with ſo much perſonal kindneſs towards him, that he felt himſelf under a difficulty in making any return, leſt the houſe ſhould doubt his ſincerity, and conſider what he might ſay as a mere diſcharge of a debt of compliments. He muſt, however, declare, that ſuch was his ſenſe of the judgment of his right honourable friend, and ſuch the eſtimation in which he held his friendſhip, that if he were to put all the political information which he had learnt from books, all which he had gained from ſcience, and all which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one ſcale, and the improvement, which he had derived from his right honourable friend's inſtruction and converſation, were placed in the other, he ſhould be at a loſs to decide, to which to give the preference.

With reſpect to the approbation he had expreſſed of the late conduct of the French military, and his exultation upon the revolution, which had taken place in that country, Mr. Fox ſaid, he ſhould ſtill maintain that he was not wrong in ſo doing. But he hoped that no perſon would thence infer, either that he was a friend to democracy, or approved of the exceſſes which had been committed in France. With reſpect to the former point, he declared himſelf equally the enemy of all abſolute forms of government, whether an abſolute monarchy, an abſolute ariſtocracy, or an abſolute democracy, and approved only of a mixed government, like our own. But though he ſhould never lend himſelf to ſupport any cabal or ſcheme, formed in order to introduce dangerous innovations into our excellent conſtitution; he would not, however, run the length of declaring, that he was an enemy to every ſpecies of innovation, becauſe that conſtitution, which we all revered, owed its perfection to innovation. He differed greatly from Mr. Burke in his opinion of the revolution of 1688, in which he conceived that many innovations had taken place, and he thought that caſe was certainly more parallel to the revolution in France than his right honourable friend ſeemed willing to allow. With regard to the ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty which had been acted in France, no man could have heard of them without lamenting them; but ſtill when the ſevere tyranny, under which that people had ſo long groaned, was conſidered, the exceſſes which they committed, in their endeavour to ſhake off the yoke of deſpotiſm, might, he thought, be ſpoken of with ſome degree of compaſſion; and he was perſuaded that, unſettled as their preſent ſtate appeared, it was preferable to their former condition, and that ultimately it would be for the advantage of that country.

After a ſhort explanation from Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan roſe and ſaid, that the very reaſons which Mr. Burke had given for expreſſing the ſentiments, which he had that day uttered, namely, an apprehenſion of being ſuppoſed to acquieſce in the opinions of thoſe, for whom he entertained the higheſt regard and with whom he had uniformly acted, operated alſo on his mind, and made him feel it a duty to declare, that he differed decidedly from that right honourable gentleman in almoſt every word that he had uttered reſpecting the French revolution. Mr. Sheridan added ſome warm compliments to Mr. Burke's general principles; but ſaid, that he could not conceive how it was poſſible for a perſon of ſuch principles, or for any man who valued our own conſtitution, and revered the revolution that obtained it for us, to unite with ſuch feelings an indignant and unqualified abhorrence of all the proceedings of the patriotic party in France.

He conceived, he ſaid, theirs to be as juſt a revolution as ours, proceeding upon as ſound a principle and a greater provocation, and vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the national aſſembly. He joined with Mr. Burke in abhorring the cruelties that had been committed; but what, he ſaid, was the awful leſſon that was to be gathered from the outrages of the populace? What, but an abhorrence of that accurſed ſyſtem of deſpotic government, which ſets an example of depravity to the ſlaves it rules over: and if a day of power comes to the wretched populace, is it to be wondered at, however it is to be regretted, that they act without any of thoſe feelings of juſtice or humanity,

manity, which the principles and practice of the governors had ſtripped them of?

Mr. Sheridan went into ſeveral other topics reſpecting the French revolution, and charged Mr. Burke with being an advocate for deſpotiſm, and with having ſpoken of the national aſſembly with an unwarrantable freedom of ſpeech.

After paying ſome high compliments to the marquis de la Fayette, monſieur Baily, and others of the French patriots, Mr. Sheridan concluded, with expreſſing a farther difference with Mr. Burke with reſpect to our own revolution of 1688. He had ever been accuſtomed to conſider it as the glorious æra that gave real and efficient freedom to this country, and eſtabliſhed, on a permanent baſis, thoſe ſacred principles of government, and reverence for the rights of men, which he, for one, could not value here, without wiſhing to ſee them diffuſed throughout the world.

Mr. Burke made a ſhort reply to Mr. Sheridan, after which Mr. Pitt and ſeveral other members expreſſed their concurrence with Mr. Burke in the ſentiments he had delivered, and their ſenſe of the obligation he had conferred upon his country by the part he had that day taken.

The eſtimates delivered in for the ſervice of the army and ordnance, were then voted by the houſe without alteration.

C H A P. IV.

The diſſenters encouraged, by the ſmall majority by which the motion for the repeal of the teſt and corporation act was rejected the laſt ſeſſion, to renew their application. Steps taken by them to ſupport it. Alarm of the friends of the eſtabliſhed church. Mr. Fox's ſpeech upon moving for the repeal. His general principles of toleration. His opinion of the impolicy and injuſtice of the teſt laws. Argues from the merits of the diſſenters. Urges the example of France. Cenſures the conduct of the biſhop of St. David's. Concludes with declaring his determination to ſupport the queſtion he had brought forward upon every future occaſion. Motion oppoſed by Mr. Pitt. He objects to its extent, and the principles on which it was ſupported. Is of opinion it might affect the ſecurity of the church. He conſiders the teſt acts as proper reſtraints on the prerogative of the crown. Animadverts on the attempts of the diſſenters to influence members of parliament. Thinks it would be dangerous to truſt them with power. And that teſts, the ſeverity of which could be occaſionally mitigated, were neceſſary to enable government to ward off danger in caſes of neceſſity. Mr. Burke concurs with Mr. Fox in his principles of toleration; but thinks the diſſenters, at the preſent moment, not intitled to indulgence. Charges them with factious and dangerous practices, and reads various papers in ſupport of his charge. Suggeſts the propriety of a new teſt, and of a committee to enquire into their recent conduct. Mr. Fox's motion rejected by a majority of 294 to 105. Motion by Mr. Flood for a reform in parliament. States the inadequacy of the preſent mode of repreſentation. Propoſes one hundred additional members to be choſen by reſident houſekeepers. His arguments to prove the neceſſity of a reform. Anſwers objections. The motion oppoſed by Mr. Wyndham. He aſſerts that the

the houſe of commons, as at preſent conſtituted, is adequate for all beneficial purpoſes. Anſwers the objections relative to the American war. Deprecates innovations founded upon theories. Objects to the time as dangerous. Mr. Pitt objects to the motion as ill-timed. Sir James Johnſtone's objections. Mr. Fox ſupports the motion, and anſwers the objection of its being ill-timed. Mr. Burke in reply. Other ſpeakers on both ſides the queſtion. The motion agreed to be withdrawn.

THE very ſmall majority by which Mr. Beaufoy's motion for the relief of proteſtant diſſenters had been rejected laſt year *, juſtified the perſeverance of that body in renewing their application to parliament, and could not fail of giving them ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. Another application was immediately determined upon, to be made in the preſent ſeſſions, and the interval was employed, with indefatigable induſtry, in making every poſſible exertion to fortify their cauſe, both by general appeals to the people, and by an active canvas of individual members of parliament. The circumſtance of an approaching general election was alſo thought favourable to their attempt, on account of their great weight and influence in many counties and corporations, and their avowed determination to exert them, on the enſuing occaſion, in the ſupport of ſuch candidates only, as were known, or ſhould promiſe, to be their ſupporters. At the ſame time it appears, that they wiſhed to conſolidate with their own, the intereſt of the Roman catholic diſſenters, and probably expected, that they ſhould derive ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from that quarter, by extending their application ſo as to include in it the members of that perſuaſion. Their cauſe, thus promiſing and thus ſupported, it was reſolved to entruſt, in the houſe of commons, to the zeal and talents of Mr. Fox.

On the other hand, the friends of the eſtabliſhed church, alarmed by the activity and confidence of their opponents, exhibited ſome ſymptoms of vigour in preparing for its defence. Appeals were anſwered by appeals, and in one inſtance, at leaſt, an eminent prelate of the church was found to have uſed his influence amongſt his clergy in oppoſition to a parliamentary candidate, expreſsly on account of his having voted for the repeal of the corporation and teſt acts. But what contributed moſt eſpecially to prejudice the public mind againſt the claims of the diſſenters, was the violence with which ſome of their leaders engaged in the politics of the times, their known correſpondence with France, and their open avowal, that the repeal of the offenſive act was not ſought for as their main object, but as a ſtep towards a total demolition of all church eſtabliſhments. Even ſome of the moſt moderate and moſt reſpectable of their own party, alarmed or diſguſted at the ſpirit of their proceedings, refuſed to concur in the propoſed application.

On Tueſday the ſecond of March, Mr. Fox, agreeably to the notice he had given, brought the ſubject before the houſe of commons, which was one of the fulleſt that had been for ſome time aſſembled. He began his ſpeech with obſerving, that he had not obtruded himſelf upon the occaſion, but that he came forward at the expreſs wiſh and ſolicitation of the perſons moſt intereſted in the ſucceſs of the motion he was about to make; that it was a ſubject of ſome triumph and exultation to him, to ſee thoſe men, who on former occaſions had acted with the moſt violent hoſtility towards him, deſirous, notwithſtanding, of entruſting their deareſt intereſts to him.

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* See Annual Regiſter for the year 1789, page 148.

The argument which Mr. Fox chiefly laboured to eſtabliſh was of this kind: that religious teſts were juſtifiable only upon a ſuppoſition, that men who entertained certain ſpeculative opinions, would be led by thoſe opinions to commit actions that were in themſelves immoral and hurtful to ſociety. Now it was unwarrantable, he contended, to infer *a priori*, and contrary to the profeſſions and declarations of the perſons holding ſuch opinions, that their opinions would produce acts injurious to the commonweal. To preſume to judge of other men's opinions, and to know the conſequences of them better than themſelves, was the conſtant practice, and was of the very eſſence, of perſecution. How little ſpeculative opinions were, in fact, to be conſidered as diſqualifications for being admitted into civil employments, was evident from various inſtances. Thoſe who were the moſt ſtrongly attached to the preſent conſtitution of the houſe of commons, would not contend, that the duke of Richmond ought to be diſqualified from being maſter-general of the ordnance, or Mr. Pitt from being firſt lord of the treaſury, becauſe they were of opinion that the preſent mode of repreſentation was defective and called for amendment. For the ſame reaſon, he did not ſee why the church ſhould be ſuppoſed to be in danger, though Dr. Prieſtley himſelf were at the head of it. The object of the teſt laws, at firſt, had been to exclude anti-monarchical men from civil offices; but he would ever reprobate ſuch a procedure; it was acting under falſe pretences; its tendency led to hypocriſy, and ſerved as a reſtraint upon the good and conſcientious only. Inſtead of a formal and direct oath of allegiance, there was an indirect, political teſt reſorted to, by means of a religious teſt; although the obligation of all direct political teſts had been juſtly exploded by the practice of the country. Why not have propoſed a monarchical teſt at once? It would have anſwered the end by far more effectually than the preſent teſt; for the teſt now given went only to gueſs at a man's opinion: it might admit thoſe whoſe political ſentiments might be inimical to the conſtitution, while it operated directly againſt others who were amongſt its ſtauncheſt friends. With reſpect to the church, he ridiculed the opinion, that it might be endangered by the repeal of the acts, as of all others the moſt unfounded and abſurd. The only danger that the church had to apprehend, was from the ſupine indolence of the clergy, and the ſuperior activity and zeal of the diſſenters in the diſcharge of the duties of their ſacred functions.

Mr. Fox then argued from the merits of the diſſenters, firſt hiſtorically; and then contended generally, that the political principles they were ſuppoſed to entertain were leſs inimical to the Britiſh conſtitution, than thoſe of the high churchmen.

With reſpect to French politics, he did not ſee what the preſent queſtion had to do with them. He reprobated the injuſtice of imputing to any body of men the exceptionable conduct of a few individuals amongſt them, and contended, that his motion ought to be decided upon general principles. Yet he ſaw no reaſon but the example of France ought to have its influence; the church there was now ſuffering for its former intolerance. However he might rejoice in the emancipation of near thirty millions of his fellow-creatures, and in the ſpirit which gave riſe to the revolution; yet he was free to own there were ſome acts of the new government which he could not applaud. The ſummary and indiſcriminate forfeiture of the property of the church came under this deſcription. But the violence of this proceeding might, in ſome meaſure, be attributed to former eccleſiaſtical oppreſſions; and, in particular, to the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes. Before that period, there exiſted no teſt in France; proteſtants and catholics were indiſcriminately admitted into civil and military offices: but by that raſh meaſure, liberality and toleration were thrown away; the arts and manufactures were driven into other countries, to flouriſh in a more genial ſoil, and under a milder form of government. This ſhould ſerve as a caution to the church of England; perſecution may prevail for a time, but it generally terminates in the puniſhment of its abettors.

After animadverting upon the conduct of the biſhop of St. David's, who had, about that time, ſent a circular letter to the clergy of his dioceſe, diſſuading them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, from giving their votes for a certain member of the houſe of commons, on account of his having ſupported the petition of the diſſenters, and thereby attempted to overthrow our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; Mr. Fox concluded an able, temperate, and judicious ſpeech, by declaring, that he was ſufficiently aware of the unpopularity of the cauſe he had undertaken; that he knew that ſome of the perſons, whom he moſt valued and reſpected, differed with him in opinion upon the ſubject; that he had no particular connexion with the parties, who conſidered themſelves as aggrieved, but, on the contrary, that they had been amongſt his moſt violent political enemies; but regarding their cauſe as the cauſe of truth and liberty, he ſhould give it his warmeſt ſupport both upon the preſent and on every future occaſion.

The act of the 13th of Charles II. "for the well governing and regulating corporations, &c." and the act of the 25th of Charles II. "for preventing dangers which may "ariſe from popiſh recuſants, &c." having been previouſly read at the table, Mr. Fox moved,—"That this houſe will immediately reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of ſo much of the ſaid acts as requires perſons, before they are admitted to any office, civil or military, or any place of truſt under the crown, to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper according to the rites of the church of England."

The motion was ſeconded by Sir Henry Hoghton, and oppoſed in a long and able ſpeech by Mr. Pitt. He began by expreſſing his obligations to Mr. Fox for his clear and candid ſtatement of the preciſe object of the diſſenters in their preſent application, and of the full extent to which his motion was intended to be carried. Whatever doubts he might before have entertained relative to the expediency of admitting any alteration in the acts, which had been read, he certainly could not heſitate a moment in oppoſing their direct and total abolition.

If the principle that had been laid down by Mr. Fox was admitted, that *actions* were the only teſt that ought to be reſorted to in caſes like the preſent, there would be an end of what had always been eſteemed one of the teſts of political wiſdom, the policy of *prevention*. He conſidered the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, to be ſo eſſential a part of the conſtitution, that whatever endangered it, would neceſſarily affect the ſecurity of the whole; and therefore that it ought to be guarded with the moſt watchful jealouſy. It was for this reaſon, he conceived, that the legiſlature had thought fit even to abridge one of the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, by preventing the ſovereign from employing perſons in offices of truſt, who could not give a certain pledge of their attachment to the eſtabliſhed government in church and ſtate. And he reminded the houſe, that our conſtitution owed its preſent exiſtence to the ſanction of thoſe laws; that had they not exiſted, the family of Stuart might have been at that time in poſſeſſion of the throne, and that houſe deprived of the privilege even of deliberating upon the queſtion then before them.

The conſtitution, he ſaid, by inveſting the executive power with the ſole appointment to offices of truſt, and making it ultimately reſponſible for their execution, muſt be ſuppoſed to have joined to it the power of judging of the fitneſs or unfitneſs of individuals to occupy thoſe ſtations. In the exerciſe of this diſcretionary authority, the executive power might poſſibly be induced, by peculiar circumſtances, to exclude ſome certain deſcriptions of people; and ſurely what the executive government might adopt as a meaſure of neceſſary policy, the ſupreme legiſlative power might enact upon the ſame grounds of expediency. The claim as of right to civil offices, appeared to him perfectly abſurd and ridiculous, unleſs it were agreed, that the offices in queſtion were created for the advantage of thoſe who occupied them, and not as truſts for the benefit of the public, and that they ought to be diſtributed upon the principle of public lottery, in which every man ought to have an equal chance for a prize.

Having argued the queſtion of right, Mr. Pitt proceeded to conſider that of expediency. And here he gave it as his decided opinion, that the acts in queſtion were neceſſary to the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed church. He could not, he ſaid, avoid remarking a little on the conduct of the diſſenters, who, at the moment they were reprobating a teſt, had pretty publicly indicated an intention of forming aſſociations throughout the whole country, for the purpoſe of putting the members of that houſe to a teſt, and of reſolving to judge of their fitneſs to fill their ſeats by their votes on this ſingle queſtion. They had explained themſelves ſince indeed, and declared, that they never meant to put a teſt to any one; in the explanation, however, it appeared that they had retained the ſubſtance, though they had done away the word; for in the reſolutions of their meeting, ſigned by Mr. Jefferies, it was declared, that they meant to give their ſupport to ſuch members as proved themſelves to be friends to religious and civil liberty, the true meaning of which general terms muſt ſtrike every man. It was evident, that the diſſenters would not conſider any one a friend to religious and civil liberty, who did not vote for the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts. In his opinion, therefore, they came with an ill grace to ſolicit the repeal of a teſt, when at the ſame moment they threatened the houſe with one.

He need not, he ſaid, trouble the houſe to prove, that the diſſenters would exerciſe power, if put in poſſeſſion of it, ſince the poſſeſſion of power always produced the inclination to exerciſe it; and, without meaning to throw any ſtigma on the diſſenters, he could not heſitate a moment in ſuppoſing it probable, that they might feel inclined to exerciſe their power to the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed church; it would be ſo far from reprehenſible in them, that, poſſeſſing the principles they profeſs, and acting conſcientiouſly upon thoſe principles, it would become their duty, as honeſt men, to make the endeavour; for thoſe who conſidered the eſtabliſhed church to be ſinful and bordering on idolatry, would not act conſcientiouſly nor conſiſtently, unleſs they exerciſed all the legal means in their power to do away that idolatry.

The teſt laws had been declared inefficacious and nugatory, as the legiſlature had been obliged every ſeſſion to paſs an act of indemnity. If the fact was ſo, the complaint of oppreſſion muſt ceaſe; for, from the right honourable gentleman's own argument it was obvious, that the laws were not inforced. Although the temperate forbearance of government from the execution of the laws was truly laudable, when the danger was neither imminent nor alarming to the church, whoſe permanent ſafety was their object; yet, to repeal the laws in queſtion, becauſe their execution was not always neceſſary, would be impolitic in the extreme; as the legiſlature, if it once ſuffered the remedy againſt ſuch danger to be taken out of the hands of the executive government, might not be able to place it there again when the exigence of the times might render it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the church.

Mr. Burke concurred with Mr. Fox upon the general ground of many of his arguments reſpecting toleration, and declared, that had the repeal been moved for ten years ago, he ſhould probably have joined him in ſupporting it; but he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe, that many of the perſons now calling themſelves *diſſenters*, and who ſtood the moſt forward in the preſent application for relief, were men of factious and dangerous principles, actuated by no motives of religion or conſcience, to which toleration could in any rational ſenſe be applied. This led him to remark upon the danger and abſurdity, of recurring to abſtract original rights in determining civil regulations, upon their incompatibility with each other, and upon the advantages which men derived in exchange for the rights of nature from the eſtabliſhments of civil ſociety, and of its neceſſary concomitant, religion.

Mr. Burke alſo agreed with Mr. Fox, that men were not to be judged merely by their ſpeculative opinions, but by their opinions and conduct taken together. It was by theſe that he ſhould judge how far the petitioners were entitled to the indulgence they requeſted; by their acts, their declarations, and their avowed intentions.

Mr. Burke then produced and read to the houſe, ſeveral authentic documents to ſubſtantiate the allegations he had before made:—

Amongſt theſe was a catechiſm circulated amongſt the diſſenters, expreſsly adopted by ſome and publicly condemned by none, which, inſtead of teaching the principles of revealed religion, was full of the moſt audacious libels upon the national eſtabliſhments and continued invectives upon kings and biſhops. Another was a letter written by Mr. Fletcher, a diſſenter, from a meeting of diſſenting miniſters, holden at Bolton, in Lancaſhire. Mr. Fletcher ſtated in his letter, that the meeting avowed ſuch violent principles, that he would not ſtay, but came away with ſome other moderate men. It aſſerted, that one member, on being aſked what was their object, and whether they meant to ſeek for any thing more than the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts, anſwered, in the language of our Saviour, "We know "thoſe things, which ye are not yet "able to bear." And on another member's ſaying, "Give them a "little light into what we intend," they informed him, that they did not care the nip of a ſtraw for the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts, but that they deſigned to try for the abolition of the tythes and liturgy. In addition to theſe documents, he read ſeveral well-known extracts from the writings of Doctor Prieſtley and Doctor Price, expreſſive of their hoſtility to all eſtabliſhments, their perſuaſion that thoſe of religion were ſinful and idolatrous, and their determination to proceed ſtep by ſtep till they were demoliſhed.

Mr. Burke concluded his ſpeech by declaring it to be his opinion, on account of the many alarming and ſuſpicious circumſtances, under which the preſent application came to parliament, that if the teſt and corporation acts were repealed, ſome other teſt ought to be ſubſtituted. He ſaid he had a draft of another teſt in his pocket, and he had formed an idea of moving the previous queſtion, with a view afterwards to move for a committee to examine into the recent conduct of the diſſenters. He did not wiſh the houſe to rely on his facts before he had eſtabliſhed them by proof, of which he knew them to be capable. If, however, they ſhould, upon inveſtigation, not appear to be founded, he would hold himſelf bound to vote for the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts. If they ſhould think the beſt way of laying the queſtion at reſt, would be by coming to a vote upon the motion, he would ſubmit.

Mr. Fox made a long reply, in which he particularly urged the injuſtice of deciding a general queſtion of right upon the conduct of a few individuals: after which the houſe divided, for the motion 105, againſt it 294.

The next queſtion of importance which engaged the conſideration of the houſe of commons, was a motion made by Mr. Flood, on the 4th of March, for leave to bring in a bill to amend the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

The grounds upon which Mr. Flood proceeded were theſe: That as, by the general law of the conſtitution, the majority is to decide for the whole, the repreſentative muſt be choſen by a body of conſtituents, whereof the elective franchiſe may extend to the majority of the people. For, if the conſtituent body conſiſted of but one thouſand for the whole nation, the repreſentatives choſen by that thouſand could not, in any rational ſenſe, be the actual repreſentative of the people.—That nothing leſs than a conſtituent body, dy, formed on a principle that extends to the majority, can be conſtitutionally adequate to the return of an actual repreſentative of the people; and that unleſs the people be actually repreſented, they are not conſtitutionally repreſented at all. He admitted that property, to a certain degree, is a neceſſary ingredient to the elective power; that is to ſay, that franchiſe ought not to go beyond property; but at the ſame time it ought to be as nearly commenſurate to it as poſſible. Property, by the original principle of the conſtitution, was the ſource of all power, both elective and legiſlative: the *liberi tenentes*, including at that time, in effect, the whole property of the country, and extending to the maſs of the people, were the elective body. The perſons whom they choſe to repreſent them in parliament, ſat in right of the property of their electors; and the barons ſat in right of their own baronies; that is to ſay, of their own property. At that time the latter were not creatures of royal patent as now. But now that the lords are creatures of royal patent merely, and that freehold property is but a part of the property of the nation, the national property is not as fully repreſented as it was originally, and as it ought to be ſtill by the conſtitution.—That the conſtituent body is alſo defective in point of number, as well as in point of property; the whole number of electors being infinitely ſhort of what it ought to be, and, what is worſe, the majority of the repreſentatives who decide for the whole, choſen by a number of electors not exceeding ſix or eight thouſand; though theſe repreſentatives are to act for eight millions of people.—That a new body of conſtituents is therefore wanting; and in their appointment two things are to be conſidered; one, that they ſhould be numerous enough, becauſe numbers are neceſſary to the ſpirit of liberty; the other, that they ſhould have a competent degree of property, becauſe that is conducive to the ſpirit of order.

To ſupply this deficiency, both in the repreſentative and conſtituent body, Mr. Flood propoſed, that one hundred members ſhould be added, and that they ſhould be elected by the reſident houſeholders in every county—reſident: firſt, becauſe they muſt be beſt acquainted with every local circumſtance; and next, becauſe they can attend at every place of election, with the leaſt inconvenience and expence to themſelves, or to the candidate:—Houſeholders, becauſe being maſters of families, they muſt be ſufficiently reſponſible to be entitled to franchiſe. There is no country in the world, he ſaid, in which the houſeholders of it are conſidered as the rabble—no country can be ſaid to be free, where they are not allowed to be efficient citizens; they are, excluſive of the rabble, the great maſs of the people; they are the natural guards of popular liberty in the firſt ſtages of it—without them it cannot be retained; as long as they have this conſtitutional influence, and till they become generally corrupt, popular liberty cannot be taken away.

In order to evince the neceſſity of the reform propoſed, Mr. Flood uſed the following argument: The conſtitution, he ſaid, conſiſts of three orders, one monarchical, one ariſtocratic, and one popular; the balance conſiſts in maintaining the equipoiſe between them. This balance was loſt in the firſt part of the Norman æra; it was recovered in ſome degree afterwards; it was impaired again in the period of the Tudors and Stuarts; at the revolution it is ſuppoſed to have been again recovered. Let us ſee whether it has not been impaired ſince. The lords have been the moſt ſtationary part; yet, by a great increaſe of their numbers of late, the upper houſe has obtained a great many patrimonial and private boroughs; thereby obtaining an influence over the houſe of commons, which does not conſtitutionally belong to them. But the great alteration has happened on the part of the crown. On this point he quoted the authority of Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone and Mr. Hume; and, laſtly, the memorable revolution of the houſe of commons,—“ that the influence of “ the crown had increaſed, was “ increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed.” Does any man, he ſaid, doubt this authority? Were not they who voted it witneſſes of the fact, as well as judges of the propoſition? But it does not reſt on their authority; an act of the whole legiſlature has ſince confirmed their words—they have been made ſtatute by the act of reform that paſſed afterwards. But what has happened ſince? An Eaſt India bill has paſſed, and a declaratory law. And what is the conſequence? No man who has any modeſty, or who ever expects to be credited, will deny, that by thoſe laws more influence has been conveyed to the crown, or the miniſter, than was ſubtracted by that act of reform. After anſwering the objections that might be made to his motion as ill-timed, innovating on the conſtitution, and tending to excite diſcontents among the people, Mr. Flood concluded to the following effect:

Monteſquieu has ſaid, that a free people will pay more taxes with greater alacrity, than a people that are not free; and he adds the reaſon, becauſe they have a compenſation in the rights they enjoy. The people of England pay fifteen millions and a half annually to the revenue. This purchaſe they pay for the conſtitution. Shall they not have the benefit of it? Every individual pays fifty ſhillings a year.—How many enjoyments muſt every inferior individual relinquiſh, and how much labour muſt he undergo, to enable him to make this contribution? No people ever deſerved better of government than the people of this country, at this moment; they have not only ſubmitted with alacrity to this enormous maſs of taxation, but when the health or the rights of their ſovereign were at ſtake, they gathered around the throne with unexampled zeal: Can ſuch a people be denied their privileges? Can their privileges be a ſubject of indifference or remiſſneſs to this houſe? I cannot believe it; and therefore I move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Grigby, and oppoſed by Mr. Wyndham, who obſerved, that, in his opinion, before the houſe could receive the motion, the right honourable gentleman ought firſt to make out ſome ſpecific grievance, ariſing out of the preſent mode of repreſentation, and then propoſe his remedy; and when the houſe were put in poſſeſſion of both, it would be for them to judge how far the firſt was aſcertained and the ſecond proportionate, and to decide whether the remedy ought to be adopted or not. Mr. Flood had ſaid, that the repreſentation was inadequate, without producing any fact in proof of the allegation, except an arithmetical calculation, which only proved it to be, what needed no proof, unequal. The right honourable gentleman ſeemed to have confounded the end with the means. Experience had convinced them, that the repreſentation was not inadequate, but that the houſe of commons, conſtituted as it was, anſwered all the beneficial purpoſes that could poſſibly be deſired. This was a caſe in which we might loſe every thing and could gain nothing. The liberty of the country ſtood in need of no ſpeculative ſecurity, it could not be better ſecured than it was.

Mr. Flood having adduced the ſupport given in parliament to the American war, contrary to the ſenſe of the people, as a proof of the neceſſity of a reform, Mr. Wyndham denied, that the continuance of the American war had been owing to the inadequacy of repreſentation; on the contrary, he ſaid, it was the war of the people: a better proof of which need not be deſired, than what had happened to the member for Briſtol, a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Burke), who had been turned out for oppoſing its continuance. Towards the cloſe of that war, which had been undertaken with no better reaſons, he was afraid, than the hope of ſaving themſelves by taxing America, a clamour indeed was raiſed on account of the expence and ill ſucceſs attending it, and the cry was for a reform of repreſentation in parliament, as a remedy for the evils, which the people had at leaſt their ſhare in bringing upon themſelves. He had hoped, that the wild notions which were generated during that war, had happily ſubſided, never to riſe again: and he was ſorry to find, that, like locuſts, they had only lain torpid, and had been brought to life again by the heat and fermentation which prevailed in the affairs of the continent. He was ſorry to hear them again buzzing abroad, and thought it portended no good to the verdure and beauty of the Britiſh conſtitution.

But if he had approved ever ſo much of the right honourable gentleman's propoſition for a parliamentary reform, he ſhould object to it on account of the time at which he had thought proper to introduce it. What, he ſaid, would he adviſe them to repair their houſe in the hurricane ſeaſon? Speculatiſts and viſionaries enough were at work in a neighbouring country; there was project againſt project, and theory againſt theory, *frontibus adverſis pugnantia*; he intreated the houſe to wait a little for the event, and in the mean time to guard with all poſſible care againſt catching from them the infection.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Wyndham, and ſaid, that after the extraordinary diſplay of ingenuity and wiſdom which the houſe had juſt heard, little remained to be ſaid upon the merits of the motion. What he ſhould ſay, therefore, would relate to the queſtion, ſo far as he might be thought perſonally concerned in it. He had brought forward, ſome years back, a propoſition of the ſame nature; to which the oppoſition had been ſucceſsful, though the times, and a variety of other circumſtances, were then more favourable than at preſent. The chief objection, then, was, the danger of innovation; and it was a knowledge of the impreſſion that argument had made, which rendered him deſirous of waiting till ſome more favourable moment than the preſent ſhould offer itſelf, when he moſt certainly ſhould again ſubmit his ideas upon the ſubject to the houſe; at preſent, unleſs the right honourable gentleman would conſent to withdraw his motion, he ſhould move to adjourn. Mr. Pitt declared, that if he were forced to come to a ſpecific vote upon the right honourable gentleman's plan for amending the conſtitution, he ſhould be againſt it; and even if it were his own propoſition, he ſhould act in the ſame manner, feeling that the cauſe of reform might ſuffer diſgrace and loſe ground from being brought forward at an improper moment.

Sir James Johnſtone contended, that if the propoſitions of the right honourable gentleman were complied with, the act of union would be violated, and in that caſe the two countries muſt be placed in the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood before the union, and then the difficulty would be to bring them together again. By the union England was to have 313 members in that houſe, and Scotland 45. If the act of union were diſſolved, probably that houſe would think eight members from Scotland enow, but the Scotch parliament might inſiſt upon having 200 at leaſt. The parliament had done extremely well for ſome years paſt; he hoped, therefore, that the right honourable gentleman would ſuffer them to try the experiment for another century, and then, if it did not anſwer, he would be glad to ſecond his motion.

Mr. Fox argued in favour of the motion; but, at the ſame time, candidly ſaid, that he believed the opinion he ſupported was not that of the majority either within or without the doors of parliament. He differed from Mr. Wyndham on the point of the American war, and was of opinion, that had the houſe of commons been differently conſtituted at that time, it would have put an end to that war much earlier. Sure alſo he was, that what had happened in 1784, would never, in that caſe, have taken place. He differed totally from Mr. Wyndham in the ſentiments he had expreſſed relative to France. That gentleman had aſked, would any man repair his houſe in the hurricane? Mr. Fox ſaid, he would be glad to know what ſeaſon was more proper to ſet about a repair in, than when an hurricane was near, and might poſſibly burſt forth? He concluded with declaring, that he thought the reform propoſed by Mr. Flood the beſt of all he had yet heard ſuggeſted.

Mr. Burke combated the various arguments that had been urged in favour of the motion. He particularly contended, that the people did not wiſh for any reform, and that ſuch attempts did not originate with, or were countenanced by them. He contended, that the American war was a war of the people, and that it was put an end to by the virtue of the houſe of commons, with ſcarce any interference of the people, and almoſt without their conſent.

Mr. Powis, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Secretary Grenville, ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and Mr. Courtney, Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Mr. Martin, Mr. Duncombe, and others, for the motion. At length Mr. Flood agreed that it ſhould be withdrawn.

CHAP. V.

Motion by Mr. Montagu for increaſing the ſalary of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. He ſtates his preſent emoluments, argues upon their inſufficiency, and propoſes that they ſhould be advanced to £. 5,000 per annum. Motion oppoſed by Mr. Huſſey, as tending to encreaſe the influence of the crown. Supported by Mr. Marſham and other gentlemen. Amendment propoſed in the committee that the ſalary ſhould be £. 6000 per annum, and carried by a large majority. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas. Comparative ſtatement of the revenues and charges in India. Flouriſhing ſtate of the company's affairs in general. Doubts expreſſed by Mr. Huſſey. Speech of Mr. Francis upon the affairs of India. Proofs of the company's diſtreſs. Obſervations on the duty on ſalt. Remarks on the letter of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Devaynes in reply to Mr. Francis. Mr. Dundas aſſerts the falſhood of Mr. Francis's ſtatement. Reſolutions paſſed by the committee. Sir J. R. Miller's account of the proceedings of the committee on weights and meaſures, to be inſerted entire in the article of uſeful projects. Petitions preſented for the repeal of the tobacco exciſe act. Motion upon that ſubject by Mr. Sheridan, aſſerts that the act had endangered the foreign trade, encouraged ſmuggling, and laid the manufacturer under inſuperable hardſhips. Mr. Pitt in reply. Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox, for the motion. Rejected by a majority of 191 *to* 147. *Bill paſſed to explain and amend the tobacco act. Clauſe to grant trial by juries rejected. Budget for the year* 1790. *Flouriſhing ſtate of the finances and growing proſperity of the country. Remarks on the budget by Mr. Sheridan. Meſſage from the king to both houſes of parliament relative to the diſputes with Spain. Addreſſes voted unanimouſly. Motions for papers and debates thereon. Vote of credit for a million. Committee on American claims. Caſe of Mr. Penn. Compenſation voted for the loſſes of his family. Penſion granted to Dr. Willis. Amendment of the tontine act. Account of proceedings relative to the ſlave trade. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Haſtings. Speech from the throne. Parliament prorogued. Summary of the proceedings of the Iriſh parliament.*

ON the 10th of March, the right honourable Frederick Montagu roſe and requeſted the attention of the houſe to a ſubject in which he conceived their honour and dignity, and the dignity and intereſt of all the people of Great Britain to be eſſentially concerned;—he meant, the due ſupport of the office of the ſpeaker of that houſe. He then ſtated, that the emoluments hitherto enjoyed by a ſpeaker of the houſe of commons were exceedingly inadequate to the maintenance of the dignity of ſuch a ſtation, and contended that this great officer ought to be enabled to appear and live, wherever he was, and at all times, not only while he was in town, and pending the continuance of the ſeſſion of parliament, but in the country, or wherever he might chuſe to go, during the receſs, with the ſplendor and importance becoming, what he undoubtedly was, the firſt commoner in the kingdom. Upon an inquiry into the amount and nature of the profits of his place, he had been given to underſtand, that the ſpeaker's fees, *communibus annis*, might be computed, on an average of ten years, at the ſum of 1,232*l.* and on an average of twelve years, at the ſum of 1,266*l.* and that the allowance to the ſpeaker from the exchequer was about 1,680*l.*, ſo that putting the two ſums together, the emoluments of the ſpeaker did not amount to 3000*l.**, a ſum by no means adequate to the dignity of the office, which he and every member of that houſe muſt wiſh to ſee properly ſuſtained. It was on this account that the predeceſſors of the preſent ſpeaker had generally holden places under the crown. Sir Spencer Compton had filled the office of pay-maſter of the army; and Mr. Onſlow, a name never to be mentioned in that houſe but with reverence, had been treaſurer of the navy. He did not like that the ſpeaker of that houſe ſhould be under the neceſſity of looking for the favours of the crown, and, therefore, he wiſhed the houſe itſelf to make an adequate proviſion for him. He related the following anecdote in confirmation of his argument. When Mr. Onſlow was ſpeaker, and held the office of treaſurer of the navy, upon a warm diſcuſſion of a certain political point, the queſtion came to be decided by the caſting vote of the ſpeaker, which Mr. Onſlow gave in oppoſition to the court. This conduct was reſented by the court party, and the place which he held was thrown in his teeth. Mr. Onſlow, being a high-ſpirited man, the very next day reſigned his place; and though he held the office of ſpeaker for eighteen years afterwards, to the diſgrace of the houſe, he received no more than the uſual income, of the amount of which the houſe was now apprized. The conſequence was, that when he reſigned, Mr. Onſlow muſt have retired in a very uncomfortable ſtate, indeed, had not the houſe, aware of the circumſtance, and feeling its own credit or diſgrace involved in its conduct on the occaſion, voted Mr. Onſlow a penſion of 3000*l.* a year.

With regard to fees ariſing out of the buſineſs of the houſe, he thought they ſhould be left exactly as they were, as a check upon frivolous applications. If the fees were aboliſhed, the houſe would be overwhelmed with ſuch a deluge of private buſineſs, that it would be impoſſible to get through the whole of it. With reſpect to the other part of the ſpeaker's emoluments, he ſhould propoſe that ſo much might be added out of the ſinking fund as to make up the whole 5,000*l.* a year at leaſt. Such an addition might be conſidered as the price paid for the purchaſe of the ſpeaker's independence; and the public (he conceived) would chearfully pay for a purchaſe, in which they had ſo great an intereſt.

Having explained what he meant to ſuggeſt, when the houſe ſhould be in a committee, Mr. Montagu begged leave to addreſs himſelf perſonally to the chair, and to aſſure the ſpeaker, that he had heard his manly addreſs at the commencement of the ſeſſion with great pleaſure, and that he had witneſſed, with infinite ſatisfaction, ſince he had held his high office, his great politeneſs and affability, his ſtrict impartiality, his great attention to buſineſs both public and private, and, above all, his care and attention to the forms of the houſe, and forms, he muſt be allowed to ſay, were the very eſſence of a popular aſſembly like the houſe of commons. Mr. Montagu, in concluſion, moved,

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* Mr. Montagu afterwards ſtated to the committee, that, beſides theſe emoluments, the ſpeaker was preſented at the commencement of a new parliament with 1000*l.* for equipment money, 2000 ounces of plate, 100*l.* for ſtationary, and two hogſheads of claret annually.

"That this houſe will, on Monday next, reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of an allowance to be made to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons for the time being, more adequate to the dignity of the ſaid office, and to the expence neceſſarily attending the ſame."

The motion being ſeconded by the honourable Mr. Marſham, and the Chancellor of the exchequer having ſignified his majeſty's conſent, Mr. Huſſey roſe to expreſs his diſapprobation of the meaſure, as tending to increaſe the influence of the crown, by annexing ſo large a ſalary to an office undeniably in the diſpoſal of its miniſters. He was of opinion that it would add nothing to the independence of their ſpeaker. Thoſe who had formerly held offices under the crown had not been complained of; and he had no doubt but that the worthy gentleman who now filled, and thoſe who ſhould be called to the chair, would be equally independent with or without a place.

The arguments of Mr. Huſſey appear to have made no impreſſion upon the houſe, and the motion was carried without any other diſſentient voice. In the committee which ſat on the 15th, Mr. Montagu moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that for more effectually ſupporting the dignity of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons of Great Britain, the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury be directed to iſſue from the exchequer ſuch ſum as, together with the ſalary of the ſaid office of 5 *l.* per day, and the fees thereof upon private bills, will make the whole 5000 *l.*

A motion being made by Sir James Johnſtone, that inſtead of 5000 *l.* ſhould be inſerted 6000 *l.* the ſame was carried by a majority of 154 to 28.

On the 31ſt of March Mr. Dundas opened the India budget. He began with the ſtate of Bengal, the revenues of which, he ſaid, exceed the charges by a ſum of 2,136,711 *l.* This exceſs of revenue was 178,000 *l.* above the eſtimate of the laſt year, and he accounted for the increaſe from a better collection of the land revenues, and an increaſe on that of ſalt. This great increaſe of revenue he conſidered to be a ſtrong proof of the proſperity of the country, which was ſo rapidly increaſing, that he doubted not but in a very few years, the company would be enabled to pay off the whole of their arrears; and that the Britiſh poſſeſſions of India would be more flouriſhing in wealth, in commerce, manufactures, and in every enjoyment, than any other part of the whole continent of Hindoſtan.

He then took a review of the finances of Madras, the eſtabliſhment of which, he ſaid, exceeded the income; but he was of opinion, that meaſures might be taken to bring the expenditure within the revenue. Of Bombay, he ſaid, he had not received later accounts than thoſe, on which he had grounded the reſolution of laſt year, Of Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's Iſland, he ſaid, he had laſt year eſtimated the expence too low by 5000*l.*; as he now found by accounts received ſince that time, that inſtead of 60,000*l.* he ought to have eſtimated them at 65,000*l.* Upon the whole ſtatement, however, there was a very conſiderable exceſs. He laſt year eſtimated the ſurplus at 1,516,119*l.* but the accounts for 1788-9, prove a conſiderable increaſe of clear revenue.

The whole of the revenues and charges, with their totals, from the accounts of 1788-9; ſtood as follows:

The Revenues of	£.		
Bengal	5,619,994		
Madras	1,212,229		
Bombay	138,228		
		6,971,451	Total Revenue.
The Charges of	£.		
Bengal	3,183,250		
Madras	1,302,037		
Bombay	568,710		
		5,053,997	Total of Charges.
Leaving a clear ſurplus of		1,917,454	

From which was to be deducted, for Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's Iſland, 65,000*l.* which would leave a nett revenue of 1,852,454*l.* and gave an exceeding over the laſt eſtimate of 336,335*l.*

To the before mentioned nett revenue of 1,852,454*l.* was to be added for exports, 230,361*l.* which would make a ſum of 2,147,815*l.* applicable to the diſcharge of debts, and purchaſe of inveſtments.

The debts of the company for the laſt year, were 7,604,754*l.* thoſe of the preſent year, 6,501,385*l.* giving a decreaſe of 1,103,369*l.*

He flattered himſelf that by the ſtatement he had juſt made, the committee would be enabled to judge accurately and ſatisfactorily of the revenues of India, which were in a moſt-flouriſhing ſtate, and had been gradually improving for ſome years. He conſidered the increaſe on the land revenue to be permanent; he would not, however, ſay the ſame of that on ſalt, nor did he wiſh an increaſe of revenue from that article, if it was occaſioned, as he believed it was, from a riſe of price on the conſumer, which, he ſaid, muſt be an oppreſſion on the natives, to whom ſalt was an abſolute neceſſary of life, and to whoſe eaſe he ſhould conſider a decreaſe in the revenue on that article a very good ſacrifice. He gave it as his opinion, that our eſtabliſhments might be conſiderably lowered, and the ſurpluſſes thereby increaſed. This country, he ſaid, was likely, from a variety of circumſtances, long to enjoy an undiſturbed peace at home and abroad. When her ſituation was compared with that of other European nations; and when our connection with Holland, a power of great conſequence in India, was alſo remembered, he hoped he ſhould not be conſidered as too ſanguine in the opinion he entertained, that England had no danger to apprehend from any European rival in India; and he was confident that we ſhould have nothing there to fear from the combination of any Indian powers, ſo long as we continued to preſerve our preſent good faith toward them, and trod in the path we were now in, that of moderation. It was well known, he obſerved, that there was a prince, who, inheriting all the ambitious and turbulent views of his father, poſſeſſed the ſame rancorous ſpirit againſt the Engliſh, whom he ever had, and moſt likely ever would endeavour to extirpate from India. That prince had, however, loſt no inconſiderable portion of the conſequence he formerly was poſſeſſed of; and his opinion was, that our eſtabliſhments had for ſome time been more than ſufficient to repel any attack he could make. Other circumſtances had recently occurred, which ſtill rendered us more formidable, and our eſtabliſhments ſtill more competent to bear a reduction, without endangering the public ſafety. The circumſtances he alluded to were, the ſtate of the French ſettlement at Pondicherry, and a requiſition which had been made from the king of the Travancore country (one of the oldeſt and beſt allies of the Engliſh in India) for a conſiderable body of our troops to be taken into his pay, for the purpoſe of covering the frontier of his territory to the weſtward, which requiſition would be complied with, and orders ſent out for the purpoſe in the courſe of the preſent year. By this arrangement our military eſtabliſhment at Tellichery, would in a great meaſure be ſuperſeded; and thoſe of Madras and Bombay might ſafely be diminiſhed. He concluded by ſtating, as an additional proof of the proſperity of the affairs of the company in India, that the diſcount on their bonds at Bengal, which were at eight *per cent.* on the commencement of the government of Lord Cornwallis, had fallen to the inconſiderable diſcount of leſs than one and a half.

Mr. Huſſey was of opinion, that to judge fairly of the Company's ſituation, their affairs at home and abroad ought to be conſidered together; he could not conſider their affairs at home to be in a proſperous way, while they were continually borrowing; and had borrowed from the year 1781, no leſs a ſum than 5,800,000l.

Mr. Francis made a long reply to Mr. Dundas. He inſiſted that the true, the proper, and the only intelligible proof of the propoſitions in queſtion, would have been to have produced a ſhort and ſimple account of debts paid off, of an inveſtment purchaſed with a ſurplus of revenue, of nett profit upon that inveſtment, and of a thriving, happy, induſtrious people in the Indian provinces under our dominion. What ſignified all the right honourable gentleman's arithmetic, when the notorious facts were, that we had no return from India, but a return or transfer of debts, which the Company could not pay, and which ſooner or later muſt fall upon the ſhoulders of England; when the Company, inſtead of diſcharging their bonds, and clearing themſelves from the burthen of their debts at home, were every year coming to parliament for aſſiſtance, for leave to borrow more and more money, for an authority to increaſe their capital, or for the direct power of the legiſlature to protect them againſt their creditors, either by authoriſing them not to accept, or not to pay the bills they had accepted;

and, finally, when the letters from Lord Cornwallis, now lying on the table, deſcribed Bengal as a declinning and almoſt ruined country.

As a proof of the diſtreſs of the company's affairs at home, and the poverty of their treaſury, he ſtated that they were then taking up ſilver, tin, and copper upon credit, which formerly they uſed to pay for with ready money. The diſcount upon their Bengal bonds he alſo conſidered as another ſymptom of diſtreſs.

With regard to Bengal, Mr. Dundas had ſaid, that the *jumma's* being collected entire was a proof of the proſperity of a country, and that therefore Bengal was moſt proſperous. Neither the premiſes nor the inference were founded on fact, ſince an oppreſſive government might get their revenue entire, and the country be nevertheleſs rapidly going to ruin.

Mr. Francis proceeded to take notice of what Mr. Dundas had ſaid reſpecting the revenue ariſing from ſalt. He had truly ſtated ſalt to be a neceſſary of life in Bengal more than in any other country. It actually was ſo; and nature ſeemed to have conſidered the circumſtance, as it hath made ſalt one of the cheapeſt manufactures of the country. They could get it there for next to nothing, if an oppreſſive revenue were not derived from it. The late Lord Clive, who was accuſed of having eſtabliſhed a monopoly of ſalt, had expreſsly provided, "That the price "of ſalt, ſold by the Society of "Trade, ſhould never exceed 200 "rupees per 100 maunds;" and Mr. Bolts, who ſtretched every thing to the utmoſt that could be brought to bear againſt the government of Lord Clive, ſtated 500 rupees per 100 maunds, as the higheſt price to the conſumer.

The ſelling price of the company at Calcutta, appeared to have been in Auguſt, 1789, about 300 Sicca rupees per 100 maunds. At one period within theſe two years, the price, at the company's ſale, had got up to the enormous amount of 700 Sicca rupees; upon which there was alſo to be a proportionate increaſe for profit and charges on the retail.

But ſuppoſing the final retail price of ſalt, in the provinces, to be 700 Sicca rupees per 100 maunds, it would then coſt the conſumer two-pence three-farthings per pound Engliſh. Every individual native would, as long as it is poſſible for him to get it, conſume half a chittac, or one ounce per day; conſequently a family of five perſons, living on the labour of one man, muſt ſpend 5-16ths of two-pence three-farthings in ſalt, or about three-farthings a day. The medium price of labour throughout Bengal, is one anna and half per day, or three pence halfpenny Engliſh. Conſequently, when he has paid for the ſalt, without which his vegetable food would be poiſon to him, he has juſt ſeven farthings a day left to provide himſelf, a wife, and three children, with every other neceſſary of life, and to pay ſome rent for a mud-houſe; not to mention any allowance for ſalt for his cow, if he has one; for without ſalt the cattle in that country cannot exiſt for any uſeful purpoſe.

Mr. Francis concluded with ſome obſervations upon the letter of Lord Cornwallis, dated 2d Auguſt 1789. The firſt paſſage he remarked upon was the following—"The "ſecurity of property, however, and "the certainty which each indivi-

"dual *will now feel* of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own "labours, muſt operate uniformly "as incitements to exertion and in"duſtry."—This, Mr. Francis ſaid, was a pretty plain confeſſion of the miſery and oppreſſion the inhabitants had long ſuffered.

The letter proceeded thus: "I "have purpoſely, in theſe ſettle"ments, propoſed to withdraw the "*gunges* from the zemindars, and "to place them in the hands of "government, in order that it may "at all times have an unreſtrained "power to raiſe or lower the in"ternal taxes or duties on par"ticular articles of produce of ma"nufactures, as may be found moſt "ſuitable to the general intereſts "of commerce; but, above all, "as the land revenue, when the "jumma is once fixed, cannot en"creaſe, that the company may, "through the medium of duties "upon an encreaſed conſumption "of the neceſſaries and luxuries of "life, participate in the wealth and "advantages, which, I truſt, will be "the conſequences of a permanent "revenue ſettlement to the inhabi"tants of this country." Upon this he remarked, that Lord Cornwallis gave the people of the country a *quietus* in an eſſential point, viz. in a permanent revenue ſettlement, or fixed land-tax, and at the ſame time adviſed the company to tax the neceſſaries and luxuries of life. Would he have them encreaſe the tax on ſalt? and as to luxuries, what were the luxuries of life to a Hindoo? Did they expect to get any thing by a duty on betel-nut and tobacco? Or would they tax oil and ghee?

In the next ſection of the letter, Lord Cornwallis aſſures the directors, "that it will be of the utmoſt importance, that the principal landholders and traders in the interior parts of the country ſhould be reſtored to ſuch circumſtances as to enable them to ſupport their families with decency." Had the right honourable gentleman been year after year boaſting of the proſperity of the province of Bengal, (aſked Mr. Francis) and was it only in the year 1790, that it was recommended that the principal land-holders and traders in the provinces ſhould be reſtored to the power of ſupporting their families with decency? This was a freſh proof of the miſerable and ruinous ſtate of Bengal. The next paragraph confeſſed, that agriculture and internal commerce had for many years been gradually declining, and that at preſent, excepting the claſs of Shroffs and Banyans, the inhabitants of theſe provinces were advancing haſtily to a general ſtate of poverty and wretchedneſs; and Lord Cornwallis ſaid, "in that deſcription he muſt alſo include almoſt every zemindar in the company's territories." Theſe facts, Mr. Francis ſaid, he told them long ago, and therefore he concurred with Lord Cornwallis, when he ſaid, in the ſame paragraph, "that theſe miſerable effects were owing to the bad management of the late government."

Mr. Francis next mentioned the paragraph relative to opium; "he (Lord Cornwallis) doubted not but the relief given to the Ryots, may occaſion ſome increaſe of price on the offers that will be made by the candidates for the contract; but he was perſuaded, that the loſs would be more than compenſated to the company, by the encouragement that would be given to the Ryots to extend the cultivation of the poppy." Thus, ſaid Mr. Francis, Lord Cornwallis dares not tell the company of a loſs without always offering a compenſation. Mr. Francis reprobated the extenſion of the cultivation of opium: poppies, he ſaid, were the moſt noxious weeds that grew; had it been an extenſion of the cultivation of grain, he ſhould have thought the ſuggeſtion a laudable one.

In anſwer to Mr. Francis, Mr. Devaynes, the chairman of the company, declared, that the company were in no need whatever of credit; it was not true that they were ſending out their ſilver and other exports upon credit; they had already paid for their uſual quantity of ſilver, and were ready to pay to-morrow for the quantity now in treaty, if a fair price was agreed upon.

Mr. Dundas declared his aſtoniſhment, that any man could ſo wilfully have attempted to pervert every line he had quoted of the letters from Lord Cornwallis; and by ſelecting paſſages partially, and detaching them from the context, pervert their ſenſe, miſapply their reference, and deſtroy their meaning. He hoped gentlemen would carefully peruſe thoſe letters in their cloſets, and he was confident that every candid man would be convinced, that the honourable gentleman's aſſertions were unfounded.

The facts ſtated by Mr. Dundas were then moved in the form of reſolutions, and agreed to by the committee.

On the 15th of April, Sir John Riggs Miller informed the houſe of the proceedings of the committee appointed to take into conſideration the ſubject of *weights and meaſures*. His ſpeech, upon this occaſion, contained a full and accurate detail of the various means which had been ſuggeſted for obtaining a true and fixed ſtandard of meaſure: but as, from the nature of the inveſtigation, it does not admit of an abridgment, we conceive it will be more acceptable to our readers to have it entire in our next volume, under the article of *Uſeful Projects*.

During the courſe of the ſeſſion, a great number of petitions from various parts of Great-Britain, had been preſented, praying for the repeal of the act for ſubjecting dealers in tobacco to the exciſe, which had paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. Theſe petitions were, on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, referred to a committee of the whole houſe; and the 16th of April was fixed for taking them into conſideration. On that day Mr. Sheridan began a long and eloquent ſpeech, with an invective againſt the whole ſyſtem of the exciſe laws; in which he illuſtrated and urged with great force all the uſual topics which have been employed upon that popular theſis. He then adverted to the peculiar hardſhips of the tobacco bill; and enforced the objections which had been made laſt year, by a number of allegations taken from the petitions, which had been preſented, and information he had received from the manufacturers themſelves.

From the maſs of evidence which had been given on the ſubject of this act, Mr. Sheridan drew the following concluſions. Firſt, that the export trade to foreign countries muſt be greatly injured, if not totally deſtroyed, by the act. The price paid for licences was proportioned to the quantity of tobacco manufactured, and, conſequently, it ought to be conſidered as a tax, which muſt raiſe the price of the article in the foreign markets. This was contrary to every ſound principle of trade, which condemned all burdens laid, without abſolute neceſſity, on articles of exportation. Again, if a tobacconiſt was in the act of getting ready to execute an order from abroad, he muſt ſuſpend his work, if the exciſe officer ſhould come to take a ſurvey; he muſt attend him whilſt weighing the ſtock; and many hours, perhaps ſome days, being loſt in this buſineſs, the veſſel in which he was to ſhip the goods ordered by his foreign correſpondent, probably might be obliged to put to ſea in the mean time, and thus the order would be loſt, and perhaps the cuſtomer, for ever. As to the encouragement which the act gave to ſmuggling, though its avowed object was to ſuppreſs it, he obſerved, that formerly, one difficulty which attended the ſmuggling of tobacco was, that even after it was landed and houſed, it was ſtill liable to ſeizure. But this difficulty was completely removed by the preſent act; for, the moment it got under the roof of the tobacconiſt, it was as ſacred as if it had paid duty.

Among the many hardſhips of the manufacturers under this act, there were two of a very ſerious nature. One, that the tobacco during the proceſs of its manufacture might, from the moiſture or dryneſs of the air, loſe or gain more in weight, than the table laid down in the act allowed. What, then, was the manufacturer to do? He could not anſwer for the ſtate of the atmoſphere; and if his goods had decreaſed in weight through heat, or increaſed through moiſture, without any act of his, to a degree beyond the ſtandard eſtabliſhed by the act, then was he liable to ruinous fines and penalties. The commiſſioners, before they could, in juſtice, levy theſe fines, ought to aſcertain that the weather will always be in that preciſe ſtate of heat or cold which the act ſuppoſed it would be. They ought to make Chriſtmas give ſecurity for froſt; take a bond for hot weather from Auguſt, and oblige damps and fogs to take out permits. It was true, that where the increaſe or decreaſe, beyond the allowed table, appeared to have been really the effect of the weather, and not of any intention in the manufacturer to defraud the revenue, the commiſſioners ordered the goods, if ſeized, to be reſtored, and the penalty remitted. But he had two ſtrong objections to this exerciſe of illegal mercy by the commiſſioners. Firſt, it gave them a diſpenſing power, which parliament had not thought proper to allow even to the king. And, ſecondly, this diſpenſing power might be uſed to very bad purpoſes. When the law was harſh and ſevere, and the executive power indulgent, and willing to ſoften its rigour, the people would be led to diſlike their own repreſentatives, who could paſs a rigorous law, and to fly to the crown for relief againſt it. If a diſpenſing power could be tolerated, it muſt be when the benefit of it was general, and extended, without exception, to every claſs of ſubjects without diſtinction. But in the caſe of remitting fines to manufacturers who ſhould have incurred them, an inquiſition might be ſet on foot into the life and political principles of each individual, and thoſe only might feel the indulgence of the commiſſioners who ſhould be found to be the friends and ſupporters of the ſubſiſting adminiſtration.

The ſecond hardſhip, perhaps greater than any other, conſidered in a mere commercial light, was, that the myſteries of their trade were laid open, to the irreparable injury of their families and fortunes. Of the value of ſome of theſe myſteries the committee might form an idea, when they recollected that it had been proved in evidence, that one manufacturer had refuſed 20,000 l. for the diſcloſure of a ſecret in the manufacturing of tobacco that was peculiar to himſelf.

When the manufacturers were under examination at the bar, they had not let fall any expreſſion, which might intimate, that it was their intention to quit the trade if the act was not repealed; they thought that ſuch an intimation would not be decent in them, as it would appear like a threat; but what their reſpect for parliament would not ſuffer them to utter at the bar, they had ſaid to him in private; and he believed he might aſſure the committee, if the bill was not repealed, the tobacco manufacture would be loſt to this country.

Mr. Sheridan now aſked the chancellor of the exchequer, what were the mighty advantages gained by the revenue, which could be conſidered as a compenſation for ſuch hardſhips and encroachments upon the liberty of the ſubject? The produce was but 25,000*l.* more than was collected on tobacco before this act paſſed, and the duty was raiſed from 11½d. per lb. to 15d. Would any man, to whom the rights of the people were dear, for ſo inſignificant an increaſe of revenue invade thoſe rights; but, above all, would he, for ſuch an increaſe, riſk the loſs of the whole? which he verily believed would happen if the act was not repealed. Mr. Sheridan concluded his remarks by moving the following reſolution: "That the ſurvey of the exciſe is inapplicable to the manufactory of tobacco."

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to Mr. Sheridan, obſerved, that the chief turn of his argument had been directed againſt the whole ſyſtem of exciſe, a ſyſtem which raiſed no leſs a ſum annually than ſix millions and a half of the revenue, and without which ſyſtem, he believed, neither the reſources of the country, nor the ingenuity of man, would be competent to raiſe ſo conſiderable a ſum. In his motion, however, he ſtopped ſhort, and objected barely to the exciſe on tobacco. He was willing to leave the manufacturer of malt, the manufacturer of ſoap, the manufacturer of ſtarch, the manufacturer of candles, and the dealers in wine and ſpirituous liquors, ſubject to all that intolerable tyranny and oppreſſion which he had deſcribed with ſo much energy and eloquence. If the tobacco act were to be taken up on general principles, the chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, he was at a loſs to know how it applied to the conſtitution more than any other exciſe bill, paſſed at any former period, and therefore ſtopping ſhort, as the honourable gentleman had done, and confining himſelf ſolely to the tobacco act, his general argument was inconſiſtent and contradictory.

The chancellor of the exchequer next obſerved, that it was his duty, and the duty of that houſe, to receive, with a conſiderable degree of caution and doubt, the evidence delivered at their bar; he meant no reflection on the gentlemen; he believed they were very worthy men, but they might have been actuated conſiderably by prejudices, which naturally might be expected to have ariſen in the minds of perſons obviouſly intereſted. The hon. gentleman himſelf had ſtated that the manufacturers were, before the act, the only medium for conveying the illicit tobacco from the ſmuggler to the conſumer; and taking this for granted, and the ſtatement of the tobacconiſts themſelves, that eight millions of pounds weight were annually ſmuggled, the conſequence would then evidently appear, that for years they had divided among them 400,000 pounds ſterling, of which ſum the revenue had been defrauded; and, if an average could be taken, each man's ſhare of this plunder was more than a thouſand pounds annually. The houſe being in poſſeſſion of this notorious and direct fraud, he was ſure it was not aſking too much of them to weigh well the evidence before they decided againſt the remedy already provided for the evil. As to the argument about the diſcovery of the myſteries, and the great danger of the manufacturers ſecrets being expoſed, upon which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid; if the ſecrets were ſo eaſily diſcoverable by an exciſeman upon a mere view, they muſt undoubtedly be known to the manufacturers workmen, and conſequently at all times liable to be divulged. Mr. Pitt concluded with obſerving, that during the exiſtence of the act, the conſumption had very conſiderably encreaſed, which was a complete refutation, and a concluſive anſwer to the aſſertion of the act's being likely to drive the manufacturer from this country. The public had already, in the two leaſt productive quarters of the year, received 130,000*l.* over and above the wonted income of revenue from tobacco in the ſame quarters before the act paſſed; and in all probability, the difference on the next two quarters of exciſe would make the whole produce of the difference 300,000*l.* at the leaſt.

The motion was powerfully ſupported by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox. The firſt contended, that the evidence of the manufacturers and officers of exciſe had uncontrovertibly eſtabliſhed the following propoſitions. 1. That there is no mode by which the ſurvey can be made, ſave only by taking the whole ſtock of each manufacturer. 2. That ſtock cannot be taken by any other manner than by weight. 3. That it is abſolutely neceſſary to except from being weighed, all that part of the ſtock, that is in the actual operation of manufacture. 4. That this exception deſtroys the rule.

Mr. Wyndham reprobated the ſpeech of the chancellor of the exchequer, as a laboured and indecent panegyric upon the whole ſyſtem of exciſe laws, and ſuch as had never before been heard in that houſe. No one would venture to aſſert, that the exciſe was not adverſe to the principles of the conſtitution. It was an evil which, perhaps, circumſtances had made neceſſary to prevent a greater; but neceſſity alone could juſtify it. It might itſelf become the greateſt of all evils. Conſidered even as a neceſſary meaſure, it ſhould be uſed with caution: it might be puſhed beyond its due extent; it might be diſgraced by being injudiciouſly managed; it might, like a tool, be ſpoilt by being worked with too much. It had been avowed, that it was to be limited only juſt as the ſtate of our finances may admit. He lamented that the nation ſeemed ſo much diſpoſed to ſacrifice every other conſideration to *revenue,* and expreſſed his fears that the monied intereſts had ſo totally corrupted all ranks of people, that they ſeemed entirely to have changed and altered their notions upon great political ſubjects, on which formerly every man felt alarm and jealouſy.

Mr. Secretary Grenville ſtrongly proteſted againſt the manner in which the queſtion had been argued, as tending to raiſe a clamour againſt laws, upon which, as thoſe gentlemen well knew, the whole national credit, and with it the very exiſtence of the empire depended.

The members for the city of London and for Southwark ſpoke in favour of the motion; and Mr. Sheridan, after a long reply, having altered the queſtion to a motion for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the tobacco act, the committee at length divided—ayes 147—noes 191.

An act was afterwards paſſed to explain and amend the act of the laſt year, and to relieve the manufacturers from certain hardſhips therein. Upon the third reading of this act, Sir Watkin Lewis moved that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, giving the right of a trial by jury to all the perſons ſubject to the act.

The Attorney General objected to the clauſe, as a dangerous experiment upon what conſtituted one-third of the revenue of the kingdom. He remarked, that the mode of collecting the exciſe had ſtood now near a century and a half; yet it was never, during that time, diſcovered that any danger aroſe to the conſtitution from it. He concluded with ſaying, he ſhould vote againſt the clauſe.

Mr. Beaufoy replied, and in ſtrong terms reprobated the encroachments which the exciſe was making on the liberty of the people, and contended for the neceſſity of inſerting the clauſe: as did Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Watſon, Mr. Sawbridge, and Mr. Martin; but upon a diviſion of the Houſe, the noes were 100, ayes 22—majority againſt the clauſe 78.

On the 15th of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer opened the budget for the year 1790, the particulars of which our readers will find in its uſual place. He began by congratulating the committee upon the proſperous ſtate of the finances of the country, which he was that day enabled to lay before them, not upon ſpeculation and from conjecture, but upon facts. After ſtating the items of the ſupplies voted, and of the ways and means, he called the attention of the committee to the ſum ſtated as the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund—This he ſaid was eſtimated upon an average of the three laſt years, which would give an average of 500,000l. leſs than the produce of the laſt year, and which, conſequently, could not be conſidered as an unfair one; and, by that eſtimate, it would appear that the growing ſurplus of the conſolidated fund was 1,903,000l.; to this was to be added an encreaſe on taxes not taken into that eſtimate, amounting to 60,000l. He took for balances of arrears 100,000l. and for an increaſe on the tobacco duties another 100,000l. He was ſanguine in his expectation of the produce from the arrears of aſſeſſed taxes, which in the laſt year amounted to 240,000l. over the permanent aſſeſſment; there ſtill remained out-ſtanding arrears to the amount of 600,000l. which gradually were to be drawn in; and, from the exertions made for that purpoſe, he conceived he might juſtly reckon upon 150,000l. being brought in during the preſent year; all which ſums added together, would give a total of ways and means of 5,996,000l. which ſum was more than ſufficient to meet the ſupply, and afforded fair ground to eſtimate the growing produce of the conſolidated fund for the next year, at 2,300,000l. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to ſtate the extraordinary expences which had been defrayed ſince the year 1786, with the aſſiſtance only of a loan of a ſingle million, which had been borrowed laſt year. He recapitulated the unforeſeen increaſe of the peace eſtabliſhment from various cauſes, ſuch as the aggravated extraordinaries of the navy, ariſing from large purchaſes of timber, and other ſtores; the extraordinaries of the army, owing to the unliquidated demands at the end of the war; the expence of the armament in 1787, the charge which the generoſity of Parliament had incurred on account of the loyaliſts; the debts of the Prince of Wales; all of which, with the reduction of the national debt, would be found to amount to ſix millions. The increaſe of revenue, which had enabled the public thus to meet the various charges he had mentioned, he regarded as permanent, and as originating in two cauſes; the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and the increaſe of the commerce of the country. The exports, as valued by the cuſtom-houſe entries, for laſt year, amounted to no leſs a ſum than 18,513,000l.; of which the Britiſh manufactured goods exported amounted to 13,494,000l; upon an average of the exports ſix years prior to the American war, which average he took on account of thoſe years being the period in which our commerce flouriſhed moſt; it appeared, that the Britiſh manufactured goods exported, amounted to no more than 10,342,000l. The imports for the laſt year, amounted to a higher ſum than was ever before known, being valued at 17,828,000l. At firſt ſight, this increaſe of import might appear diſadvantageous, as it would ſeem to leſſen the balance of trade in favour of the country; this the committee, however, would perceive, upon inveſtigation, not to be the caſe, but that the increaſe of imports aroſe from circumſtances which demonſtrated the increaſe of the wealth and proſperity of the country; it iſſued from remittances of fortunes of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; from the increaſe of importations from Ireland, which gentlemen would recollect was a proof of the increaſing proſperity of that valuable part of the empire; from the Greenland and South Wales fiſheries, the imports from which were to be conſidered as adding to the ſtock of the country, being wealth poured in from the ocean. Our navigation had increaſed in proportion to the increaſe of our commerce. In the year 1773, there belonged to Britiſh ports 9,224 veſſels, and 63,000 ſeamen; and in the year 1788, 11,085 veſſels, and 83,000 ſeamen; ſhewing an increaſe of ſeamen in 1788, above the number in 1773, of no leſs than one-third.

Mr. Pitt concluded with an encomium upon the Britiſh conſtitution; to which, under Providence, the proſperous ſtate of the nation was to be aſcribed, and which it was therefore their moſt ſacred duty to maintain inviolate and to defend againſt all innovations.

Mr. Sheridan differed from the chancellor of the exchequer with reſpect to the actual receipt, and the actual expenditure. If the averages of 1786-7-8, were taken, it would appear that the receipt for thoſe three years ſeverally had been 15,140,000l. and the expenditure 17,140,000l. making a deficiency of ſix millions on the whole. From the five millions and a half of three per cents. redeemed, was to be deducted the additional million of exchequer bills iſſued, the money borrowed laſt year, the increaſe of the navy debt, and one quarter's revenue anticipated, which was every ſhilling debt incurred, as much as if it had been actually borrowed, making in all 3,500,000l. The average income of four years, including the laſt year, would be found to be ſhort of what the revenue committee had taken it at, though annual taxes to the amount of 200,000l. had been laid ſince they made their calculation; and regulations for improving the collection of old taxes adopted, which the committee had pointed out as a reſource to provide for contingencies, and not as neceſſary to make good their eſtimate.—He contended that there was not a ſingle pound applicable to the reduction of the national debt, and declared that nothing would put the finances into a proper ſtate, but either raiſing the income to the expenditure, or lowering the expenditure to the income; at preſent there exiſted a plain deficiency of one million.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, Mr. Sheridan went for an average to a period which had no analogy to the preſent, in order to take in the year 1786, before the commercial treaty was paſſed, the new taxes rendered productive, or the regulations for an improved collection adopted; and then compared the permanent revenue with the temporary expenditure. He ſtruck out the produce of the lottery, merely becauſe he diſliked a lottery, and retained the temporary expence of the American loyaliſts, which it was intended to meet. He admitted that the receipt and the expenditure could not be brought to a permanent balance without a conſiderable reduction of expence; but the time when the revenue committee had calculated that ſuch a balance would be effected, was the end of the year 1790, not the beginning, and was not, therefore, matter for the diſcuſſion of that day.

On the 5th of May Mr. Pitt delivered to the houſe a meſſage from his majeſty *, in which he informed them of the violence that had been committed upon two veſſels belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, on the north-weſtern coaſt of America, by an officer commanding two Spaniſh ſhips of war: of his applications to the court of Spain for ſatisfaction: of its claims to an excluſive right of navigation in thoſe ſeas, and its hoſtile preparations: and of his majeſty's determination to ſupport the honour of his crown, and the rights and intereſts of his people. The meſſage being read, Mr. Pitt moved that it ſhould be taken into conſideration the following day.

On the 6th the meſſage having been again read, Mr. Pitt roſe and

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* See State Papers.

remarked, that however natural it might be to look with concern upon the circumſtances ſtated in his majeſty's meſſage, and all the future poſſible occurrences to which it might lead, he conceived that he ſhould not do juſtice to the feelings and public ſpirit of that houſe, if he entertained, for a moment, an idea that there could ariſe any difference of opinion as to the meaſures which ſuch circumſtances would make it neceſſary to adopt. There was no occaſion for him to enlarge upon the facts ſtated in his majeſty's meſſage; the bare mention of them (he was perſuaded) would prove ſufficient to induce the houſe to give their concurrence to the addreſs with which he ſhould move. Theſe facts were: that his majeſty's ſubjects had been forcibly interrupted in a trade which they had carried on, for years, without moleſtation, in parts of America where they had an incontrovertible right of trading, and in places to which no country could claim an excluſive right of commerce and navigation: that this interruption had been made by a ſeizure of two ſhips, their cargo and companies, without any previous notice: that the officers and crews of thoſe veſſels had been carried to a Spaniſh port as priſoners of war, and the cargoes of the veſſels appropriated to the uſe of the captors, without even the form of condemnation or judicature, which has always been deemed neceſſary, even in times of war.—He wiſhed to abſtain from every word of aggravation; the ſtatement of theſe facts was ſufficient to induce a Britiſh houſe of commons to demand ample reſtitution to the individuals injured, and full ſatisfaction to the nation for its inſulted honour. It was true, that one of the veſſels had been delivered up by the viceroy of Mexico, but no ſatisfaction to the nation had thereby been given; on the contrary, the court of Madrid had advanced a claim to the excluſive right of navigation in thoſe ſeas, that was unfounded and exorbitant, indefinite in its conſequences, aiming deſtruction to our valuable fiſheries in the ſouthern ocean, and tending to the annihilation of a commerce in its infancy, which we were juſt beginning to carry on to the profit of the country, in hitherto unfrequented parts of the globe; it was therefore neceſſary and incumbent upon the nation to adopt ſuch meaſures as might in future prevent any ſuch diſputes. When, in addition to this conduct on the part of Spain, the houſe were alſo acquainted, by the meſſage, of the vigorous preparations making in the different ſea-ports of that kingdom, there could not be a doubt of the propriety of our preparing to act with vigour and effect in ſupport of the honour of his majeſty's crown, and the intereſts of his people. At the ſame time the houſe, he was confident, would heartily agree in his majeſty's wiſh, that the preſent diſpute might be terminated amicably, and that we ſhould not be driven to the neceſſity of having recourſe to meaſures of hoſtility.

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving an addreſs in the uſual form *, which being ſeconded by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Fox roſe, and ſaid, he ſhould give his vote moſt heartily for the addreſs, in which he believed the

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* See State Papers.

houſe would be unanimous. At the ſame time, he could not avoid expreſſing a wiſh that the meſſage had been more full; and particularly that it ought to have acquainted the houſe what our ſhips were doing in thoſe parts of America, when they were ſeized. Mr. Fox then remarked, that it was now ſcarcely a fortnight ſince the miniſter had given that houſe the moſt flattering account of the proſperous ſtate of the country; and in no part of his ſpeech did he ſeem more confident, than in the aſſurances he gave the houſe of the proſpect of the continuance of peace. He knew at that time that the ſhips had been ſeized, and that the crews had been ſent to a Spaniſh port priſoners of war; he underſtood that the Spaniſh ambaſſador had not only avowed the capture, but accompanied it with a complaint and requiſition that his majeſty would not ſuffer his ſubjects to trade on thoſe coaſts, and fiſh in the ſouthern ocean. It was generally known that Spain was carrying on great armaments. The right honourable gentleman had better opportunities of knowing what the extent of the armament was, than he could pretend to; but when Spain was arming, it was not very reaſonable to think that we ſhould be long at peace. He mentioned theſe circumſtances not only as proofs of a ſtrange inconſiſtency in the miniſter's language, but becauſe the extravagance of the hopes holden out by miniſters had added greatly to the diſappointment, the alarm, and the fears of the public, when they ſuddenly found thoſe hopes falſified. Had not ſuch fallacious expectations been excited, he truſted that his majeſty's meſſage would not have had the effect on the public funds, and the minds of men, which it had produced.

Mr. Pitt replied, that the right honourable gentleman was miſtaken in his ſtatement of the circumſtances to which he had referred. He had ſaid, "We knew every thing when the budget was opened, that we know now." The caſe was directly the reverſe. We knew nothing of the facts in queſtion, but what we had learned from the ſtatement of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, whoſe communication was extremely vague and general, and related only to the capture of one of the veſſels, and that without the particulars. He had ſaid, we then knew the whole of the claim of Spain; whereas we did not know it diſtinctly, till at a period ſubſequent to the budget-day. Neither did we know the extent of the preparations of the court of Spain in her ſeveral ports, till a very few days ſince. But the right honourable gentleman would give him leave, in his turn, to make a ſingle remark on what had fallen from him. The right honourable gentleman had affirmed, that he for months had known of the armaments of Spain, and yet, in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, he had argued on the propriety of diminiſhing the forces of the country, and had expreſsly contended that we had nothing to apprehend from the court of Spain.

Several motions for papers relative to the diſpute with Spain were afterwards made by the members of oppoſition, the objects of which were to aſcertain, firſt, the preciſe nature of the tranſaction at Nootka Sound, and the value of the trade which it was intended to eſtabliſh in that part of the world; and, ſecondly, the dates of the communication made by the court of Madrid of the ſeizure of the Engliſh ſhips, and of its grounds for having ſo done; and after, the dates of the intelligence received of the hoſtile preparations of that power. Theſe motions were made with a view to cenſure the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, it was ſaid, in his ſpeech upon the opening of the budget, had held forth the great advantages of the ſouth-ſea trade, at the time he knew it to be both inſignificant and precarious: and the proſpect of a continuance of peace, when he knew we were upon the point of being embroiled with Spain.

Theſe motions were reſiſted by adminiſtration, as tending to a diſcloſure of circumſtances, which, in the preſent conjuncture, it would be dangerous to divulge; and the imputations they were intended to convey, were met with a general denial of their truth, and declarations that they ſhould be ready to meet the charges fully and directly, as ſoon as it could be done with propriety. Upon a diviſion, there appeared for the production of papers 121, againſt it 213.

A motion was alſo made by Mr. Francis, for an account of all the appointments of ambaſſadors to Madrid ſince the laſt peace, the ſalaries paid them, and the periods of their reſidence. This motion being acceded to, and the papers laid before the houſe, Mr. Francis moved a reſolution grounded upon them, that it appearing, "that ſince the year 1783, four ambaſſadors had been appointed to the court of Madrid, and an expence incurred on their account of 35,602*l.* and that no ambaſſadors had reſided there but for thirteen months, his majeſty ſhould be requeſted to give directions for the due performance in future of the ſervices belonging to thoſe appointments." In anſwer to the charge implied in Mr. Francis's motion, a circumſtantial account was given of the cauſes, which had prevented the reſidence of the ambaſſadors in Spain; and the order of the day being called for, the houſe divided, for the order 95, againſt it 59.

In the houſe of lords, the addreſs, in anſwer to the meſſage, was moved by the duke of Leeds, and ſeconded by lord Rawdon, and a motion for the production of papers relative to the capture of the veſſels, and to the armaments preparing in Spain, was negatived without a diviſion. On the 12th of May, another motion was made by the earl of Kinnoul upon the ſame ſubject. His lordſhip obſerved, that for his own part, he ſhould not heſitate to declare, that he ſtrongly ſuſpected the miniſter of having, for purpoſes beſt known to himſelf, kept back, for a conſiderable time, the information given to the houſe by his majeſty's meſſage. He ſuſpected adminiſtration alſo of having neglected to make a timely preparation, proportioned to the armaments of Spain, by which neglect that country had been encouraged to defend the aggreſſion complained of. He condemned his majeſty's ſervants for having deluded the country by holding out a proſpect of permanent peace, when they muſt have known of the probable grounds of an approaching war. He judged it proper, therefore, to move for the date of the firſt official information received. He wiſhed not to move for any paper that could be objected to on the grounds of ſtate ſecrecy. The ſubſtance of the information given in the remonſtrance of the Spaniſh ambaſſador had been ſtated in his majeſty's meſſage; he deſired only to have the date of the receipt of that information. This could in no ways prove injurious to the intereſts of the country, and he thought it would neither be candid to the houſe, nor honourable to the miniſter, to refuſe it. In concluſion, Lord Kinnoul moved for "An humble addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order to be laid before the houſe, the date of the receipt of the remonſtrance preſented by the Spaniſh ambaſſador to his majeſty's miniſters, by order of his court."

Lord Walſingham then roſe, and ſaid, that the motion of the noble lord could not be agreed to, unleſs the houſe departed from a rule which they had invariably and wiſely obſerved; that of never ſuffering papers to be produced relative to a negociation with a foreign power, pending ſuch a negociation.

The motion was ſupported by lord Portcheſter, lord Carliſle, and lord Stormont:—and the queſtion being put, the houſe divided, and there appeared, contents 34, non-contents 53.

On the 10th of May a vote of credit for one million paſſed the houſe of commons without oppoſition.

In our 30th volume we have given a particular account of the compenſation voted for the American loyaliſts, of the principles upon which it was diſtributed, and of the caſe of Mr. Harford.

Our readers will alſo find at the end of the hiſtorical part of this volume, a ſtatement laid before the houſe of commons of the claims made, and of loſſes allowed by the commiſſioners for examining the claims of the American loyaliſts. On the 11th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer, after ſtating the amount of the claims given in by the American loyaliſts, the amount allowed by the commiſſioners, and the ſums already paid, moved, that the ſum of 224,000 *l.* be granted for farther payments; and the ſum of 32,000 *l.* to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by certain perſons, inhabitants of the United States of America. Some of theſe, he ſaid, had ſuſtained very heavy loſſes by a conduct which entitled them to the munificence of this country; and it was found on enquiry, that the reaſon why they had not applied in perſon for compenſation, was, that their loſſes had deprived them of the means of leaving America. At the ſame time he gave notice, that on the enſuing Tueſday he ſhould propoſe a compenſation, in the way of perpetual annuity, to the Penn family, whoſe loſſes were eſtimated by the commiſſioners at 500,000 *l.* and, alſo, for ſome other claims not yet provided for.

He then moved a mode of compenſation for ſuch perſons as ſuſtained loſſes by ſupplying the army or the navy with ſtores, proviſions, &c.; for ſuch as ſuffered by the ceſſion of Florida; and for ſuch as ſuffered by loſſes of income ariſing from offices.

On the 14th, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the committee to the loſſes ſuſtained by the family of Penn. Their caſe, he ſaid, was different from that of any other of the American loyaliſts, and could not be governed by any of the rules already laid down by the houſe. He ſtated their allowed loſs to be 500,000 *l.* and propoſed to grant to them and their heirs an annuity of 4000*l.* to be paid out of the conſolidated fund. He obſerved, that the ſtate of Pennſylvania, ſenſible of the great merit of the family, had granted a ſum of 130,000*l.* ſterling, to be paid by inſtalments. The fact, however, was, that 11,000*l.* was all that had been paid, though the family had no reaſon to doubt the ultimate payment. He thought that the granting of this annuity, in the manner propoſed, would be a ſtrong mark of the national generoſity and reſpect for the ſervices of their great anceſtor. He hoped the committee would think with him, that the annuity he had propoſed was neither profuſe on the one hand, nor ſparing on the other. He concluded by moving a reſolution for granting the ſaid annuity from the 5th of January 1790.

Mr. F. Montagu and other members were of opinion, that 5000*l.* ought to be the leaſt ſum granted as an annuity to that reſpectable family. Mr. Wilmot argued, that taking the caſe of Mr. Harford, whoſe loſs was eſtimated at 230,000*l.* and who received a compenſation of 70,000*l.* as a rule, a grant of 5000*l.* per annum would ſtill be below the mark. Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis thought 4000*l.* ſufficient, and declaring they ſhould take the ſenſe of the committee; that ſum was agreed upon without a diviſion.

On the 17th of May, a meſſage from his majeſty was delivered by the chancellor of the exchequer, acquainting the houſe with his intentions of granting to the Rev. Dr. Willis, a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year nett, for twenty-one years; and requeſting the aſſiſtance of parliament for that purpoſe: a bill was the next day ordered to be brought in for the purpoſe mentioned in the meſſage, and paſſed both houſes.

On the 26th of May the houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, upon the tontine act of the laſt ſeſſions, Mr. Pitt begged leave to remind the committee, that the tontine had originally been propoſed as an experiment, and, at the time, it had appeared to him a reaſonable expectation, that it would have proved of equal advantage to the public and the ſubſcribers. This, however, had not been the caſe; and although the tontine originally bore a premium, it had ſince been at a conſiderable diſcount, and if perſiſted in according to the original terms, the individuals who had taken the whole of it muſt ſuſtain a very conſiderable loſs; an event which he had little doubt but that the committee would feel it became them to endeavour to guard againſt, and the more eſpecially, if any means of doing ſo could be ſuggeſted which would not militate againſt the public intereſt. The committee would recollect, that when he had firſt opened the ſubject, with a view of affording the original ſubſcribers relief, he had hinted at enlarging the time of nomination from October to April; but, upon mature conſideration, it had appeared, that although ſuch a meaſure would afford the original ſubſcribers eſſential relief, it could not be adopted with perfect ſecurity to thoſe perſons who had been already nominated; and therefore, it had been conſidered as adviſeable to puſh that propoſition no farther. He meant to propoſe to give thoſe who held the ſhares of the tontine an option of exchanging it for long annuities, and to empower the commiſſioners of the treaſury to nominate to the ſhares, which might be vacant when the period of nomination to ſhares ſhould expire, which would be in October next, and to hold the ſame for the public. By theſe means gentlemen would ſee that faith would be kept with the perſons whoſe lives were already intereſted, the original ſubſcribers would be reſcued from the riſque they at preſent ran, in conſequence of a ſpeculation, which, *prima facie*, had undoubtedly been a laudable one, and the public itſelf would be no ſufferer.

The propoſition of Mr. Pitt, after ſome oppoſition, in which it was urged that the ſubſcribers might conceive themſelves to be injured, and conſequently that their conſent ought to be obtained, was adopted by the committee, and a bill paſſed both houſes for carrying it into effect.

The ſubject of the ſlave trade was again moved by Mr. Wilberforce early in the ſeſſion. The evidence produced by the planters was not gone through till near the cloſe, and the remaining time was employed in examining ſome additional witneſſes in favour of the abolition. The further conſideration of the ſubject was then adjourned.

Upon the 16th day of February, the trial of Mr. Haſtings re-commenced in Weſtminſter-hall, being the fifty-fifth day of the ſitting of the court. The court ſate in this ſeſſion but thirteen days, in which the managers of the houſe of commons went through the charge relative to the receipt of preſents, which was opened by Mr. Anſtruther, and the evidence ſummed up and obſerved upon, in a ſpeech which laſted two days, by Mr. Fox. The court adjourned on Wedneſday the 9th of June, being the ſixty-eighth day.

On the 11th day of May, Mr. Burke called the attention of the houſe to a motion he had to offer upon the ſubject of the protracted continuance of the trial. After ſome obſervations upon the petition preſented by Mr. Haſtings to the houſe of Lords, he adverted to what he conceived to be the principal cauſes of its not having been brought to a ſpeedier concluſion: the firſt was, the determination of the houſe of Lords, obtained at the inſtance of Mr. Haſtings, to proceed upon all the articles of charge before they came to any deciſion; another was, that the counſel for Mr. Haſtings had inſiſted upon reading papers at large inſtead of extracts: but what occaſioned, perhaps, the greateſt delay, was, that the managers were not made acquainted with the grounds and extent of the principles on which the deciſions of the houſe of Lords were made reſpecting the admiſſibility of evidence. This made it impoſſible for them to know how far the next queſtions, which they intended to put, might, or might not, militate againſt thoſe principles. He concluded by moving the following reſolutions:

"That this houſe, taking into
"conſideration the interruptions
"occaſioned by the occupations of
"the judges and the houſe of Lords,
"as alſo the impediments which
"have occurred, or may occur, in
"the courſe of the trial of the im-
"peachment of Warren Haſtings,
"Eſq; doth, without meaning to
"abandon the truth or importance
"of the charges, authoriſe the ma-
"nagers of their ſaid impeachment,
"to inſiſt only upon ſuch and ſo

" many of the ſaid charges as ſhall " appear to them the moſt conducive to the obtaining ſpeedy and " effectual juſtice againſt the ſaid " Warren Haſtings."

2d, " That the commons of Great " Britain in parliament aſſembled, " from a regard to their own honour, and from the duty which " they owe to all the commons of " Great Britain, in whoſe name, as " well as in their own, they act in " the public proſecutions by them " carried on before the houſe of " Lords, are bound to perſevere in " their impeachment againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq; late governor-general of Bengal, until judgment " may be obtained upon the moſt " important articles in the ſame."

On the 17th of May complaint was made to the houſe by general Burgoyne of a libellous publication inſerted in one of the morning papers with the ſignature of John Scott, a member of the houſe of commons, groſsly reflecting upon the conduct of the managers of the impeachment, and upon the juſtice of that houſe. The letter was then read by the clerk, and major Scott being called to anſwer this complaint, avowed himſelf to be the author of the letter in queſtion; and at the ſame time declared, that no man living had a higher reſpect for the rules of the houſe than he had; and if he had broken them, he had done ſo unintentionally, and was ſorry for it. The honourable major then entered into a general juſtification of his letter, and declared, that if he had been guilty of an error in his conduct, he had been drawn into it by great examples. He then entered into a variety of publications by Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, and general Burgoyne, which he conſidered to be by far ſtronger libels than he had ever written.

Major Scott, according to the practice of the houſe, having given in his defence, immediately withdrew.

General Burgoyne then moved, " That it is againſt the law and uſage of parliament, and a high breach of the privilege of this houſe, to write or publiſh, or cauſe to be written or publiſhed, any ſcandalous or libellous reflections on the honour and juſtice of this houſe, in any of the impeachments or proſecutions in which it is engaged." Which being voted without a diviſion, he next moved, " That it appears to this houſe, that the letter now delivered in, is a ſcandalous and libellous paper reflecting on the honour and juſtice of this houſe, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment now proceeding againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq."

Upon the ſuggeſtion of the chancellor of the exchequer, that in a matter relative to their own privileges, and eſpecially as a great laxity of practice had of late years obtained with reſpect to publications upon the proceedings of parliament, the houſe ought to proceed with all poſſible caution. He then moved, that the debate be adjourned to Thurſday, the 27th of May. It was then reſumed, and after a long converſation, in which the prevailing abuſes of the freedom of the preſs were pointedly diſcuſſed, the motion was adopted.

It was then moved, " That John Scott, eſq. a member of that houſe, in publiſhing the ſaid letter, was guilty of a groſs and ſcandalous libel,

bel, reflecting upon the houſe of commons, and upon the managers of the impeachment."

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Wigley, who thought that the houſe, in its juſtice, ought not to proceed in a ſevere manner againſt the honourable member; who, he ſaid, had already made the moſt ſatisfactory and ſufficient apology for what he ſtood accuſed of. He then made a number of obſervations on ſeveral pamphlets written by gentlemen on the ſide of oppoſition; and thought that the houſe, as well as the honourable member accuſed, had a right to enquire into the nature of thoſe pamphlets, and to proceed upon them in the ſame manner as the houſe is now doing in the preſent caſe.

After ſeveral amendments propoſed by different members, it was agreed that the motion ſhould ſtand as follows; "That John Scott, eſq. having avowed himſelf to be the writer of the ſaid letter, was guilty of a violation of his duty as a member of that houſe, and of reflecting upon the managers of the impeachment."

Mr. Jekyll then moved the previous queſtion; which was negatived, and the motion, as amended, agreed to.

General Burgoyne then moved, "That major Scott be reprimanded at the bar of that houſe, for his conduct in publiſhing the ſaid libel."

This motion brought on a very long and perſonal debate, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wyndham took a part; and, after a conſiderable oppoſition, it was agreed that major Scott ſhould be reprimanded in his place.

Mr. Pitt then moved, that John Scott, eſq; do attend in his place in that houſe to-morrow.

The order of the day being then read for the attendance of John Scott, eſq. in his place, and the ſtrangers being ordered to withdraw, he was reprimanded by the ſpeaker in the following terms:

"Mr. Scott, the houſe have reſolved, that you, being the author of a letter which the houſe have declared to be a ſcandalous and libellous paper, reflecting on the honour and juſtice of this houſe, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to manage the impeachment now depending againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq. are guilty of a violation of your duty as a member of this houſe, and of a high breach of the privilege of this houſe.

"On the nature and magnitude of your offence it is unneceſſary for me to dwell: whatever has a tendency to depreciate the honour and juſtice of this houſe, particularly in the exerciſe of its inquiſitorial functions, tends in the ſame proportion to weaken and degrade the energies and dignity of the Britiſh conſtitution.

"The privileges of this houſe have a claim to the reſpect of every ſubject of this country. As a member of this houſe, it is your duty, as it is a part of your truſt, to ſupport and protect them. Had a ſenſe of theſe obligations produced its due influence on your mind and conduct, you would have avoided the diſpleaſure of the houſe, and I ſhould have been ſpared the pain of declaring to you the reſult of it. The moderation of the houſe is not, however, leſs manifeſt on this occaſion, than their juſt ſenſe of their own dignity, and of the importance of their own privileges. It is my duty, in addreſſing you, to be guided by the lenity which marks their proceedings; and in the perſuaſion that the judgment of the houſe will operate as an effectual admonition to yourſelf and to others, I forbear to ſay more, than that the houſe have directed that I reprimand you for your ſaid offence; and, in obedience to their commands, I do reprimand you accordingly."

On the 10th day of June, the king put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, in which he acquainted the two houſes that he had yet received no ſatisfactory anſwer from Madrid; and was therefore under the neceſſity of continuing to proceed with expedition and vigour in preparations for war, in the proſecution of which he had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from his allies, of their determination to fulfil the engagements of the exiſting treaties.

He then informed them of his intention of immediately diſſolving the preſent, and calling a new parliament; thanked them for the proofs they had given of loyalty to his perſon, of attachment to the principles of the conſtitution, and of attention to the happineſs and proſperity of the people; and concluded by declaring, that as the loyalty and public ſpirit, the induſtry and enterprize of his ſubjects, had ſeconded their exertions, ſo he could rely on their ſenſe of the advantages which they at preſent experience, as well as on their uniform and affectionate attachment to his perſon and government, for a continuance of that harmony and confidence which muſt at all times afford the ſureſt means of meeting the exigencies of war, or of cultivating, with increaſing benefit, the bleſſings of peace.

On the day following this parliament, which was the ſixteenth parliament of Great-Britain, and had now ſat ſeven ſeſſions, was diſſolved by proclamation.

Previous to meeting, of the parliament of Ireland, the Marquis of Buckingham, after a reſidence of two years, was recalled from that kingdom, and the Earl of Weſtmorland appointed the lord lieutenant in his ſtead; a meaſure which was probably adopted on account of the miſunderſtanding which had happened in the laſt ſeſſion between the houſe of commons and the former, upon the ſubject of the regency; and in order to prevent any obſtruction to the affairs of government, that might ariſe from a retroſpect to the tranſactions of that period.

The ſeſſion was opened on the twenty-firſt day of January by a ſpeech from the throne, which went upon the uſual topics; but upon the report of the addreſs an addition to it was moved, in the houſe of lords, by lord Portarlington, and by Mr. Grattan, in the commons, expreſſing "the apprehenſions which they "entertained from the great in-"creaſe of miniſterial influence and "corruption, and requeſting his "Majeſty to apply a remedy to the "growing evil, by aboliſhing un-"neceſſary and burthenſome places "and eſtabliſhments." This amendment was rejected in both houſes, after long and warm debates, by large majorities in the houſe of lords; a ſtrong and ſpirited proteſt was entered and ſigned by the eight diſſenting peers.

On the firſt of February, Mr. Grattan, after reprobating, in a long ſpeech, the corrupt ſyſtem of government which prevailed in that country, and pointing out the neceſſity for that houſe to interfere for the purpoſe of protecting the people from the burthens it occaſioned, made the following motion, "That the reſolutions of this houſe "againſt increaſing the number of "the commiſſioners of the revenue, "and dividing the boards, be laid "before his Majeſty, with an hum"ble addreſs, that his Majeſty will "be graciouſly pleaſed to order to "be laid before this houſe the par"ticulars of the repreſentations, in "conſequence of which two new "commiſſioners of cuſtoms have "been added, notwithſtanding the "reſolutions of this houſe; and alſo "that his Majeſty will be graciouſly "pleaſed to communicate to his "faithful commons the names of "the perſons concerned in recom"mending that meaſure."

Mr. Conolly ſeconded the motion, which, after much debate, was rejected by a diviſion by a majority of 135 to 80.

Soon after Mr. Forbes called the attention of the houſe to the increaſe of the penſion liſt, and moved an addreſs to his Majeſty, to communicate to the houſe the names of thoſe miniſters who adviſed the ſame. This motion was alſo rejected by a majority of 136 to 92.

The members in oppoſition were not diſcouraged by theſe repeated defeats. On the 15th of February, Mr. G. Ponſonby moved to repreſent to his Majeſty, "That his faithful commons, having taken into conſideration the growth of public expence in the laſt year, could not but obſerve many new and increaſed ſalaries annexed to offices granted to members of that houſe, no fewer in number than 14; that ſo rapid an increaſe of places, together with the number of additional penſions, could not but alarm the houſe; and tho' they never could entertain a doubt of his Majeſty's affection and regard for his loyal kingdom of Ireland, yet they feared that his Majeſty's ſervants may, by miſinformation, ſo far have abuſed his Majeſty's confidence as to have adviſed ſuch meaſures for the purpoſe of increaſing influence." Mr. Grattan ſeconded the motion: and at one o'clock, after a long debate, the queſtion was put, and the houſe divided, when there appeared, ayes 87, noes 146.

About the ſame time the following reſolution was moved in the houſe of peers by the duke of Leinſter:

"Whereas the lord viſcount Strangford has been deprived of a penſion, which, at the requeſt of this houſe, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to grant him, until an adequate proviſion ſhould be made for him in his own line of profeſſion: and whereas no cauſe has been ſuggeſted or communicated to the noble lord for ſuch mark of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure: the houſe, therefore, has every ground to believe, that the ſame had reference to his conduct in parliament in the laſt ſeſſions; and declare and reſolve, that the adviſer of the meaſure acted diſreſpectfully to this houſe, unconſtitutionally, and undutifully to his Majeſty."

The motion being put and negatived by a majority of 20, a ſtrong proteſt was afterwards entered in the journals *.

The

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* The proteſt was as follows:

DISSENTIENT,

Becauſe we conceive that the power of granting penſions was originally veſted in the crown, to enable the ſovereign, whom the conſtitution regards as the fountain of gratification and of mercy, to promote public virtue, by rewarding eminent ſervices and tranſcendent merit, and to relieve the diſtreſs into which men of ancient and illuſtrious

The parliament was ſoon afterwards prorogued, and on the eighth of April was diſſolved by proclamation.

illuſtrious family may have fallen, without any fault of their own; and we are firmly perſuaded, that if penſions were to be thus only applied, inſtead of a diſgrace and grievance, they would become an honour and advantage to the country; and that the national expence, which would by this reſtriction be reduced to a comparative trifle, would be borne and provided for with the utmoſt alacrity; the wanton application and profuſe exorbitancy of ſuch gratuities, and not the power of granting them, having ever been the object of complaint and animadverſion—the penſion liſt, and not the penſion eſtabliſhment.

Becauſe we conceive, that from his rank and circumſtances no man had ever yet a ſtronger and more rightful claim to the royal bounty than the lord viſcount Strangford, in conſequence of which, and of the unanimous addreſs of this houſe, a penſion of 400 *l. per ann.* was, by his Majeſty's humane goodneſs and gracious condeſcenſion to the wiſhes of his faithful ſubjects the peers of this realm, granted to him; of which penſion, however, he has been lately deprived without any cauſe whatſoever having been aſſigned for ſuch deprivation.

Becauſe that when a penſion has been granted to a member of this houſe, in conſequence of an addreſs from the lords, we humbly conceive that to adviſe his Majeſty to revoke the ſaid penſion, without previouſly acquainting their lordſhips with ſuch intention, and with reaſons of ſuch revocation, is highly diſreſpectful to parliament, and derogatory from the dignity of this houſe.

Becauſe we have every ground to believe that, in the preſent inſtance, the lord viſcount Strangford has been deprived of his penſion on account of his conduct in parliament, as well from the ſilence of miniſters reſpecting the cauſe of this public mark of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, as becauſe at the period of the ſaid deprivation, and of many others evidently on the ſame account, we have ſeen penſions and places, ſome of them created for the occaſion, and even the higheſt favours of the crown laviſhed with a more than uſual indecency of profuſion and corrupt extravagance, manifeſtly with the view of obtaining undue influence in Parliament—miniſtry having thus evinced the tendency of their puniſhments by that of their rewards. Neither can we, on this occaſion, avoid lamenting the additional conviction, which every day brings along with it, of the juſtice of our apprehenſions, that the aforeſaid meaſures, together with many others, which have for ſome time paſt unceaſingly alarmed us, are to be conſidered only as parts of a general ſyſtem to undermine the liberties of this country by corruption, and to overthrow, by ſapping them from within, thoſe bulwarks of our conſtitution, which are too ſtrong to be openly attacked with any probability of ſucceſs.

Becauſe we conceive, that to puniſh any member of parliament on account of his parlimentary conduct, by depriving him of that which he poſſeſſed from his Majeſty's favour, is in the higheſt degree unconſtitutional, being a direct interference of the executive power with the peculiar province and privilege of parliament, and an open attack upon that freedom of the legiſlative body which is ſo eſſential to public liberty; and we are therefore decidedly and firmly of opinion, that the man who adviſed our moſt gracious ſovereign, whoſe truly royal mind is, we are confident, utterly incapable of any ſuch meaſure, unleſs groſsly abuſed and miſled, to revoke the penſion ſo rightfully and humanely granted to the lord viſcount Strangford, has acted not only diſreſpectfully to this houſe, but in manifeſt violation of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.

LEINSTER,
CORK and ORRERY,
MOIRA,
ARRAN,
FARNHAM,
CHARLEMONT,
PORTARLINGTON,
RD. CLONFERT.

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings of the national aſſembly after the new law had eſtabliſhed ſome order and ſecurity in Paris. Apply cloſely to the vaſt maſs of public buſineſs upon their hands. Political annihilation of the two firſt orders of the ſtate. New laws for regulating elections. Appellation of active citizens, to whom applied. Much trouble ſtill with the provinces, to bring them to a ſurrender of their peculiar rights and privileges. France at length divided into eighty-three departments, and the term Province expunged from the language. Creation and organization of municipalities. Letters de cachet *aboliſhed. Gabelle, and others of the moſt obnoxious taxes, aboliſhed. Aſſembly enter into the intricate buſineſs of finance; augment the pay of the army; and eſtabliſh a new bank. Grand ſcheme for ſeizing the eſtates of the clergy, and offering them as a preſent to the nation, to ſerve as a fund and ſecurity for the diſcharge of the public debts, and to anſwer other important purpoſes. Some difficulties and obſtructions, which appear in the way of carrying this ſcheme into execution, are far out-balanced by the vaſt advantages which it is capable of producing. Decree paſſed, which declares all the eccleſiaſtical eſtates to be at the diſpoſal of the nation. Stipends allotted for the maintenance of pariſh prieſts, &c. Diſcontents riſe to the higheſt pitch amongſt the clergy, many of the biſhops, and nearly all the chapters in the kingdom, proteſt againſt the decree. Combination of the canons, and endeavours uſed at Rome to draw the maledictions of the church upon the national aſſembly. Great prudence and addreſs diſplayed by the aſſembly in its tranſactions with the court of Rome. Sovereign pontiff ſeems to be ſatisfied with their proteſtations. France ſwarms with publications of every ſort, in proſe and in verſe, againſt the national aſſembly, its proceedings and deſigns. Several of the parliaments attempt to be troubleſome, and proteſt againſt the decrees of the aſſembly; but having loſt all influence with the people, are obliged to ſubmit reluctantly to their fate. Parliament of Bourdeaux continues longer in a ſtate of turbulence than any of the others, and endeavours to excite an inſurrection in the ſouth. Stories of plots and conſpiracies neceſſary to keep the minds of the people in conſtant agitation. Various accuſations againſt the king's miniſters, and a greater number againſt the ariſtocrates in general. Animoſities ſo violent between the remaining nobles in the aſſembly, and the democratical leaders, that frequent duels are the conſequence. Nation, in general, ſaid to be unanimous in ſupporting the aſſembly, and offers to raiſe three millions of ſoldiers in defence of the new conſtitution. Situation of the captive king and of the royal family in the palace, now ſtate priſon, of the Thuilleries. Ill effect produced at home and abroad, and worſe conſequences likely to enſue, from the king's captivity, when his free ſanction is neceſſary to give validity to their laws, cauſes great uneaſineſs in the national aſſembly. Scheme formed to obviate theſe difficulties, by inducing the king to appear to come voluntarily to the national aſſembly, to declare himſelf fully ſatisfied with all their proceedings, and that he conſiders himſelf as being at the head of the revolution. Liberal conduct of the aſſembly with reſpect*

reſpect to the civil liſt. King notwithſtanding firmly rejects all the perſuaſions uſed to induce him to pay the deſired viſit. Great diſtreſſes of the country. 20,000 *people fed by charity at Lyons.* 6,000 *eſtates advertized to be ſold. Decretot's noble manufactories at Louviers nearly ruined. Riots at Verſailles. Some obſervations on the extraordinary conduct of that people through the courſe of the king's troubles. Pariſians become again tumultuous, and, without regard to the general famine, want to have the price of bread fixed at a lower rate than it could have been afforded in the moſt plentiful ſeaſons. Their rage increaſed to the higheſt pitch upon the acquittal of Bezenval by the chatelet. Form a plot for forcing the priſon, and murdering him, on their own principles of ſummary juſtice. All their ſchemes overthrown, and Paris reduced to order, through the activity and vigour of La Fayette, well ſupported by the Bourgeoiſe militia. Surrounds a body of* 1,100 *of the mutineers at night, and makes* 200 *of them priſoners. Chatelet proceed to the trials of Lambeſc, Broglio, and others of the principal refugees, for the real or ſuppoſed plot of the preceding month of July. Are all acquitted, through the failure of any evidence to ſupport the charge. Various conſpiracies apprehended or ſpoken of for the reſcue of the king's perſon. The ſubject of the king's inſtant death, as the aſſigned penalty for any attempt to his reſcue, a matter of public converſation in all companies and among all ranks, without the ſmalleſt expreſſion of horror, at the idea of ſo deplorable a cataſtrophe. King's firmneſs at length gives way, and he ſubmits to pay the propoſed viſit to the national aſſembly, and to make a ſpeech nearly ſimilar to that preſcribed. Affairs of the clergy finally ſettled, their property ſeized, and aſſignats created.*

AS ſoon as the new law for reſtraining the judicial violences of the mob, had produced ſome degree of order and ſecurity in Paris, the national aſſembly applied itſelf cloſely and without interruption for ſeveral months to the adjuſtment of public buſineſs; of which they had ſtill ſuch an abundant quantity on their hands, that, viewed as a whole, it ſeemed to preſent ſuch an inextricable wilderneſs of jarring elements, fortuitouſly jumbled together, as no time or care could be ſufficient to reduce to order: for what they had hitherto done was rather to be conſidered as an outline, containing haſty ſketches of what was further intended, than as any completion of the ſeparate parts of the deſign. But, independent of the old, which they had already in any degree gone through, they had an infinite quantity of new matter to conſider, arrange, and decide upon.

Among the moſt remarkable of the meaſures immediately adopted, was the political annihilation, at one blow, of the two firſt orders in point of dignity, and the two moſt ancient and only original orders of the ſtate; while things were now arrived at ſuch a paſs, that this degradation of the nobles and clergy, and this total change of the conſtitution, was effected without a ſingle ſtruggle, by a ſimple decree, which only announced, in ſo many words, "That there was no longer any diſtinction of orders in France." The aſſembly then entered upon the buſineſs of elections, which required an entirely new code of laws or regulations, to render it conformable to the preſent ſyſtem. No reference to the ancient form of electing repreſentatives for the different orders could of courſe be admitted or thought of. The regulations went in the firſt inſtance to the election of deputies in the primary aſſemblies, who were again (as we have already ſeen) to proceed to the election of thoſe deputies who were to repreſent the nation in the aſſembly. Though the right of election in the primary aſſemblies was laid open to the citizens at large, yet ſome ſmall qualification with reſpect to property was required to entitle them to vote; and this qualification, ſlender though it was, afforded no ſmall ſatisfaction to the friends of property and a government by law, who fancied that both would from thence derive ſome degree of ſecurity. It was farther decreed, that the men thus entitled to vote in the primary aſſemblies, ſhould have their names regiſtered in books kept for the purpoſe, and ſhould be characterized under the diſtinctive appellation of *active citizens.* The qualification of thoſe who were choſen electors was required to be ſomewhat higher than that of the former; but the paying any attention at all to property, however ſmall that might be, was deemed, on one ſide, a conſiderable point gained. On the other hand, the moſt violent of the republican and levelling party were much out of humour and greatly diſſatisfied at this decree; for they wanted to throw the elections into the hands of the whole people without diſtinction, and no other diſqualifications to operate upon votes, than thoſe ariſing from infancy, idiotiſm, or abſolute infamy of character.

Notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid of the alacrity with which the provinces ſurrendered their peculiar rights and privileges, it now appeared that theſe accounts required to be received with all that caution and doubt, which was ſo generally neceſſary with reſpect to every thing that was given out or publiſhed at this period. The caſe undoubtedly was, that as the deputies of the privileged provinces were generally among the moſt forward in framing or adopting all the political novelties of the preſent time, ſo they made but little ſcruple of ſacrificing the rights or privileges of their conſtituents to their own peculiar doctrines or deſigns; and that this conduct, not being at all reliſhed by great numbers of people in the country, their diſſatisfaction occaſioned thoſe difficulties which the aſſembly now experienced; and which were indeed ſo conſiderable, that it ſeemed as if that body had been only commencing the buſineſs. That the matter was deemed really ſerious, appears from the democratical writers, who inform us, that the diſſatisfaction upon this ſubject in the provinces, afforded the only ſtrong ground of hope which the ariſtocrates now poſſeſſed; "for, finding themſelves unable to deſtroy the kingdom, they had, however, the conſolation left, that by this means they might be able to diſtract her."

The diviſion of power was too unequal to admit of any great conteſt; nor do we hear of any particular act, done by, or imputed to the ariſtocrates. The aſſembly, to render every thing novel, and to deſtroy all veſtiges of whatever paſſed before their own reign, ſucceeded in expunging the term 'Province,' from the French vocabulary. They divided the kingdom into eighty-three parts, which were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Departments, and theſe were ſubdivided into other portions, under the name of Diſtricts and Cantons. Thus, by cutting off a few heads under the name of Provinces, a new multiplied generation ſprung up, like thoſe of the hydra, which became in due time ſufficiently troubleſome in their management; and thus the geography of France being totally changed, and rendered as obſolete in an inſtant, as that of Gaul under Julius Cæſar; new maps became neceſſary, to trace out or diſtinguiſh places with which we were the moſt intimately acquainted. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that whatever faults or inconveniencies other parts of this ſyſtem were chargeable with, the reduction of the excluſive privileges of peculiar provinces, and the laying them on one common level of law and government with the reſt of the kingdom, was certainly a meaſure of no ſmall public utility. Upon this diviſion, above two thouſand deputies of the provinces, cities, and boroughs which were affected, hurried ſt aightway to Paris from every quarter of the kingdom, in order to maintain and eſtabliſh their reſpective pretenſions; and ſo many difficulties ſtill remained to be ſurmounted, that it coſt three months of the moſt laborious and painful application, before the final arrangement and diviſion were completed. "Then," ſays Rabaut, "the kingdom was conſolidated, and the apprehenſion of a confederacy of republics was done away."

The aſſembly during this time went through another taſk, which they conſidered of great import: this was the organization of the municipalities, or interior governments, throughout the kingdom. Though theſe, in their compoſition and conſtruction, bore a cloſe reſemblance to our pariſh veſtries in England, yet, from the extraordinary powers with which they were endued, or at leaſt which they aſſumed, and which produced the ſame effect as if they legally poſſeſſed them, together with the infinity of their number, the ignorance, and unfitneſs of character in other reſpects, which too generally prevailed among their members, they became the immediate inſtruments of a moſt deplorable tyranny, which, being every where ſpread, nothing could eſcape or evade, and which the aggrieved could find no power any where to reſiſt. It ſeemed as if the new government, being founded upon untried principles in ſome inſtances, and in others run up haſtily without any, as occaſion and circumſtance concurred in favouring the erection; ſo, among the numerous buttreſſes neceſſary to ſupply ſuch glaring and dangerous deficiencies, this was not the leaſt conſpicuous, that one half of the people ſhould be officially conſtituted ſpies upon, and conſequently maſters of, the other half.

The aſſembly aboliſhed letters *de cachet*, a meaſure, which if not entirely needleſs, was certainly an act of patriotiſm on their ſide, as there was no power in the nation, except their own, by which they could be iſſued. They likewiſe iſſued a number of regulations with reſpect to the taxes, moſt of which, as they were never paid, ſeemed no longer to exiſt. As if it had been to give countenance to that obſervation ſo often repeated, that their genius and diſpoſition led more to deſtroy than to build up or repair, notwithſtanding the failure of almoſt all the other taxes, excepting the partial new one upon eſtates, they totally ſuppreſſed the odious Gabelle, or tax upon ſalt; a meaſure which the king, (as we have formerly ſhewn) in the days of hope, if not of happineſs, ſo devoutly wiſhed to have accompliſhed; but which the continued oppoſition to his meaſures by the parliament of Paris, and the conſequent impoſſibility of his finding a ſubſtitute to carry on the buſineſs of government, rendered him incapable of carrying into effect. They likewiſe in ſome time aboliſhed the heavy tax on tobacco, which was nearly conſidered as much a neceſſary of life as ſalt itſelf; and which, in conſequence of this regulation, was thrown into the common maſs of articles of general commerce. Nor was their conduct leſs meritorious in ſuppreſſing others of the moſt obnoxious taxes.

The aſſembly did not ſtop here; they entered boldly into the untried and intricate walks of finance, where they were to encounter a ſubject of which they were moſt deplorably ignorant. They ſeemed ſenſible of the diſadvantage they were under, and did not venture much. They, however, ſaw the prudence and expedience of augmenting the pay of the army; and likewiſe eſtabliſhed a new governmental bank, under the name of *Caiſſe de l'Extraordinaire.*

Theſe were only objects of ſecondary, and comparatively ſmall conſideration, when oppoſed to, or eſtimated by that grand one which had occupied the mind of the aſſembly, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of ſole and unlimited power in the hands of the third eſtate; and which had probably been much earlier a ſubject of frequent contemplation. This grand ſcheme, and ſo it well might be called, from the extraordinary conſequences which it was to produce, was to find a fund of ſo vaſt a magnitude, that it ſhould not only reach to the diſcharge of the whole national debt, enormous as that was, but that it ſhould leave ſuch a ſurplus behind, as would be capable of providing for thoſe new, and as yet unknown contingencies, which the new change of affairs was liable to produce. One of the newly promulgated doctrines was, that all things were to give way to the good of the public, or perhaps, more correctly, that the lives and property of individuals were no matters of conſideration, in any queſtion where they interfered with the benefit of the whole. In a word, that every thing belonged to the nation, indefinite as that term was, while the individuals who compoſed this great aggregate, had no ſecurity in any thing; and the good of the whole, if the practice founded on it could be carried to the utmoſt extent of the doctrine, might lead to the dilapidation and ruin of all the parts ſeparately.

There was no merit in diſcovering the fund which was to anſwer theſe vaſt purpoſes, for that was at hand, and in full view; it was no other than the great landed eſtates of the clergy: indeed it was barely the ſoil; for they had already given up the royalties and excluſive privileges, which had, from the foundation of the monarchy, been attached to, and conſidered as a part of their eſtates. Though the immenſe benefits to be derived from this ſcheme were obvious to every body, yet it ſeemed as if ſome difficulties were likely to ariſe on the queſtion of juſtice, with reſpect to the intended application of the fund. Some of theſe ſeemed more peculiarly to affect France than they could have done any other country. For, being the only people upon earth who had ever at once been transformed into a nation of philoſophers, it ſeemed incumbent upon them, at leaſt for a time, to adhere cloſely to the rules and principles of that ſublime ſcience. Now as it happens that Cicero, who, without formally aſſuming the name, was deemed in his day no inconſiderable philoſopher, who was certainly extremely well verſed in their hiſtory and doctrines, and who could not poſſibly have laboured under any of the prejudices imputed by modern philoſophers to chriſtianity, does not, in his admirable treatiſe of the moral and relative duties of men in a ſtate of ſociety, (which may be conſidered as ſuch a compendium of the caſuiſtry of the antient heathen world, as could not otherwiſe at this time have exiſted) admit expedience or profit to afford any right whatever for ſeizing the goods of others; and even carried this doctrine ſo far, as not to allow any thing to be profitable which was not honourable, nor any thing honourable which was not honeſt and juſt; theſe old-faſhioned doctrines, which it might have been ſuppoſed would have vaniſhed under the illumination of the preſent day, were, notwithſtanding, troubleſome impediments in the way of the grand deſign. But the ſuperiority of the new philoſophy, and of the genius poſſeſſed by its profeſſors, ſoon appeared triumphant. The principle couched in the ſhort apothegmatical ſentence, that every thing belonged to the nation, happily removed every difficulty, and aſſured to it this great property.

No revolution was perhaps ever ſignalized by ſo bold and ſo grand a ſtroke as this. It was bold in the extreme, becauſe the people, having juſt thrown off every degree of ſubordination, were grown ſo frantic by their eaſy ſucceſs, that they could neither think, nor it might be ſaid dream, of any thing but farther innovations, and of new revolutions, which they concluded might be purchaſed at as cheap a rate, and accompliſhed with as much eaſe, as the former. But along with this, the number of clergy in the kingdom was eſtimated at about 130,000; and though this numerous body ſhould be ſtripped of all the weight derived from rank and property, yet they could not but ſtill retain ſome conſiderable influence over thoſe people among whom they had paſſed their lives in habits of the greateſt intimacy and friendſhip, beſides being their teachers and directors in thoſe Chriſtian duties, which at that time had been conſidered of the laſt importance to mankind. Now, though the profeſſed and real philoſophers had long ſince ſhaken off with diſdain all the manacles of religion, yet it was apprehended, and indeed, however it might be lamented, well known, that the bulk of the people had not yet been ſufficiently illuminated, to enable them to get rid of their antient prejudices, or, according to the new vocabulary, ſuperſtitions; for though with reſpect to other matters they ſeemed ſufficiently irreligious, yet as that was not a philoſophical irreligion, which is ever invincible, but was derived from idleneſs, wantonneſs, and thoſe paſſions which are apt to predominate over mankind, ſo it was liable to receive a bias, and take a direction, very different from what might be wiſhed. It was farther to be conſidered, that the court of Rome, however degraded or fallen, had not yet loſt all its influence; and that even the thunders of the Vatican, long as they had remained dormant, might, in certain caſes, and under certain circumſtances, ſtill produce ſome untoward effect, eſpecially with reſpect to thoſe weak minds, who continued to be incumbered with any religious ſcruples. Nor was it to be ſuppoſed that the Roman catholic powers in general, would behold with indifference ſo numerous, ſo ancient, and ſo eminent a body, as the members of the Gallican church had for a long ſucceſſion of ages been, at once ſtripped of their dignities and property, without any legal forfeiture incurred, or even the charge or pretence of a crime laid to cover the violence and outrage. It was a great misfortune to the cauſe of philoſophy, and indeed a great detriment to it, that the proteſtant ſtates ſtill adhered firmly to the doctrines and principles of Chriſtianity; it had happened likewiſe, from ſome peculiar diſpoſition of mind which may not be eaſily accounted for, as it formed no excluſive or peculiar part of their ſyſtem of morality, that many individuals among them had ever been much in the habit, even where they had no direct intereſt, of enquiring ſtrictly into, and deciding promptly and ſturdily upon, ſo far as a publication of reaſon and opinion could be called a deciſion, all queſtions of right and wrong among men, without their being generally much ſwayed by the quality or power of any of the parties. This diſpoſition in individuals, ſeemed to operate no leſs upon the ſtates of that perſuaſion, where they had power ſufficient to carry the theory into practice; and they have accordingly been noted in ſeveral inſtances, for repelling injury and injuſtice with reſpect to others, as well as to themſelves. It was a farther misfortune with reſpect to the proteſtant ſtates, that being all, even the ſmalleſt of them, more or leſs commercial, they paid a ſtrict regard to the rights and ſecurity of property in all caſes whatever, and, it was too much to be apprehended, would be ſtruck, even with horror, at the eſtabliſhment of a precedent which went to ſhake and looſen the foundations of all the landed property in Europe. Beſides, that although the proteſtants differed in many points of doctrine as well as diſcipline from the Romaniſts, yet that conſidering them ſtill as men, and conſequently as brethren poſſeſſing the ſame common nature with themſelves, that ſympathy ſo natural to mankind, and ſo common to the greateſt part of the ſpecies, could not fail to operate with great force, at ſeeing ſo numerous a body of men, many of them eminent for their parts, learning, and virtues, become, ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly, the victims of injury and violence.

But, on the other hand, beſides the magnitude, and the intrinſic value of the capital object in view, it was accompanied with ſo many alluring collateral circumſtances, that it would ſeem, upon any ſcheme of calculation, to be an act of abſolute cowardice not to encounter all theſe difficulties and dangers for its attainment. In the firſt place, however neceſſary the phrenzy of liberty which intoxicated the people was to the accompliſhment of the revolution, it was ſeen to be totally incompatible with thoſe ſober, ſerious, and ſteady maxims of policy, which muſt of neceſſity be adopted, for the government and ſecurity of ſo great and extenſive a kingdom; large armies and fleets muſt be provided for, and whoever the adminiſtrators might be, the civil expences muſt run very high; to ſay nothing of the intereſt of the national debt, and the ſupport of ſuch a number of fortreſſes, as was without example in any other country. How then were theſe prodigious expences to be provided for, by a people ſo drunk with their new liberty, that the bare name of a tax was in the higheſt degree odious to them; and who, ſo far from being pleaſed or ſatisfied by the lightening of their burthens, which the abolition of the moſt heavy and obnoxious of the old ones produced, ſeemed on the contrary to grow more violent in their abhorrence of thoſe which remained? Force, which has been ſo often uſed with effect in ſuch caſes, would here have been inevitably deſtructive; the blowing up of the new ſyſtem, and of every thing appertaining to it, would be at once the conſequence; and another revolution, the accidental birth of a moment, without form, order, object or deſign, would take place, the final conſequences of which no man living could foreſee. Whereas, by the attainment of the deſired object, all theſe evils would be averted; the golden age would ſeem to be renewed; taxes, for a time, would no more be heard of; government would ſeem to ſupport itſelf; and nothing but peace and felicity could be expected during the reign of the preſent rulers. Nor was it perhaps forgotten, among ſo great a number of more important objects, that the attainment of this meaſure would free the aſſembly from the neceſſity of entering deeply into that moſt difficult taſk of financiering.

The buſineſs was brought forward about the laſt of October, 1789; and Rabaut ſeems to mention, with ſome ſurprize, that a moſt violent oppoſition aroſe to it in the very heart of the aſſembly. This oppoſition, however, produced ſo little effect, that a decree was paſſed on the 2d of November, by which, the eccleſiaſtical eſtates were all declared to be at the diſpoſal of the nation; ſubjected, however, to the following charges: to the providing in a proper manner for the expence of celebrating public worſhip, for the maintenance of the miniſters, and for the relief of the poor. To provide for the ſecond of theſe purpoſes, it was decreed, that no pariſh miniſter ſhould have a leſs ſalary than twelve hundred livres a year, excluſive of the houſe and gardens hitherto annexed to the parſonage. This decree, which was paſſed on the ſecond, was publiſhed on the third of November, and received the ſanction of the captive king on the fourth; a circumſtance which clearly demonſtrated the facility with which buſineſs of the greateſt importance was conducted and concluded under the preſent order of things.

Whatever degree of piety, chriſtian forbearance, and temper, might be attributed to individuals among the clergy, we cannot be ſurpriſed, while we conſider them as men, and as compoſing a great and numerous political body of the ſtate, that they did not ſubmit with entire patience and reſignation to this violent and fatal blow. Indeed the democratical writers aſſert, (and we are well diſpoſed to give them credit upon this occaſion) that they endeavoured to move heaven and earth againſt the aſſembly, and conſequently againſt the new government. They publicly accuſed the national aſſembly of a fixed deſign totally to deſtroy religion. Rabaut ſays, they put in practice all thoſe meaſures ſo familiar to the church; and which, he ſays, might perhaps have ſucceeded, but for the ſuppreſſion of tithes. In fact, that previous meaſure afforded the beſt guarantee that could be given for the ſucceſs and ſecurity of the preſent; it operating as a moſt powerful bribe in ſecuring the voice and diſpoſition of the multitude. The prelate of Treguier ſet the example, which was ſoon followed by very many other biſhops, who, in the words of Rabaut, "overſpread their reſpective dioceſes with incendiary mandates, and negociated a bull with Rome for the intimidation of the weak-minded, and for devoting the national aſſembly to the maledictions of the church." He likewiſe informs us, that all the canons of the kingdom entered into a combination, and that almoſt every chapter proteſted againſt the decree.

However ſtrongly fortified and aſſured the national aſſembly was by its preſent vaſt acquiſition, which placed a fund of wealth in its hands beyond all example in the hiſtory of modern Europe, yet it ſhewed as much prudence, management, and addreſs, in its tranſactions with the court of Rome, as if it had been in a ſituation and circumſtances the direct reverſe of what it really was. The holy father was either cajolled, or pretended to be ſatisfied, by reiterated proteſtations, of the ſtrict union of the national aſſembly with the pope, as head of the chriſtian church, in all ſpiritual matters; as well as of their fidelity to the religion of their forefathers. The weakneſs of the court of Rome, the age of the pontiff, with a grievous ſenſe of the humiliations which that ſee had of late years experienced, all concurred in giving an appearance of currency to theſe aſſurances; for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the refinement of Italian policy was ſo totally exhauſted, as that their purport was not thoroughly comprehended, and their real value duly eſtimated.

The democrates ſay, that the preſs now took an entirely new direction, and that a prodigious manufacture was carried on of pamphlets and periodical publications againſt government. That as it was well known, that books had conſiderably aſſiſted the revolution, it was, therefore, imagined, that books might effect a counter-revolution. That, the eccleſiaſtics expected to dazzle the people of France, by diſſeminating ten times as many volumes againſt the national aſſembly as there had been publiſhed in its favour; that a multitude of printing-preſſes, both within and without the kingdom, were devoted to this pious merchandize; that, all the different kinds of ſtyle were ſummoned to aid the holy cauſe; poems, ſongs, epigrams, ſatires, tragedies, were written againſt the national aſſembly, againſt its committees, againſt its moſt celebrated members, againſt the city of Paris, and againſt the national guards, whom they mentioned with extraordinary contempt. Pamphlets ſucceeded pamphlets, with a rapidity proportioned to the fury which engendered them. By this account, which is given by Rabaut, it would ſeem, that the royaliſts, who were ever too late in all their attempts, enterprizes and deſigns, were now, when it was of no uſe, ſeized with a ſpirit of writing and publication, which, if it had operated in due time, might have been productive to them, and the cauſe, of the moſt uſeful and happy effects. The Judas-like kiſs of fraternity, as it was termed, by which the clergy ſaid they had been circumvented and betrayed, was ſeldom forgotten in theſe publications.

The parliaments, who had ſo great a ſhare, though indirectly, in bringing on the preſent order of things, which it muſt, however, be acknowledged, they by no means foreſaw, began now to ſhudder at the thoughts of their approaching diſſolution, and wanted nothing but power, to make a vigorous effort for averting their impending fate. Thoſe of Rouen, of Bretagne, and of Metz, determined, however hopeleſs the iſſue, not to periſh without a ſtruggle. They had accordingly the hardihood to proteſt againſt the decrees of the national aſſembly. But they ſoon experienced to their grief, how different the power was which they had now to contend with, from that which they were wont to inſult under the name of the royal authority. They were forſaken and deſerted by thoſe towns and thoſe people on whom they the moſt confided, and over whom they ſo lately held the moſt ſupreme aſcendancy. Their fall, to which they ſubmitted with a bad grace, was accelerated by this fruitleſs effort; and was embittered by thoſe laſt and moſt galling curſes of fallen ambition, by contempt and deriſion. The parliament of Bourdeaux, which ſtood ſingly, held out much longer, and was much more troubleſome, than the other three: it was indeed accuſed of uſing every poſſible exertion to excite an inſurrection in the South.

The newly-created municipalities began early to detract from the ſanguine hopes which had been formed on their inſtitution. This failure of deſign, or misfortune, was, as uſual, attributed entirely to the evil machinations of the ariſtocrates; who, it was ſaid, ſeeing that this new authority was the firſt degree in the future adminiſtration, and the only popular power at that time exiſting; and always endeavouring by diminution or diviſion to attain the power of deſtroying; they uſed all their influence to get their own creatures elected into theſe authorities. We are told afterwards, with a face of the utmoſt gravity, that whenever the electors had been thus led to make an improper choice, they became victims to the arts of their enemies; and that the maſſacres which have taken place in certain cities of the kingdom, were occaſioned by evil-minded municipalities. Thus was a party ever at hand, on which to throw the odium of every misfortune, domeſtic or foreign, which could poſſibly befal the nation.

As it was neceſſary not only to keep the people conſtantly awake, but in a ſtate of abſolute agitation, and as the king and queen were too cloſely guarded, to admit of their being held out to excite ſuſpicion or apprehenſion, it was eaſily ſeen that other proper objects ſhould be ſought for on whom to father new plots and conſpiracies. For, though the general term of Ariſtocrate could and did bear a great deal, yet, to prevent the effect from growing languid, and the public mind from ſinking into a ſtate of quiet and inactivity, it became occaſionally neceſſary to quicken and enliven the ſcene by new matter, and by ſome appearance of ſpecific charge, againſt ſuch objects as ſeemed beſt calculated for anſwering the purpoſe.

There was no difficulty in finding theſe objects; for the king's miniſters, who were ſtill ſuffered to retain their offices, and who ſtill tranſacted all buſineſs in his name, whether qualified or not for diſcharging the functions of the high places to which they were appointed, were, from their ſituation, eminently calculated for this purpoſe. A violent outcry was accordingly raiſed, and a number of charges laid againſt them; though no attempt was made to bring them to the point of trial or impeachment. If ſome of theſe charges were ſo looſe and indefinite, that they would as exactly ſuit any other body of men as thoſe againſt whom they were particularly directed, it is to be obſerved, that this was the current political language, both in writing and ſpeaking, and the eſtabliſhed faſhion of the time; if others of them ſeemed incomprehenſible or impoſſible, let it be recollected, that the people on whom they were intended to operate, were much more likely to be faſcinated by thoſe things which were unintelligible or incomprehenſible, than by thoſe ſimple facts, narrated in plain language, which came home to every man's underſtanding.

The miniſters were charged, with ſerving the cauſe of the diſaffected by their inaction; and that, by retarding the tranſmiſſion and the execution of the new laws, they thereby deſignedly prolonged the exiſtence of anarchy; indulging themſelves in the fond hope, that the people, diſguſted with continual ſcenes of endleſs confuſion, would call loudly for the old government, under which they had enjoyed a ſtupid tranquillity. That, at the ſame time, theſe foes to liberty, had inſidiouſly created a ſcarcity of grain; that they likewiſe had inſidiouſly created a ſcarcity of ſpecie; and, that they had inſidiouſly refuſed to give employment to the artiſans, in the hope, that every claſs of men becoming diſſatisfied, the people would, at length, grow weary of their own courage. Theſe were among the principal charges laid againſt the miniſters: our readers are to bear in mind, though it ſeems to have been totally forgotten by the framers of theſe accuſations, that long ſince, and at the very commencement of the revolution, all preſent and future adminiſtrations were rendered directly anſwerable, and perſonally reſponſible to the national aſſembly, for every part of their conduct; ſo that neither the king's name would afford ſanction, nor his direct orders a juſtification, for their adopting any meaſure contrary to the ſentiments of that body; even ſuppoſing the king to be now a free agent, and capable of tranſacting any buſineſs.

The charges againſt the ariſtocrates in general, or more particularly againſt the moſt conſiderable and active members of the two ruined orders, were more abundant than thoſe againſt the miniſters. Theſe malecontents were ſaid to be diſperſed through every court in Europe, and were ſaid to be ſeconded in almoſt all, by the French ambaſſadors at thoſe reſpective courts; their joint endeavours being to diſſeminate every where their own invincible hatred againſt their native country. That in thoſe courts they laid the foundations of a general confederacy of all the powers of Chriſtendom againſt France. That their object was, to perſuade the ſeveral crowned heads, that this cauſe was the cauſe of all kings, and, that it behoved them all equally to unite their common ſtrength, in order to reſtore the arbitrary authority of Lewis XVI. Imprudent men! (Rabaut exclaims) whenever perceived, that they were, at the ſame time, teaching Europe that this was alſo the cauſe of nations. That, two princes, who had taken refuge at Turin, aſſembled there ſome of the gentry, and threatened France with an invaſion by the way of Nice, and by the way of Savoy; and had ſent emiſſaries into Provence, to Niſmes, and to Lyons, while the king of Sardinia put his army in motion on the frontiers. It cannot eſcape the memory of moſt of our readers, how totally unprovided for war, or even for any degree of defence, that king was long after, when his dominions were ſo violently invaded and over-run by the French; and when his moſt ancient dukedom of Savoy was, ſo far as a decree could give permanence to the wrong, for ever annexed to the majeſty of the people in the new republic. The laſt charge was extremely well deſigned, and could not but produce its intended effect. It was to this purpoſe, that, it was then publicly declared, that Paris was no longer worthy of the preſence of her king; and that Lyons deſerved the honour of being the capital of the empire.

In the mean time, the animoſities between the democratical leaders, and the remainder of the nobles who ſtill continued in the aſſembly, were grown ſo violent and inveterate, that duels became frequent between the enraged parties; and as the laſt appeal is made to the ſword in the great political debates of nations, ſo here, the ſmaller political differences between parties and individuals, were referred to the ſame arbitrary deciſion. And as it has been long and often obſerved, that a change of condition frequently produces a great change in the manners, and even, apparently, in the nature of men, ſo it ſeemed now, that as the democrates had already ſtripped the nobility of all power, ſo that, intending to be their ſucceſſors in every thing, they would now deprive them of the only excluſive claim of diſtinction which was ſtill left untouched, and which they had poſſeſſed unrivalled for ſo many ages, that of a decided ſuperiority in all the hardy deeds of arms and chivalry.

To counterbalance all thoſe dangers, real or ſuppoſed, with which France was ſaid to be environed, we are informed that the nation at large was unanimous in ſupporting the aſſembly: that its table was covered with addreſſes from every town and city, expreſſive of their affection, of their admiration, and of their gratitude; promiſing it three millions of ſoldiers for the defence of the conſtitution, and encouraging it to perſevere in its patriotiſm. It might well be imagined that with ſo prodigious a maſs of ſtrength, which has in no degree been equalled ſince the days of Xerxes, they had little cauſe to be apprehenſive, of either foreign invaſion or domeſtic conſpiracy: and yet they ſeem to have been tremblingly alive to both.

The admirers of a flowery and eloquent ſtyle may not be diſpleaſed at ſeeing the manner in which our author, Rabaut, deſcribes the conduct and proceedings of the new ſole power of the empire under theſe circumſtances. "The national aſſembly, occupied in parrying theſe attacks, was ſtill advancing with great ſtrides, trampling upon the ruins of deſpotiſm, combating every prejudice, diſcomfiting every error, making war on every abuſe, deſtroying uſurped rights, and re-eſtabliſhing that precious equality, which gives anew to nations the robuſt benefits of youth, and regenerates them, by reſtoring them to their primitive ſtate of purity." We know ſome cavillers might aſk, How that equality could be re-eſtabliſhed which never before ſubſiſted? and might likewiſe perverſely enquire, In what period of the golden age that primitive purity exiſted, to which the people were now ſo happily reſtored? But it might well be anſwered, That ſuch men, who would wiſh to manacle eloquence, and to ſhackle flowery deſcription, muſt be by nature adverſe to all the beauties of ſtyle, and graces of compoſition; and muſt likewiſe labour under ſome fatal prejudices, which would lead them to queſtion the legitimacy of the new philoſophy.

We have yet taken no ſpecific notice of the ſituation of the king and the royal family from the time of their removal to Paris. The palace of the Thuilleries, which was deſtined to be their priſon, had been ſo long uninhabited, was ſo much out of repair, the rooms were ſo cold and damp, and the furniture, either removed or totally ruined, that there was not a ſingle apartment in the whole, which, with reſpect even to health, independent of appearance or convenience, was fit for the reception of any perſon whatever. Theſe were not, however, times for the waſting of much thought in the contemplation of ſmall evils, when the greateſt that could occur were conſtantly to be apprehended, if not actually expected. There is no doubt but the apartments, ſo far as was immediately neceſſary to the convenience of the royal family, were ſoon furniſhed, and rendered otherwiſe habitable.

The beſt and moſt authentic account which we have ſeen of the ſtate of the king's confinement is given by an Engliſhman, whoſe veracity is unimpeachable, and who from the extenſiveneſs of his connections and acquaintance with perſons at that time of the firſt rank in France, as well as from his mixing much with perſons of all claſſes and condition in life, had opportunities of information which ſeldom occur to foreigners. For we are to obſerve, that in peruſing Rabaut and others of the democratical writers, it would never occur to any reader, who was not otherwiſe acquainted with the ſubject, that the king had been at any time under the ſmalleſt degree whatever of reſtraint or dureſs.

It appears from this authority, that early in the year 1790, but when, it being near three months after the proceſſion from Verſailles, the violence and ſuſpicion of the people might be ſuppoſed conſiderably abated, that, at that period, a body of

800 men, with two pieces of cannon, mounted guard every morning at the Thuilleries. That, on a day ſpecified, the writer beheld the extraordinary ſpectacle of the king of France walking in the gardens with ſix grenadiers of the bourgeoiſe militia. That the doors of the gardens were kept ſhut while he walked in them, in order to exclude all perſons but deputies, or thoſe who procured admiſſion tickets, from entering. That when he re-entered the palace, the doors of the gardens were thrown open to all perſons without diſtinction, although the queen, with a lady of her court, was ſtill walking in them. That ſhe was likewiſe attended ſo cloſely by the gardes bourgeoiſe, that ſhe muſt have ſpoken very low not to be overheard by them. That the dauphin (who is deſcribed as a pretty, well-countenanced boy, of five or ſix years old) was at work, with a little hoe and rake, in a ſmall garden which had been railed off for his amuſement; but that even he was not without a guard of two grenadiers upon him. Our author, who was then a ſtrong advocate for the revolution, acknowledges that it was a ſhocking ſpectacle, to behold the royal family thus ſhut up cloſe priſoners *.

January 4th, 1790.

The aſſembly felt no ſmall uneaſineſs at the ill effect which the confinement of the king (however it was attempted to be denied or palliated) produced upon the public opinion, in other countries as well as at home; and of the ſtrong handle which it afforded to their enemies for calling in queſtion the validity of thoſe laws to which his ſanction was extorted, under a ſtate of reſtraint, which, depriving him of all free agency, rendered him, by the laws and conſent of all nations, incapable of any legal act, or that could be binding on himſelf, any longer than the compulſion which produced it continued to operate.

To remove this difficulty was juſtly conſidered an object of the greateſt importance; and no means were accordingly to be ſpared for its attainment. This could only be accompliſhed by perſuaſion; and the facility of the king's nature ſeemed to afford no ſmall hope of ſucceſs, in any thing that depended upon that mode of proceeding. The deſign was to induce the ſovereign to go ſuddenly, and apparently of his own mere motion, to the national aſſembly, and there, in a ſet ſpeech, to declare himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with all their proceedings, and likewiſe, that he conſidered himſelf as being at the head of the revolution, in terms ſo explicit, as to take away all idea or pretence of his being in a ſtate of coercion or confinement. La Fayette was either the framer of this plan, or one of thoſe who was moſt ſanguine in its purſuit, and who placed the greateſt confidence in its ſucceſs.

The aſſembly had juſt diſplayed an unexpected act of liberality and attention with reſpect to the king's perſon, which could not but produce the greater effect from its being unexpected; and which could not fail to make a ſtrong impreſſion on a mind ſo very ſuſceptible of gratitude as his was known to be. For, on the queſtion being propoſed, juſt at the opening of the year, what annual ſum it would be fitting to aſſign for

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* See Young's Tour, pp. 264, 265.

the royal expences and ſupport of the houſehold, or what is uſually called the civil liſt; the aſſembly, inſtead of debating the ſubject, or forming any reſolution on the queſtion, adopted the liberal meaſure of ſending a deputation to the ſovereign, with an addreſs, requeſting that he would himſelf name the ſum that would be ſufficient for the purpoſe, and praying, that in ſo doing, he would conſult leſs his ſpirit of œconomy, than a ſenſe of that dignity, which ought to environ the throne with a becoming ſplendour. The liberality of this conduct gained the aſſembly great credit, and brought them abundant praiſe from all ſorts of people; the moſt furious of the *enragés* would have been aſhamed to condemn the generoſity of the action; and the bittereſt of their enemies among the royaliſts found it difficult to refrain from ſome commendation.

Yet, notwithſtanding the apparent effect with reſpect to other matters, which this attention ſhewn by the aſſembly to the perſonal eaſe and dignity of the ſovereign produced on his mind, he totally rejected, and continued with great firmneſs to reject, all the perſuaſions which were uſed, and all the inducements held out, to compaſs his wiſhed-for viſit, and the making of his intended ſpeech to that body. This obſtinacy, as it was termed, was, as uſual in all caſes, where his conduct did not exactly ſuit the wiſhes of the prevailing party, attributed entirely to the machinations of the queen, who was thereby, if poſſible, rendered more odious than before.

Notwithſtanding the great and numberleſs benefits which had been ſhowered upon the people, notwithſtanding the remiſſion of taxes, or, what produced the ſame effect, the refuſal of paying thoſe that were not remitted, and notwithſtanding thoſe innumerable and unſpeakable bleſſings which were ſuppoſed to be included in the magical term of regeneration, yet, ſuch is the perverſeneſs at certain times incident to the affairs of mankind, that every claſs of men in the kingdom was the direct reverſe of being happy, proſperous, or contented. There were at this time above ſix thouſand landed eſtates, a great number of them very conſiderable, publicly advertized for ſale in France, and ſcarcely a purchaſer to be found upon any terms. In the capital, trading, and manufacturing city of Lyons, ſo long the ſeat of induſtry and opulence, no leſs than 20,000 people were ſupported and fed by charity. Things were no better in Normandy, where the famous woollen cloth manufactory at Louviers, which was ſcarcely equalled in Europe, and where the celebrated M. Decretot gained ſo much honour by the unparalleled beauty and excellence of his fabricks, was already tending faſt to abſolute ruin. A great cotton manufacture, at the ſame place, and, as we apprehend, conducted by the ſame director, was ſtill in a worſe ſtate than the woollen.

There were not many circumſtances attending the revolution more ſingular, or which afforded a more ſtriking inſtance of the degrees of turpitude and atrocity, to which mankind, under the dominion of certain operating cauſes, which are not always obvious nor eaſily traced to their ſource, is capable of arriving, than the conduct of the inhabitants of Verſailles. That place had firſt riſen from being an obſcure village, through the immenſe ſums of money which Lewis XIV. ſquandered in raiſing its ſuperb palace, and in forming thoſe prodigious gardens and water-works, whoſe magnificence and greatneſs long excited the admiration and aſtoniſhment of all Europe. The ſuperfluity and waſte which neceſſarily attended the expenditure of two hundred millions of livres, diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner, and under the conduct of ſuch a man, could not but afford abundant means for nouriſhing and foſtering the growth of a young city. The continual reſidence, for more than a century, of the moſt magnificent, expenſive, and by many degrees the moſt munificent court in Chriſtendom, as well as of all the firſt nobility in that vaſt kingdom, effectually completed what was thus begun; and Verſailles, with a population of 60,000 perſons, had riſen to ſuch a degree of conſideration and opulence, as to ſtand at the head of what may be called the ſecond-rate cities of the kingdom.

Yet this people, thus originating, growing, thriving, and arriving at maturity, who it might be ſaid, without much hyperbole, had for more than a century paſt been conſtantly fed by the court, and all wearing its livery, had, from the commencement of his troubles, been among the foremoſt of the preſent ſovereign's moſt implacable enemies, extending their malevolence to every part of the royal family, and ſeeming emulous to exceed the Pariſians in their animoſity and malice. Like them too, they had conſtituted themſelves ſole judges, diſpenſers, and executors of the laws. So that the ſame men being judges, accuſers, witneſſes, and executioners, much time was ſaved in all criminal proſecutions. It remains, however, to be lamented, that this career of patriotiſm in purſuit of ſummary juſtice, was, in Verſailles, productive of ſome horrid murders, although the voice and majeſty of the people gave them the ſanction of legality; and theſe ſeemed the more unlucky, as they occurred in private family caſes, where no party or political motives could have any concern.

The felicity of the Verſaillians received a mortal blow by the removal of the court to Paris; the danger of which they ſeemed totally blind to until it was given. By that they not only loſt the conſtant butt and object of all their amuſements, along with the delicious pleaſure of continually inſulting fallen majeſty, but they loſt thereby their eſtabliſhed ground and pretext for riots and tumults, without which it was ſcarcely poſſible for them now to exiſt. They likewiſe felt, with inexpreſſible mortification, that they had inſtantaneouſly loſt all their paſt conſequence; that inſtead of being looked up to as competitors in all deeds of renown with the proud Pariſians, they were now no longer either named or thought of; while the voracious capital, along with the king, would gorge itſelf with all the praiſe and fame appertaining to others.

In ſuch a ſtate of diſcontent, and with ſuch inherent diſpoſitions, they could never want pretences for riots and tumults; the dearneſs of bread, and ſcarcity of all kinds of proviſions, independent of all the other grounds of complaint which ingenuity could be at no loſs in deviſing, afforded an abundant ſtock of combuſtible matter to feed the rage of an enflamed populace; who were at the ſame time peculiarly agitated by a hidden ſource of diſcontent which they could not avow, but which did not operate with the leſs force from its being concealed; this was the want and private diſtreſs they already ſorely felt in their families, through the loſs of thoſe pecuniary and other reliefs they conſtantly drew from that court, which they could not endure, nor would ſuffer to exiſt among them, at the time that it was affording them all theſe benefits. From theſe, and other cauſes, Verſailles continued in a ſtate of the greateſt inſubordination and diſorder from the time of the king's removal to Paris; but this ſtate of things was ſo common, and it being beſides a generally received doctrine, that tumults and diſorders were the genuine effects of patriotiſm, and that their worſt conſequences, ſuch as conflagrations and maſſacres, were the natural reſult and legitimate iſſue of revolutions; while ſuch partial evils were not worth a conſideration, when oppoſed to that immenſe maſs of benefits by which they were produced; under all theſe circumſtances and conſiderations, together with a ſenſe of their paſt ſervices, and a full confidence in the purity of their intentions, however miſtaken or miſguided they might be in the mode of expreſſion, the exorbitances of the Verſaillians paſſed for a long time without any particular notice.

It happened, however, in proceſs of time, that the national aſſembly became ſeriouſly apprehenſive, that theſe people, whom they had conſidered only as noiſy and riotous friends, were, after all their intemperance and violence on the other ſide of the queſtion, become ſecret and dangerous enemies. In fine, they came to be conſidered as no better than a generation of plotters and conſpirators; and were ſtrongly ſuſpected of a criminality, which, in any other ſeaſon, and with reſpect to any other nation, would have appeared incredible, that of leaguing with the ariſtocrates for the overthrow of the new conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhment of a counter-revolution. About the ſeaſon of Chriſtmas theſe ſuſpicions and charges ran ſo high, that nothing was talked of but Verſaillian plots and conſpiracies; and the alarm became very general. One of the ridiculous ſtories then believed and circulated was, that a body of men was in readineſs to march from Verſailles to Paris, in order to murder La Fayette, Bailly, Neckar, and ſome other popular characters. This improbable tale, deficient in every circumſtance which could give it the moſt diſtant appearance of credibility, produced, however, the effect, of occaſioning ſome conſiderable increaſe of the guards in Paris, as well as ſome alterations in their arrangement. Another much more probable ſtory was, that a great number of the rabble of Verſailles had intermixed with their brethren at Paris, in order to excite them to diſorders and tumults. All theſe plots, like ſo many hundred others which were hourly diſſeminated, came, however, at length to nothing; and it was not long before Verſailles and its inhabitants were ſunk in a ſtate of utter oblivion.

Before we entirely diſmiſs this people, who are not likely ever again to afford any occaſion for coming within our notice, although it muſt be attended with ſome anticipation in point of chronology, we think it may afford no ſmall ſatisfaction to many of our readers to be informed of a certain ſort of poetical juſtice, which, in the common courſe of events, left apparently to their natural operation, fortune has adminiſtered to ſo perverſe a generation of men. It is then to be obſerved, that from the ſtate of population, rank, and opulence which we have deſcribed, there is ſcarcely, at the time we are writing, in the whole kingdom of France, ſo fallen, ſo reduced, ſo beggarly a town as Verſailles; while want and diſtreſs operating upon a proper diſpoſition of mind, have rendered the inhabitants ſo notorious for ſharping and impoſition, that their lodgings, which might afford them ſome tolerable means of ſupport, generally lie, through this cauſe, untenanted upon their hands; although the purity of the air, the excellency of the ſituation, the quiet and ſilence which now reign there, along with that penſive pleaſure which men derive from contemplating the ruins of fallen greatneſs, would otherwiſe have rendered it, both to natives and foreigners, one of the moſt delightful places of retirement that could any where be found.

The populace of Paris, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the late law againſt riots, and the terrors to be apprehended from the hoiſting of the bloody flag, began to give ſtrong indications of their diſpoſition to renew their uſual courſe of tumults, about the very time that their neighbours of Verſailles were ſo ſedulouſly forcing themſelves into notice, and had excited ſo much ſuſpicion and trouble. One of the aſſigned cauſes for theſe movements among the Pariſians was the price of bread. This eſſential article of life, without any regard to the prices of grain, or conſideration with reſpect to the famine which then ſo ſeverely preſſed all others, inſiſted that the price of bread ſhould be unalterably fixed in Paris at the very low rate of two ſous per pound. This demand will appear the more ſingular and curious, when it is known, that the Pariſians were at this time ſupplied with bread at a rate which would, *ceteris paribus*, prove an expence or loſs to the nation of twenty-two millions of livres a year; they conſuming bread to that amount cheaper than it could be procured by any other men in the kingdom.

But the Pariſians felt another cauſe of diſcontent, which operated much more grievouſly upon their imaginations than the price of bread, however intereſting that might appear. The proceedings of the court of chatelet had given the greateſt offence to the body of the populace. That court having been conſtituted by the national aſſembly a temporary judicature for the trial and puniſhment of all treaſons againſt the nation, had accordingly proceeded through, what we ſhould have called here, a courſe of ſtate trials. They began their proceſs with the baron de Bezenval, the Swiſs general, whoſe life, as we have before ſeen, had been preſerved with ſo much difficulty from the fury of the Pariſians. They accordingly watched the iſſue of this trial with the deepeſt anxiety; ſtill flattering themſelves that the court would not dare to acquit a man who they had ſo long and ſo often condemned; and warmly hoping, that ſo long and grievous a ceſſation from action and amuſement as they had now endured, would be cloſed by a ſportive holiday, on which the baron's mangled carcaſe, dragged in proceſſion through the ſtreets, and his head exalted on a pike, would renew a pleaſing remembrance of all their paſt triumphs.

The ſturdy Switzer faced his trial with a degree of compoſure, firmneſs, and reſolution which aſtoniſhed the beholders; and repelled the accuſations brought againſt him with ſuch judgment and ſpirit, that the court could not, either with regard to juſtice, or to their own character, poſſibly avoid acquitting him; at the ſame time, that the ſuperior contempt which he ſhewed for any danger that might accrue from a due diſcharge of his military duties, ſeemed to overawe even his enemies. It is however to be obſerved, that the Swiſs cantons took ſo ſpirited a part in behalf of their ſuffering commander, that it is thought the national aſſembly did not wiſh matters to be carried to extremity againſt him; ſo that the violence of the mob was poſſibly the greateſt danger, which he apprehended he had to encounter.

Although the court had not yet declared the ſentence, yet every body being now convinced of his acquittal, nothing could exceed the rage and indignation of the populace; who conſidered the boaſted benefits of the revolution as nothing but deceptions, if the majeſty of the people was to be thus flagrantly inſulted, and their authority groſsly invaded, by attempting to ſtrip them of the inherent right of ſummary and executive juſtice. They accordingly determined to force the priſon in which Bezenval was confined by the chatelet, and to exhibit in his perſon a memorable and bloody inſtance to mankind of that inexorable juſtice by which they were guided; the execution of which ſhould not be prevented or diverted, by any laws or by any authority.

The 12th of January was fixed upon for the execution of this deſign; and the expectation and cruel hopes of the rabble were riſen to the higheſt point at which they were capable of arriving. But things were much changed in this reſpect, and they were not able in their preſent ſtate to conduct ſchemes of this nature with that ſecrecy and concealment, which are ſo neceſſary to their ſucceſs, and which afforded them ſuch infinite advantages in their paſt conflicts with the court. Bailly, La Fayette, the chatelet, the national aſſembly, and in a word, every part of government, became maſters of the whole deſign, before it could be carried into execution, and all adopted ſuch meaſures as ſeemed beſt calculated for its prevention or defeat. La Fayette acted with great vigour, diligence, and effect; but one circumſtance in his conduct occaſioned much ſurpriſe, and afforded no ſmall room for ſpeculation. This was his placing the ſecurity of Paris, and the preſervation of her tranquillity, in the hands of the bourgeoiſe militia, inſtead of entruſting them to the regular ſtanding forces, who received conſtant pay, and of whom the late French guards formed ſo conſpicuous a part. Nothing could be more flattering to the militia than this diſtinction, and mark of unlimited confidence, in a caſe of ſo much ſuppoſed danger; they accordingly acted their part inimitably well; but nothing could be a more galling affront to the regular troops than this preference given to men whom they deſpiſed.

Though the immediate deſigns of the plotters were thus overthrown, yet the capital continued in a ſtate of great diſorder for two or three days. Cabals and meetings were continually taking place, and all the paſt indications of miſchief were renewed, and ſeemed to appear in ſtronger colours than uſual. The Verſaillians were again ſuppoſed formidable, and thouſands of them were ſaid to be mixed with the Pariſians. Miſchiefs of every kind, and accompanied with every degree of horror and ruin, were generally expected; and even thoſe the beſt informed, ſuppoſed ſome great, and probably dreadful event. The ariſtocrates were charged with being the authors of all this evil, in their endeavours to carry off the king, and to bring about a counter-revolution. It would only have expoſed a ſtranger to mockery or ſuſpicion, if he attempted to ſhow the glaring improbability of ſo unnatural and monſtrous a coalition or alliance, as that ſuppoſed between the royaliſts and the rabble of Paris or Verſailles, who ſeemed by ſome inherent inſtinct deſtined to be their mortal and implacable enemies. At the ſame time, it was openly ſaid on all ſides, that the king's life would be the immediate ſacrifice to any attempt to reſcue his perſon; and that the whole royal family would probably periſh at the ſame inſtant. All foreigners, who had any knowledge of the former, and even very late character of the people, were aſtoniſhed at the coolneſs and indifference with which the immolation of the ſovereign, in ſuch a circumſtance, was publicly talked of, in all companies, from the higheſt to the loweſt, as an act which of courſe muſt take place.

In the mean time, La Fayette and his militia, by a vigorous act of exertion, put an end to the combuſtion in Paris. He ſuddenly ſurrounded at night, a body of 1100 of the mutineers, who were aſſembled in the *Champs Elyſées*, of whom he made 200 priſoners; the reſt being ſo terrified, that they ſeemed to conſider themſelves happy in eſcaping with their lives. On ſearching the priſoners, they were found well furniſhed with powder and ball, made up into cartridges, but not a ſingle muſket was found or ſeen in the whole party. This put a ſtop for the preſent to nocturnal meetings, as well as to riots by day. Yet ſuch was the genius of the time for the fabrication of plots, for the diſcovery of myſteries in the moſt common and obvious occurrences, and for the belief of the moſt incredible fables, that this was ſtill inſiſted upon, and that by men otherwiſe of good ſenſe and well informed, to be the beginning of a grand ariſtocratical plot, deeply laid for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution and preſent government. A troubleſome queſtion, however, ſtill remained to be ſolved, who thoſe immediate inſtruments of the plot, thoſe actual rioters were? With the evidence of 200 priſoners before them, this ſeemed a queſtion eaſily reſolved; but it would be too much to ſuppoſe the patriotic Pariſians the authors of ſuch a crime; and as to the Verſaillians, beſides that they had borne their full ſhare of reproach already, they were too near neighbours to be loaded with all the infamy. In this difficulty, the term of *brigands*, which had already anſwered ſo excellent a purpoſe, in deſtroying the caſtles of the nobility, luckily occurred; but, as if queſtions multiplied in proportion as they were reſolved, it ſtill remained to be anſwered, who theſe brigands were? if they were men like others, and not totally imaginary beings, their exiſtence might ſurely be eaſily identified,

identified. The only ſolution that could be found to this queſtion, was the ſuppoſition, that they were compoſed of Germans and other foreigners, who had come to Paris for the purpoſe of raiſing tumults, in order to facilitate the carrying of this incomprehenſible plot into execution.

Bezenval being acquitted, and ſafely diſcharged from Paris, the chatelet now ventured upon what before would have ſeemed a moſt dangerous taſk, that of proceeding to the trial of the prince of Lambeſc, of marſhal Broglio, and of ſome others of thoſe principal fugitives, who had been long accuſed of that real or ſuppoſed plot, for the deſtruction of the city of Paris, of the national aſſembly, for governing the kingdom entirely by the ſword, and placing the king in a ſtate of more unbridled deſpotiſm, than even the worſt of his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed or attempted, and which had laid the foundation of the revolution in the preceding month of July, as well as of all its ſubſequent conſequences, to the preſent day. As the event of theſe trials ſeemed to include in no ſmall degree the grand queſtion on the neceſſity, juſtneſs, or fitneſs of the revolution, which derived its birth from this ſuppoſed plot, ſo no cauſe could be more intereſting, or excite greater expectation; and the ſeveral parts of it had been ſo long, ſo often, and ſo peremptorily repeated and aſſerted, that it was ſuppoſed ſuch a body of evidence as nothing could reſiſt or controvert, would now be brought forward in its ſupport. But to the inexpreſſible ſurprize of every body, excepting, perhaps, thoſe, who were in the immediate ſecret of things, no evidence beyond conjecture, inference, vague reports, and hearſay converſations, appeared on the ſide of the proſecution; ſo that the plot ſtill lay in its original ſtate of darkneſs, and Broglio, with the other fugitives, were of courſe acquitted of the crime of *leze nation.*

It will always be found difficult in many caſes, to reconcile or account for the various contradictions and inconſiſtencies, which appear in the conduct and actions of men. Although this buſineſs undoubtedly ſtood foremoſt in point of importance of all thoſe which had been preſcribed to the cognizance of the chatelet, yet there are good reaſons for believing that its being brought forward was highly diſagreeable to the principal rulers; who could not wiſh that the weakneſs which now appeared in ſo eſſential a point, through the total failure of all evidence in its ſupport, ſhould have been thus nakedly expoſed to all the world. It was probably imagined, that this was an affair which carried ſuch appearances of danger on whatever ſide it was examined, that the chatelet would not venture to meddle with it; and it was poſſibly intended, that no great apology would be neceſſary to juſtify the omiſſion. However that was, the chatelet ſoon became an object of conſtant abuſe with the democratical writers, and was treated with a coldneſs and indifference by the aſſembly, which ſtrongly indicated that its new powers were not likely to be laſting.

It would ſeem as if this ſtate of things produced in one inſtance a diſpoſition to temporize, and accommodate matters to the occaſion, in that court, which ill accorded with that high character of honour and inflexible integrity, which through a long courſe of paſt years it had, in defiance of power, ſo juſtly merited, and ſo often nobly ſuſtained. This was in the caſe of one Favras, who, if we miſtake not, was a member of the national aſſembly. This man was charged with being concerned in a plot for overthrowing the new conſtitution, and for bringing about a counter-revolution. The evidence againſt him was ſo weak and defective, that it has been compared with that which has heretofore been received, and brought ſo much diſgrace upon the courſe of legal juſtice in our own country, in thoſe unfortunate periods of its hiſtory, when Titus Oates and ſimilar villains were allowed to flouriſh, and ſuch men as Jefferies were the diſpenſers of our laws. Favras was condemned and executed; and this unfortunate man was generally conſidered as a victim deſtined to be a peace-offering to the Pariſians; in the vain hope of reconciling them to the loſs of thoſe others on whom their deſire was much more ſtrongly fixed. It was a curious circumſtance, and worthy of notice, that the conduct of the chatelet, inſtead of procuring the end propoſed, was equally reprobated and condemned by both parties; and that that court was overwhelmed with ſuch torrents of reproach coming from all quarters, as it had never before in the courſe of its exiſtence experienced.

Convinced as they undoubtedly were of its juſtneſs, the chatelet did not ſink under the weight of the reproach; but ſeemed deſirous of retrieving their character by the vigour with which they proſecuted the enquiry after the authors of the plot, murders, and intended maſſacre of the 6th of October; being thoſe worthy citizens, who had been repreſented by the democratical writers as totally innocent of all crime, and as acting purely in their own defence. Not content, however, with this inſtance of independence and ſpirit, as if it were to afford a demonſtration that the love of juſtice was the only operative motive of their actions, they entered deeply and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs into that, evidently, moſt critical and dangerous buſineſs, an enquiry into the conduct, deſigns and proceedings of the duke of Orleans, and of Mirabeau, who acting apparently as his inſtrument, was in fact the framer of every thing that ſhewed genius in his plans, and that went beyond cunning in his projects. It required no inſpiration, nor even much ſagacity, to have ſeen, that whether theſe enquiries came within the letter of their inſtructions or not, they could not at all accord with their ſpirit and deſign; and were widely different from the purpoſes to which that court owed its temporary inſtitution. They were, however, admitted to proceed to a certain decent and conſiderable length in their enquiries; until at length becoming too troubleſome, bringing matters to light which there was no occaſion ſhould be publicly known, and the preſervation of thoſe appearances which operated to their inſtitution being no longer neceſſary, their powers were ſuddenly withdrawn, their enquiries left unfiniſhed, and the chatelet for ever laid by. This was ſoon followed by the total annihilation of that, and of all the other ancient courts of law and juſtice in the kingdom.

In the mean time the king's firmneſs in rejecting the propoſed viſit and coalition, was, through means or motives of which we are not informed, at length overcome. It is not to be ſuppoſed that he could be totally indifferent to the menaces againſt his life which were continually thrown out in caſe of any attempt to reſcue his perſon, (an event hourly to be looked for, without his concurrence or knowledge, in the preſent ſtate of temper and diſcontent which prevailed through ſo great a part of the nation) and conſidering his remarkable affection for the queen and children, whoſe lives, he knew, hung by the ſame hair with his own, it is not to be ſuppoſed but he was as deeply affected on their account as his own. Perhaps other motives might have operated.

Feb. 4th, 1790. Whatever they were, the king appeared ſuddenly at the national aſſembly, where he complained of the attempts which were made to ſhake the baſis of the new conſtitution, and declared it to be his deſire, that it ſhould be univerſally known, that the monarch and the repreſentatives of the nation were entirely united; that their wiſhes were the ſame; that he would defend the conſtitutional liberty, the principles of which the general wiſh, in concert with his own, had conſecrated; and that, conjointly with the queen, he would early form the heart and the ſentiments of his ſon, for that new order of things, which the circumſtances of the empire had introduced and ſanctified.

As ſoon as the king was withdrawn, the aſſembly voted an addreſs of thanks to him; and perceiving at once the deep diſmay and conſternation with which this unexpected meaſure ſeemed nearly to overwhelm the minority, they inſtantly determined to take advantage of their confuſion and aſtoniſhment, and immediately iſſued a decree, which, in that ſtate, none had the courage to oppoſe, and by which, every member was obliged to take the newly-deviſed civic oath, under the penalty of being excluded from giving his vote on any occaſion. This teſt was of ſuch a nature, that they had reaſon for conceiving it would prove effectual in purging the aſſembly of moſt, if not all of thoſe, whoſe names or countenance they no longer wanted, and whoſe company they no farther wiſhed to be troubled with. The aſſembly then decreed a general addreſs to the provinces, reminding them of all it had done for the ſake of public liberty, laying before them what it propoſed farther to do, for the complete regeneration of the empire, and holding out proper reaſons and arguments to prepoſſeſs them, againſt thoſe unfavourable impreſſions which evil minded perſons were endeavouring to infuſe upon their minds.

Soon after the exhibition of this ſtate farce, this ſtrange and extraordinary coalition, by which the king without gaining one new friend loſt many of the old, and much of the confidence and conſideration which he held with all, the national aſſembly reſumed the affairs of the clergy, a buſineſs which they juſtly conſidered of the laſt importance, as their eſtates and property were to ſupply that pledge and ſecurity, which was to be offered to the nation for the diſcharge of their immenſe debts, as well as to make good the current deficiencies which aroſe, from the failure of payment of the remaining taxes, and the total loſs of the moſt productive, which had been generally repealed.

Feb. 13th, 1790. At this meeting the aſſembly ſuppreſſed all monaſtic eſtabliſhments for ever, and confiſcated all their lands; allowing, however, the preſent friars and nuns to continue in the obſervance of their monaſtic vows; granting them ſome moderate ſtipends for maintenance; and to the nuns, the ſpecial favour and privilege, (which was indeed an act of great humanity, independent of its juſtice) that they ſhould not be removed from the convents in which they then reſided, without their own conſent and free choice.

As the buſineſs of the clergy was now brought nearly to a concluſion, at leaſt with reſpect to fact, though not entirely as to time, we ſhall purſue it to the end, leaving thoſe intermediate matters which occurred in its courſe ſubject to further obſervation. In the ſucceeding month of April, the aſſembly completed their plan. They voted away, in purſuance of their prior reſolution of November, all the territorial poſſeſſions of the church, deſtining them in general, but not ſpecific terms, to the payment of the public debt. They aſſigned to the churchmen, in return, certain fixed penſions, which though much ſmaller than their former revenues, were, perhaps, barely ſufficient for their exiſtence; although not in any degree ſuitable to their paſt habits, condition, or modes of living; many of them being neceſſarily of the firſt families in the kingdom, and long uſed to ſplendour, reſpect, and opulence. The aſſembly likewiſe, at this time, began to iſſue to the creditors of the ſtate a new kind of paper money under the name of aſſignations, that is aſſignats, on the church lands thus confiſcated, which were to be the general ſecurity for all the paper thus iſſued. From hence originated that inundation of aſſignats which have ſince deluged France and the neighbouring countries; and which have excited the aſtoniſhment of Europe, through the extraordinary exertions which they have enabled her to make.

It was a curious circumſtance that Mirabeau, who had ſo lately publiſhed a ſevere Philippic againſt the emperor Joſeph for the injuſtice of his claim on the Scheldt, and in which he particularly reprobated his conduct with reſpect to the plunder of the monaſteries and convents in the Low Countries, ſhould now, in ſo ſhort a period of time, have ſo totally departed from the ſentiments which he then avowed, that through the whole progreſs of the preſent buſineſs, he was, on every occaſion, the ſtrongeſt and moſt determined leader in, or ſupporter of all the violent proceedings carried on againſt the French clergy. The following ſentence, addreſſed to the emperor, in the treatiſe we have mentioned, will ſerve to illuſtrate this conduct as well as to juſtify the obſervation: "Deſpiſe the monks as much as you pleaſe, but do not rob them; for it is unlawful to rob either the moſt determined atheiſt or the moſt credulous capuchin friar." So much do men's ſentiments vary with circumſtances, even in queſtions of right or wrong, of juſtice or injuſtice! queſtions, which it might be ſuppoſed did not admit of any change of opinion.

CHAP. VII.

Ineffectual attempts made by the French privileged orders, for procuring redreſs or ſuccour from the neighbouring continental powers. State of political affairs in Europe, which, with other cauſes, tended to produce that indifference with reſpect to France which now appeared. Courts of Madrid and Turin. Raſh and impetuous proceedings, along with the contemptuous language uſed by the national aſſembly, ſerves continually to create new enemies abroad as well as at home. Wrong offered to the German princes with reſpect to their poſſeſſions and rights in Alſace, embitters the whole empire againſt the new government, and implants deeply the ſeeds of future contention and war. Weſt India colonies thrown into a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, and at length precipitated into the moſt dreadful ſcenes of deſolation, conflagration, and maſſacre, which terminate in final deſtruction, by a ſeries of ill-judged and precipitate meaſures, of impolitic, impracticable, or contradictory decrees. Great diſorders in the army. Soldiers throw off all ſubordination and diſcipline. The people being now in poſſeſſion of liberty, a deſire of uncontrolled rule and ſovereignty becomes the leading and general paſſion, a circumſtance which ſerves greatly to unite them, and to ſtrengthen the new ſyſtem. The weak attempts of the royaliſts, and the continual reports of plots, conſpiracies, and invaſions, cauſe ſuch a general alarm, that the provinces aſſociate and arm; ſo that France ſeems covered with camps and armies. State of the ariſtocrates and parties adverſe to government. Corſica annexed to France as part of the kingdom. Application from the court of Spain relative to the diſpute with England, brings on a debate on the queſtion, in whoſe hands the right of peace and war ſhould be lodged. Second application from Spain brings on a change of the miniſtry. Mutiny of the fleet at Breſt. Anacharis Clootz, introduces to the aſſembly his ambaſſadors from all mankind. Decree for aboliſhing all titles, and obliterating all memorials of nobility and family diſtinction, for ever in France. Grand national confederation at Paris. Bloody conteſt at Nancy. Mr. Neckar quits the kingdom, after various diſgraces, and narrowly eſcaping the fury of the Pariſians. Schiſm of the French clergy; the greater part of whom ſubmit to the loſs of their penſions, and to expulſion from their paſtoral duties, rather than to take the newly-preſcribed oaths.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immediate diſmay produced by the late act of the king, in approving of all the proceedings of the aſſembly, and in diſclaiming and reprobating all the meaſures purſued in his favour, the ruined privileged orders ſoon recollected themſelves, and inſtead of ſinking under that unexpected blow, ſeemed in a little time to acquire freſh activity and new vigour, from a check which had at firſt impreſſed them with ſuch viſible conſternation. For though, in order to ſtrengthen both, they wiſhed to make their own cauſe common with that of the crown, in every attempt for the recovery of the loſt, or the preſervation of what remained of their mutual rights, yet they conſidered their own diſtinct intereſts as being of too great a magnitude, and too immediate an importance, to be ſacrificed to the weakneſs, the caprice, or to the perſonal terrors, of their wretched, impriſoned ſovereign.

In this ſtate they naturally turned their eyes in the firſt inſtance to their own refugee princes at the court of Turin, with whom they held a cloſe correſpondence, particularly from the ſouthern provinces; but theſe ruined princes, who were beholden to ſtrangers for ſhelter and ſubſiſtence, could afford no other means of ſupport or aſſiſtance than the little which might poſſibly be derived merely from their names and rank; while this ſource, weak and confined as it would have been at beſt, was ſtill farther narrowed, and reduced almoſt to nothing, by the peculiar unpopularity in which the raſhneſs and imprudence of the count d'Artois, had very unfortunately involved that prince. The alarmed and diſtreſſed nobility did not, however, reſt here; they are ſaid to have been inceſſant in their applications to all the neighbouring continental powers for their interference in delivering their king, and in aſſiſting to eſtabliſh in their wretched country ſome juſt and equitable form of government, which, under the ſanction of a limited and well-regulated monarchy, might put an end to the preſent horrid ſcene of confuſion and anarchy, while it afforded liberty of perſon and ſecurity of property to every order and claſs of the people.

But it happened unfortunately with reſpect to the cauſe of the diſtreſſed, that Europe ſeldom has been, through a long courſe of years, in a ſtate leſs capable of affording the ſuccour now demanded, or in which the minds of the people, or the diſpoſition of the ſovereigns, were leſs calculated for undertaking any enterprize, than at the preſent. The mad ambition of the emperor Joſeph, under the influence of the overwhelming power and vaſt deſigns of Ruſſia, to which he became ſo miſerable a dupe, beſides the ruin and the ſpirit of revolt which it ſpread through his own vaſt dominions, had in no ſmall degree deranged the general policy of Europe; for while ſeveral ſtates were watching with apprehenſion and diſmay, the dreaded evils which the farther progreſs and ſucceſs of the dangerous combination between theſe two mighty empires were capable of producing, others, who being more powerful were leſs apprehenſive of danger, were, however, no leſs occupied in attending to the ſame objects, in the hope of deriving ſome benefit to themſelves in the iſſue, from the poſſibly diſaſtrous events, and from the unforeſeen circumſtances of diſunion, which the courſe of ſo doubtful a purſuit, and of ſo impolitic and unnatural an alliance, might be capable of producing. While all ſpirit of adventure was thus effectually reſtrained in the centre and north of Europe, the court of Spain, ſo cloſely united in blood and alliance with the king and government of France, was, at this critical ſeaſon, when the exiſtence of the great and parent ſtock of the Bourbon line was more than at ſtake, moſt induſtriouſly involving herſelf in a ridiculous ſquabble with England, the object of diſpute ſcarcely bearing or deſerving a name; and was wantonly and blindly ruſhing into a conteſt which ſhe was totally incapable of ſuſtaining. On the other ſide of the Mediterranean, the king of Sardinia, beſides his being by nature a peaceable prince totally indiſpoſed to war, was not, from the ſtate of his finances, of his army, of his fortreſſes, or of any of the leading requiſites eſſential to ſuch a deciſion, in any condition to hazard the experiment, even ſuppoſing that his own diſpoſition had prompted him ever ſo ſtrongly to the meaſure.

Under theſe circumſtances it ſo happened, that ſcarcely in any age ancient or modern, whether among refined or half civilized nations, any ſimilar body of men, ſo ſuddenly involved in the moſt pitiable ſtate of degradation and ruin, ever excited ſo little ſympathy, or ever met with ſo cold and forbidding a reception, as the French nobility experienced upon this occaſion in all the neighbouring countries. They were, almoſt without exception, every where beheld with a prejudiced and malignant, rather than a kind or benevolent eye; and even while they yet poſſeſſed money, found it difficult to procure ſhelter. It would be in vain to attribute this general public diſlike (for it was much ſtronger than mere indifference) to political cauſes or motives, any more than to the particular diſpoſition of ſovereigns. For, although the human mind willingly makes many great ſacrifices to laws, to government, and to power, it is by no means diſpoſed to reſign its ſympathies or antipathies to the will or opinion of others; and perhaps leſs ſo to its rulers than to any. In whatever intereſts the heart it is extremely tenacious; nature ſeeming to have implanted that principle in order to afford ſome ſhelter or refuge, even in deſpite of power, to the forlorn victims of oppreſſion and diſtreſs. There ſeems much room then for preſuming, unleſs ſome more cogent cauſe can be produced, than the inſufferable vanity and arrogance, which had ever marked the character of that people, whether collectively or individually, through all the days of their proſperity, was now, in the hard ſeaſon of their adverſity, too well remembered by thoſe neighbours, whom they had heretofore treated with the moſt ſupreme and mortifying contempt.

But the overweening confidence, the raſh and imperious language, with the precipitate determinations of the national aſſembly, were fully competent to the creation of enemies abroad as well as at home, who might otherwiſe have been friends, or at leaſt indifferent ſpectators. In their rage for the total overthrow and abolition of the feudal ſyſtem, they had paid as little regard to the rights and intereſts of foreigners, as they had done in all caſes with reſpect to thoſe of their own nobility and clergy. The duke of Wirtemberg, the prince of Deuxponts, with many other German princes both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, held great poſſeſſions in Alſace, and other provinces, which France had heretofore wrenched from the empire in the days of its troubles and diſtreſs, and which theſe princes held by the ſame original tenure that they did their other eſtates more immediately at home. Theſe ſeveral diſtricts, with all the ancient rights appertaining to them, were, in the year 1648, after the forcible transfer of paramount dominion by arms had already taken place, farther ſecured, confirmed, and guaranteed to the poſſeſſors, in the ſtrongeſt manner, by the celebrated treaty of Weſtphalia, to which France herſelf was a contracting party, and from which alone ſhe can derive any legal title or claim to the provinces in queſtion, of which theſe leſſer fiefs compoſe a conſiderable part. Yet theſe rights, ſo authentically confirmed and guaranteed, had been, without the ſmalleſt explanation or ceremony, totally ſet aſide and ſubverted, by the ſimple decree of a new and unheard-of body of men, who ſuddenly called themſelves a French aſſembly, while a captive king, in violation of treaties by which he was perſonally, and his country through him directly bound, and in direct contradiction to his own opinion and advice publicly communicated to that aſſembly, was compelled, moſt unwillingly, to give his ſanction to this violation and wrong.

We have already ſeen the indignation excited in the aſſembly, juſt before the king's removal from Verſailles, upon receiving his letter, in which he had ventured to expoſtulate, in the gentleſt terms, upon the impolicy and danger, as well as the flagrant injuſtice, of this, and of ſome others of their acts, which had been then haſtily decreed; we have likewiſe ſeen, that at ten o'clock at night, in the midſt of that dreadful tumult, in which his life apparently hung by a ſingle hair, he was obliged, without comment, explanation, or reſerve, to give his ſanction to this decree, as well as to that which eſtabliſhed and confirmed the revolution, and to all others which were then in readineſs. Upon this, as well as upon every other occaſion in which the ſubject was at all mentioned, the national aſſembly affected to treat the rights and claims, as well as the perſons and condition of the ſoreign princes with the moſt inſufferable contempt; nor did their great bond of right and ſecurity, the treaty of Weſtphalia, which is conſidered as the Magna Charta of the Germanic empire, and held by that people as little leſs than ſacred, meet with any greater reſpect.

This occaſioned a general outcry againſt the French, and particularly againſt the conduct of their aſſembly, in Germany; while the injured princes, no leſs irritated perhaps by the injurious treatment which they received, than by their immediate loſſes, were inceſſant in their applications, both individually and collectively, to the diet of the empire for protection and redreſs. The diet took up the buſineſs with great ſpirit; and though the untoward ſtate of public affairs did not yet afford leiſure to the great powers of the empire to take ſuch an active ſhare in the buſineſs as might give immediate efficacy to its proceedings and intentions, it was by no means the leſs ſenſible of the injury and wrong, and of the inſult thereby offered to the whole Germanic body. It is not indeed improbable, that the vexatious inability of enforcing its reſolutions which the diet now experienced, ſerved much to increaſe its indignation and reſentment. We accordingly find, that the diet became and continued exceedingly adverſe, and avowedly diſpoſed to be hoſtile to the new French government, which they conſidered as commencing its career by a flagrant violation of public faith and of the moſt ſacred treaties, of ſetting the general opinions and laws of mankind at defiance, and of wiſhing to diſſolve or overthrow all thoſe compacts between nations, which had been conſtructed as mounds for the preſervation of their mutual peace and ſecurity. In this temper, and with theſe opinions, the Germanic body, through the medium of its diet, only waited for the arrival of the proper ſeaſon, and the concurrence of the proper means, to carry the effect of their reſentment, and the redreſs of the injury offered, at once into execution.

Thus from the habit of giving a looſe and unbounded ſcope to haughty, contemptuous, and arrogant language, of turning all matters, however ſerious, to ridicule, which did not entirely correſpond with their own ideas, or directly ſuit their liking, and by a dictatorial and peremptory mode of proceeding, in all points correſponding with the language and manner, were the ſeeds of a ſevere, bitter, and extenſive war, capable of events and conſequences far beyond all calculation, moſt induſtriouſly ſown by the national aſſembly in that wide and powerful empire. Whereas, if a due attention had been at firſt paid to propriety of language and conduct, if the ſemblance of juſtice and equity had been obſerved, by duly examining and conſidering the rights of the princes and the obligations of treaties, and if the reſult of this enquiry had been, the propoſal of a fair compenſation to the former for the ſurrender of their feudal rights, there is not the ſmalleſt room for doubting, that this troubleſome buſineſs would have been eaſily accommodated; and if the princes had even in ſome degree overrated their demands, political prudence would have ſhewn, that it was more eligible to ſubmit to ſome ſmall preſent pecuniary extortion, and thereby get quit of a claim which could never be renewed, than to ſuffer, particularly in ſo critical a ſeaſon as the preſent, ſuch a bone of endleſs diſcord to continue conſtantly in view.

When it was too late, the aſſembly ſeemed in ſome degree to become ſenſible of its error, or at leaſt to be alarmed at the effect which it was already producing, and ſeveral months after the abolition of the feudal rights, it careleſsly voted an indemnification to the German princes. But the ſeaſon for conciliatory accommodation was now paſt; the reſentment of the injured had riſen to its utmoſt pitch; they perceived that the indignation of their friends, neighbours, and coeſtates in general, was equally excited with their own; they had been forced to appeal to another ſource for redreſs, which they knew would ſooner or later be obtained, and that probably accompanied with a pleaſing gratification of their vengeance. Under theſe circumſtances, and in this temper, they refuſed to ſell or to barter their birthrights. The aſſembly ſhewed a ſtoical indifference, which they ſeemed to think conſonant with the ſtern and inflexible dignity of Republicans, upon this refuſal. They, however, ordered the offer of indemnification to be repeated, and left the matter after to take its ordinary courſe.

Nor was the national aſſembly more fortunate with reſpect to the government of the French colonies in the Weſt Indies, than it was in its tranſactions with foreigners; and theſe great, and apparently inexhauſtible ſources of the commerce, wealth, power, and naval force of France, have in the iſſue been totally ruined, by a ſeries of precipitate meaſures, of raſh and untried ſchemes, adopted without due conſideration, or competent knowledge of the ſubject, and founded upon the ſame order of abſtract notions, and metaphyſical dreams, which had involved the parent country in its preſent unparalleled ſituation. It had been early and well obſerved in the aſſembly by M. Barnave, an able and eminent leader in the accompliſhment of the revolution, and who went all lengths with the ruling party, "that, unfortunately, their "rights of men could not apply to "the Weſt Indies; that if they endeavoured to make the application, they would loſe their colonies, impoveriſh their trading "and manufacturing towns, until "the common people, grown deſperate by the diſappointment of "their hopes, would be ready to ſell "themſelves to the enemies of the "revolution." Indeed there can be no queſtion, but that conſidered merely as a ſubject of ſtate policy, without any reference to philoſophy, or to the milder feelings of humanity, that the general declaration of the rights of man, without any diſtinction of country or colour, by a nation poſſeſſing great and extenſive colonies cultivated by ſlaves, and ſtill determined to retain theſe colonies, under a full intention of reaping all the cuſtomary advantages from them, without providing any ſubſtitutes for the ſlaves, or any indemnification for their owners, muſt ever be deemed a raſh, as well as a haſty and improvident meaſure; but neither theſe conſiderations, nor the eloquence nor warnings of Barnave, were at all capable of reſiſting that democratical rage for liberty and equality which now prevailed.

A ſociety had for ſome time ſubſiſted in France under the title of *L'ami de Noir*, or the friends of the negroes, which owed its origin to the ſocieties formed in England upon the ſame principle; and like them iſſued ſeveral publications in favour of the oppreſſed Africans, which being induſtriouſly circulated in the Weſt India Iſlands, and well ſuited to the capacities as well as to the likings of that people, produced ſuch an effect, that they are ſuppoſed to have contributed much to the dreadful enormities which afterwards took place in theſe colonies. Although this ſociety was not much diſtinguiſhed by the rank, abilities, or even number of its members, nor indeed by any thing, but the humanity of its object, and the private virtues of ſeveral of the individuals of which it was compoſed, yet this being the age of ſentiment, as well as of innovation, and the doctrines it held out according with thoſe favourite ones of univerſal liberty and general equality, they became ſo faſhionable, that ſome names of conſiderable eminence were rendered odious, and their poſſeſſors marked out, not only as enemies to humanity, but to the new philoſophy and the ſyſtem formed on it in all their parts, for having ventured, on motives of policy, of general ſafety, and of juſtice to the planters, to expoſe, what appeared to them, their fallacy, impropriety, and danger.

The planters had made a complaint to the king, long before the commencement of his troubles, of the dangers to which they were already expoſed, and of the greater to which they were liable, through the proceedings of this ſociety; but they were grievouſly diſappointed upon receiving for anſwer, "That "he was glad to hear there was "ſuch a ſociety, and that ſome of "his ſubjects had humanity enough "to concern themſelves about the "fate of the poor negroes." An anſwer which ſufficiently teſtifies the natural tenderneſs and goodneſs which poſſeſſed the heart of the ſovereign; whatever impreſſion it may make with reſpect to his political wiſdom or knowledge. His miniſters, however, held very different ſentiments from the king upon this ſubject. Calonne had decreed conſiderable bounties to encourage and increaſe the ſlave trade; and Neckar, the avowed child of ſentiment, philanthropy, and morality, not only continued theſe bounties, but in a treatiſe, abounding otherwiſe with precepts and ſentiments of the greateſt humanity, laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, "that the nation which ſets "the example of aboliſhing the "ſlave trade, will become the dupe "of its own generoſity."

The exertions of the friends of the negroes, whether at home or abroad, ſeemed, however, to have loſt all conſideration and even remembrance, as ſoon as an account of the revolution at home reached the iſlands, and that the doctrines of univerſal liberty and equality were promulgated among the coloniſts. The beautiful iſland of St. Domingo, the fineſt parts of which were covered with a number of the moſt flouriſhing, rich, and happy colonies perhaps in the world, was the firſt, the greateſt, the moſt laſting, and the moſt deplorable victim to the enſuing calamities. Though a contempt of all government and ſubordination ſoon became general among all orders and degrees of men, yet the troops' ſeem to have been among the firſt who afforded a practical example of the enjoyment of their new liberty. This was diſplayed by the regiment of Port au Prince, in the murder of their colonel, a brave and diſtinguiſhed officer; who, in open day, was ſlaughtered at the head of his regiment. Single enormities, however ſtriking in themſelves, were ſoon loſt in the general glare of the greater which were to ſucceed. The coloniſts, like the people in France, were divided into two great parties, the royaliſts and the republicans, each of which appeared at different times to predominate; but the preſſure of domeſtic troubles and dangers excited by the new ſtate of things too immediately affected the planters, to admit of their yet cutting each others throats about the politics of Europe.

For the preſent occaſion drew forth and brought into a ſtate of great notoriety a new race of men, who had hitherto been little known or heard of, at leaſt on this ſide the Atlantic. Theſe were the mulattoes, a numerous, bold, hardy, daring, and profligate race; who being derived from the promiſcuous intercourſe between white men and negroe women, were, by a ſtrange perverſion of language, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of people of colour. The much greater part of theſe were by birth in the condition of free men, with reſpect to perſon and property, but were ſecluded by law from any ſhare in the civil government, and conſequently from giving their votes in the election of magiſtrates or deputies. Theſe now inſiſted upon a full participation of all the rights and privileges of free citizens, without any regard to the diſtinctions of birth or colour, which, they ſaid, had been formed in the days of deſpotiſm, darkneſs, and ignorance; and being much more numerous, as well as far exceeding in bodily ſtrength and courage the luxurious and enervated whites, they ſupported their claims, not only with an apparent ſenſe of their ſuperiority, but with all that prompt intemperance and arrogance, which ſeems to be peculiarly characteriſtic of that race.

Both parties ſent deputies to the national aſſembly; jarring, contradictory, and inexplicit decrees were ſent out: ſome of which were ſaid not to be underſtood, ſome impracticable, and others would not be obeyed. The colonial aſſembly was ſuſpected by the national of aiming at independency; and it was ſaid that the planters talked publicly of calling in the Engliſh and ſurrendering the iſland to them. Some of the decrees were underſtood by the mulattoes to confer rights on them, which the whites would not allow them to poſſeſs, and which the others prepared to wreſt from them by force; and until this attempt was made, the animoſity, and mutual abhorrence of the parties, was increaſed to a degree ſeldom equalled. In proceſs of time, commiſſioners were repeatedly ſent from France; but theſe carrying out with them the violent political prejudices which they had imbibed at home, and being generally men devoid of principle, if not of abilities, inſtead of attempting to heal differences, they, upon their arrival, depending upon the chances which length of time, diſtance, and the uncertain ſtate of government in the mother country, might produce in their favour, looked only to procure immediate power and conſequence, by placing themſelves at the head of ſome of the contending factions; and thus ruſhing at once as principals, into all the rage and fury of civil diſcord, increaſed to its utmoſt pitch, that confuſion and miſchief which they were intended to remedy.

It would fill a volume of no inconſiderable ſize to give only a brief narrative of the troubles which enſued in the French iſlands; of the continual diſputes which aroſe, and the ſhort intermiſſions of ſeeming conciliation which took place between the whites and the mulattoes, the maſters and their ſlaves, the governors and the colonial aſſemblies, and between the national aſſembly at home, and the two laſt: Without taking into the account the political factions which raged, and increaſed the general confuſion and fury; while every arrival from France was pregnant with new ſources of diſcord. In St. Domingo alone, three different colonial aſſemblies were choſen in three different parts of the iſland, who all ſitting at the ſame time, were only diſtinguiſhed by their endleſs contention.

A curious obſervation, which may not, perhaps, be entirely unworthy the contemplation of philoſophy, ariſes from a curſory conſideration of this ſubject; which is, that mankind are ſcarcely more ſlow in the progreſs of moral improvement, than they are in totally ſhaking off all ideas, natural or acquired, of order and juſtice. We ſee in the preſent inſtance, miſrule and diſorder producing a jumble of all the paſſions, of almoſt all orders, parties, colours, and degrees of men, which are thrown into a ſtate of the moſt violent fermentation; and yet we ſee, that it required ſome conſiderable courſe of practice in the commiſſion of crimes, and no ſmall extent of time, before this chaos of anarchy and confuſion could produce its ultimate effect, and plunge, even the moſt depraved, or moſt ignorant of mankind, into the laſt poſſible degree of atrocity and guilt.

As the ſeries of calamity and ruin which fell upon the French colonies are ſtill ſcarcely cloſed, it muſt ſuffice for us at the preſent to obſerve, that the mulattoes were the firſt, in St. Domingo, who had recourſe to arms; that numbers of negroes were by degrees armed and drawn in as auxiliaries; that after dreadful ſcenes of devaſtation, ſlaughter, and horror, the ſlaves being trained to loſe all reſpect for, and dread of their maſters, roſe upon their own account in rebellion, to the number of a hundred thouſand or more, with a view of totally exterminating the whites. And that thus, though by ſlow degrees, the aid of artillery, and the benefit of fortifications long preſerving ſome degree of balance, the final ruin of that fine iſland was preceded and accompanied by ſuch horrid ſcenes of cruelty, murder, maſſacre, conflagration, and general deſolation, as have ſeldom diſgraced the page of hiſtory, or equally wrung the hearts of mankind in the recital.

While the colonies were thus commencing, or already in the courſe of their diſaſtrous career, that plots, conſpiracies, and inſurrections, were the conſtant ſubjects of diſcourſe and apprehenſion at home, and that the ſmothering ſeeds of foreign war were ill covered in Germany, the ſtate of the army, which had in a great meaſure thrown off all ſubordination and diſcipline, was a ſource of much uneaſineſs to the national aſſembly. The troops had been guilty of great outrages in different parts of the kingdom; but tumult and outrage were things now ſo common, that theſe might have paſſed without much notice, if it had not been for the uncertainty from what ſpirit they proceeded, and of the political ſentiments which operated on the ſoldiers. Proper means were uſed to ſound the principles both of officers and private men, and the reſult of the enquiry was ſaid to be, that the former were very generally ariſtocrates, and were ſuppoſed to have been already corrupted by that party; but that the ſoldiers were as generally well diſpoſed to the revolution, and might without much difficulty be firmly ſecured to it. This object being accordingly eaſily attained, the army became, like the nation, divided into two great parties. But the means thus uſed for gaining or ſecuring the ſoldiers, however neceſſary it might have been on the preſent occaſion, had the ill effect of deſtroying all remains of ſubordination and diſcipline in the army; the ſoldiers, ſwelling with the importance which they found they poſſeſſed, and thereby ſecure of ſupport and protection in all caſes, now added contempt and party animoſity to that diſlike, ariſing only from an averſion to command, which they had before entertained for their officers.

ficers. Such an army was little calculated for public defence, or contention with a foreign enemy, however it might, through the very exceſs of its faultineſs, exceed all others in the peculiar ſervice of overawing and controlling the diſaffected at home; eſpecially in a ſtate of things, where the end was generally allowed to juſtify the means; and acts of violence and outrage were ſeldom enquired into, if they were committed on the right ſide of the queſtion, or under the influence, as it was termed, of true patriotiſm.

A change which now took place, or which had rather been gradually growing in the diſpoſition and ſentiments of the people ſince the commencement of the revolution, however dangerous or fatal it might prove in its future operation or conſequences, afforded, for the preſent, the greateſt ſtrength and ſecurity to the new ſyſtem, which it could poſſibly obtain. This was the violent paſſion for ſovereignty, which eaſily ſuperſeded the weaker deſire of liberty, whoſe poſſeſſion appeared as nothing, when placed in compariſon with the charms of that ſeducing enchantreſs. This paſſion was not confined to any particular order or claſs of men, but ſpread like a contagion through all ranks of the populace in every part of the kingdom, and rendered them as zealous patriots, in the common acceptation of that term at the time, that is, as anxious and as violent ſupporters of the preſent ſyſtem, as the national aſſembly themſelves.

It may be eaſily remembered, that from the beginning of the troubles this ſupreme authority had been continually exerciſed without ſcruple or ceremony, not only by thoſe ſmaller or greater communities who carried the appearance of acting in a public capacity, but very generally by mere individuals, or by any accidental collection of them, whether brought together in the purſuit of particular revenge, or prompted by the general deſire of plunder. In a word, the exerciſe of this uncontrouled authority, was held to be not only the criterion but the eſſence of freedom; and by degrees, its continual practice, led not only the larger diſtricts, but even ſmaller communities, in a great meaſure to conſider themſelves and to act, without any formal aſſumption of the name, as diſtinct republics, though connected by ſome ſort of federal union, the nature of which they took no trouble to enquire into. They, however, conſidered the national aſſembly as a neceſſary legiſlative and executive head, for the purpoſes of preventing diſcord among the numberleſs parts, of conducting the public buſineſs, including the management of the revenue, and of concentrating and directing the common force; while with all theſe high powers, they held that body to be ultimately ſubject to their general and ſupreme controul. Upon the ſame principle, and under the ſame impreſſion, every active citizen, if not every one at large, now ſtood high in his own eſtimation, as being one of the five or ſix millions of joint ſovereigns who ruled a great empire.

This general paſſion for rule in the people, and opinion of its being a right, ſo ſubverſive of all government, and not leſs incompatible with the principles of a republic than a monarchy, having been brought into being and act by circumſtance and occaſion, was nouriſhed and foſtered, not only by the new doctrines promulgated by the national aſſembly, but, perhaps, ſtill more, by the new and ſtrange language which it became faſhionable to uſe in that body; the majeſty of the people, their ſupreme authority, their uncontrollable power, to which all things muſt bend, and even the principles of law, juſtice, and right give way, being the uſual flowers of ſpeech which adorned every harangue, that pretended to any merit, or that hoped for any praiſe. The effect of ſuch language continually reſounding in the ears of a people already maddened by the very doctrines which it conveyed and confirmed, may be much more eaſily imagined than expreſſed. In fact, popularity being the idol to which all the writers and orators, not only in the aſſembly, but throughout the kingdom, paid their conſtant and moſt fervent devotion, all their writings and all their ſpeeches, were directed to flatter the populace, and conſequently tended to cheriſh and increaſe this dangerous phrenzy.

As the deſire of rule and ſovereignty is inherent in the human breaſt, and among the ſtrongeſt of all the paſſions that infeſt it, it cannot be wondered at, that the petty but numerous poſſeſſors of new and unexpected power, ſhould determine, at all events, to preſerve ſo invaluable a treaſure, and ſhould tremble at every apprehenſion of its loſs. This coaleſced the apparent bulk of the nation, or at leaſt the acting part of it, to a man, in one common intereſt, and bond of union, which, however fragile all other ties might prove, carried in its nature the appearance of indiſſolubility, as the cauſes which produced it could never ceaſe to operate. The moſt uninformed of thoſe, who were thus ſuddenly curſt, or as they deemed it bleſt with the poſſeſſion of power, could ſcarcely avoid perceiving, that no other ſyſtem of government upon earth, than the preſent, could or would have endued them with ſuch an authority; and every man accordingly found himſelf immediately bound, by the moſt captivating and irreſiſtable motives, to ſupport and defend at all riſques, and in defiance of all perils, that ſtate of things which procured him ſuch unſpeakable happineſs.

The real or pretended plots and conſpiracies, as well as the foreign dangers which were unceaſingly held out, along with the real vague and futile induſtry of the reſtleſs and ruined royaliſts, who were eagerly graſping at every ſhadow, which ſeemed to indicate in the weakeſt degree, the moſt deluſive hopes of recovering their rights, excited the greateſt poſſible alarm among thoſe people, who were now in poſſeſſion of all the ſmaller diviſions of power and authority, and who were determined to maintain what they poſſeſſed. The province of Bretagne was the firſt that ſet the example of aſſociating, arming, and forming large bodies of men in military array, with an aſſumption of the government and appearance of armies, for the defence of the new conſtitution againſt all its enemies foreign or domeſtic. This example was ſpeedily followed by its neighbours, particularly the provinces on the ſouthern ſide, and in a little time became general throughout the kingdom.

Thus was produced that extraordinary diſplay of the might and greatneſs of France, the glories of which, even the eloquent hiſtorian of the revolution, ſeems at ſome loſs to find words ſufficiently ſplendid to deſcribe; although he informs us, "that the earth ſeemed to bring forth armies." That, "nothing was to be ſeen any where but battalions of citizens, who, aſſembled in thouſands, were ſwearing to live free, or to periſh. The clang of arms, the military muſic, the banners floating in the wind, the delightful ſentiments of brotherhood, which bound ſo great a multitude to one and the ſame cauſe, all awakened in their hearts the enthuſiaſm of liberty." And that "France beheld four millions of men in arms upon her plains; millions conſcious of their ſtrength, and well acquainted with their rights."

And yet, notwithſtanding this terrific muſter-roll, which ſeemed to hold out defiance to the united force of mankind, there is every reaſon to believe that the number of the diſaffected throughout the kingdom, was at leaſt equal to that of the ſupporters of the new ſyſtem; ſo that the ſuppoſed four millions of men in arms muſt have been a groſs exaggeration, as the general population muſt otherwiſe have far exceeded any rational eſtimate that ever was or could be made of it; without obſerving, what has ſince evidently appeared, that the kingdom did not poſſeſs arms ſufficient for one fourth of the aſſigned number. For beſides the two great bodies of the nobility and clergy, whoſe diſcontent was avowed, and their enmity ſcarcely denied, even ſo far as prudence and ſafety required, all the late parliaments and magiſtrates throughout the kingdom, with all the retainers and harbingers of law and of juſtice, in all their various degrees, (whoſe numbers in France were ſo prodigious, that a true eſtimate of them, if it could be made, would appear incredible) were to a man, excepting ſomething between one and two hundred village attornies who ſat in the national aſſembly, totally adverſe and hoſtile to the new government. This body was deemed ſo formidable, that Rabaut ſeems to conſider, the men of the law, the appellation by which he claſſed them in the groſs, among the moſt dangerous enemies of the new conſtitution. To theſe were to be added the working manufacturers throughout the kingdom, whoſe number was beyond count, and whoſe diſtreſſes were now great and general; nor was perhaps the number of laborious poor in the provinces much leſs, whoſe families could ſcarcely have exiſted in any manner, but for the foſtering benevolence and bounty of their lords, who were now either ruined or abſent, and of the clergy, who were in ſtill a worſe ſtate. To all theſe might be added an immenſe number of others, under various deſcriptions, whoſe loſſes or diſappointments had rendered them unhappy, and conſequently diſſatiſfied with the preſent ſtate of affairs.

The diſorders, tumults, aſſaſſinations, and maſſacres, which were continually taking place in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the great cities, being in many inſtances attributed to the bad conduct of the municipalities, and to contentions between themſelves, the aſſembly paſſed a decree that all municipalities ſhound be anſwerable for any damage done by rioters in their reſpective diſtricts. A law which might have produced an excellent effect if it had been properly enforced, but from that being neglected anſwered little or no purpoſe.

The aſſembly annexed the iſland of Corſica inſeparably to France, by conſtituting it a member of the kingdom, and thus, in the language of Rabaut, attaching it by the delightful chains of liberty and equality. That body likewiſe, looking forward to the future greatneſs and glory of France, as well as to fan and increaſe to its utmoſt height the glowing flame of liberty, in the true ſpirit of ancient republicaniſm, decreed mural crowns to be publicly preſented to the conquerors of the Baſtile.

The unexpected diſpute between Spain and England, which was a matter of ſurpriſe, as well from its ſuddenneſs as the inſignificance of the cauſe, to all Europe, interrupted, in ſome degree, the proceedings of the national aſſembly in the regulation of domeſtic affairs and government. The court of Madrid having upon this occaſion claimed the aſſiſtance which France was bound by the family compact to afford, in caſe of a war, the king ſent a meſſage to the aſſembly, informing them of the diſpute, the claim, and of the great naval preparations made by the Engliſh; at the ſame time requiring their aſſiſtance, for the equipment of a fleet of 14 ſail of the line, to be in readineſs to aſſiſt in fulfilling the mutual engagements ſubſiſting between the nations. Though the anſwer to this meſſage was civil enough, but guarded againſt at all entering into the ſubject, it immediately brought up a very intereſting debate upon a moſt important ſubject; this was the grand queſtion, in whoſe hands the power of making peace and war, ſhould at the preſent and in future be lodged? The moſt violent of the democratic party inſiſted, that this great authority could be ſafely lodged in no other hands but thoſe of the aſſembly; and in ſupporting this opinion, repeated with great energy all thoſe common-place topics of abuſe, and railing accuſations, which it was now ſo faſhionable to bring forward, againſt kings, tyrants, and conquerors; as if no republics had ever entered into wars, and as if none of their factious demagogues, to anſwer their private purpoſes or ambition, had ever unjuſtly and impolitically cauſed them.

May 13th, 1790.

One of the deputies on the other ſide gave a great turn to the debate by telling the aſſembly, "that if they took this power to themſelves, a battle would ſoon be fought in the middle of their hall between Spaniſh piaſtres and Engliſh guineas." This ſtroke had great effect, and contributed to a ſort of compromiſe between the parties, which at length produced a decree, the main purport of which with reſpect to the queſtion was, that war ſhould not be made, but by a decree of the national aſſembly, after the king's formal notification of his opinion of the neceſſity of war; and that the king ſhould be obliged to make peace if the aſſembly require it.

In this decree was included that celebrated clauſe, which was for a time the ſubject of ſo much panegyric, and which, in the name of the French nation, renounced for ever, all conqueſts, and conſequently all wars leading to that object. If this excellent reſolution had been adhered to, it would have produced a moſt happy effect, through the favourable impreſſion which it would have made upon the ſentiments of mankind, and particularly on the neighbouring ſtates, with reſpect to the wiſdom, moderation, juſtice, and peaceable diſpoſition which predominated in the new government; which all Europe would then find itſelf intereſted in ſupporting, and which the moſt remote nations could not avoid regarding with reſpect and admiration.

But this meſſage from the king threw the city of Paris into a ſtate of the moſt violent agitation, and led the populace nearly to the point of renewing all the outrages which they had ever before exhibited; for this ever reſtleſs and turbulent people thought fit to conceive, that the whole buſineſs was the effect of a connected plot, formed by the king and the ariſtocrates, in order to find a pretence for uniting the naval and military forces of both nations, and thereby accompliſhing a counter revolution. Upon this occaſion Mirabeau, who had the fortune of being ſo often alternately, the idol, or the averſion of the mob, became the object of their utmoſt execration and rage. For having given it as his opinion in the aſſembly, "that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the power of peace and war muſt be left to the king:" although he had introduced this opinion by a long prelude aiming at popularity, but which was, however, rather too ſublime to be eaſily underſtood, it was immediately reported, either by the democratic party in the aſſembly, or by thoſe in the galleries, that he had been bribed by the court: and this charge being ſpeedily conveyed to the populace, a pamphlet was within a few hours cried and hawked about the ſtreets, entitled, "*The great Treachery of the count Mirabeau.*" In this dangerous predicament he ſhewed great ſtoutneſs, and braved the democrates; but found means ſoon after, as uſual, to reconcile matters.

The aſſembly immediately publiſhed their decree, which, with other explanations on the ſubject, and means uſed to aſſuage the fever of the people, reſtored things to a ſtate of quiet. They then appointed a committee to examine into and report upon, all treaties of alliance exiſting between France and other countries. This enquiry was founded upon a new doctrine at this time held by many of the moſt violent republicans, that all treaties concluded by kings were in their nature illegal, therefore null, and conſequently ſhould not be binding on the nation.

We ſhall purſue this ſubject with reſpect to Spain to its concluſion, though a lapſe of ſeveral weeks took place before it was again brought forward. It appears from the event, that however other treaties were conſidered, it was determined to ſupport the connection and alliance with Spain, even at the hazard of a war; a conſequence which, in the preſent convulſed and disjointed ſtate of the nation, muſt have been attended with the utmoſt danger. During this interval, the diſpoſition of the people, with reſpect to England, had undergone a ſudden and total change. Violent ſpeeches had been made both in the aſſembly and the popular clubs, and violent pamphlets publiſhed, all calculated to agitate and inflame the public mind, by expatiating upon the ambitious views and dangerous deſigns attributed to England. Commercial jealouſy was rouzed and brought into play to further this change in the national diſpoſition. The merchants of the ſouthern provinces, a great, powerful, and numerous order of men, were alarmed by the apprehenſion, that if Spain ſhould be deſerted in this emergency, ſhe would find herſelf under a neceſſity of concluding a treaty with England, which, in its conſequences, might prove highly prejudicial to the intereſts of France. The remonſtrances and influence of the merchants were ſeconded and confirmed by the report of the committee of alliances, which was highly favourable to Spain, and conſequently adverſe to England.

Things were in this train, when M. de Montmorin, in the beginning of Auguſt, laid before the national aſſembly, a recent application from the court of Spain for the expected aſſiſtance. The fitting out of a powerful fleet, and a defenſive alliance with Spain, were immediately determined upon; the aſſembly at the ſame time deprecating any alliance for offenſive purpoſes; a reſerve which could operate only in words, as the aſſiſtance muſt from its nature prove offenſive. A fleet of above thirty ſail was fitted out at Breſt with the utmoſt poſſible expedition; but the French naval force had by this time ſhaken off all ſubordination and diſcipline, with the ſame contempt that the army had done, and the ſeamen were become in all reſpects as diſorderly and licentious as the ſoldiers. They had already gone to ſuch a length as to refuſe to ſerve under any officers but ſuch as they liked; had inſtituted committees to report upon the naval qualifications, and the political principles, of their commanders; and had, in ſome inſtances, caſhiered their captains, and choſen new ones; a meaſure deducible from, and fully warranted by, that part of the new doctrines, which held, that kings were liable to be caſhiered for miſbehaviour like footmen. Theſe mutineers had likewiſe been guilty of great diſorders and exceſſes in the port and town of Breſt; and, it was ſaid, were encouraged and ſupported in all their enormities by the municipality of that place.

M. Albert de Rioms, was firſt admiral, and commander in chief of this mutinous fleet, a man of good character, deemed an able officer, and fully competent to diſcharge the duties of his command in all ſituations of ſervice that could occur. It was ſaid, and is believed, that whatever the admiral's other qualifications might be, he was ſuſpected of not being ſo thoroughly democratic in his principles as the violent party in the aſſembly wiſhed. It was likewiſe ſuppoſed, that they wanted to make the diſorders at Breſt a pretence, for turning both that admiral and the preſent miniſters out of their offices together; at the latter of whom, we have already ſeen, they had been long carping, without their being able to bring any one direct charge to the proof againſt them. Some new penal marine law or code, which had been haſtily voted by the aſſembly, gave ſuch offence to the ſailors, that a more violent mutiny than any which had yet taken place, ſuddenly broke out at Breſt.

As every thing was now done by committees, one was immediately appointed, to enquire into and report upon the cauſes of theſe diſorders. M. Menou, the mouth of the committee, reported, that both the ſailors and the municipality were deſerving not only of cenſure but puniſhment; but he at the ſame time repreſented, that the general diſlike to and want of confidence in the miniſtry, was the latent cauſe of all the riots, mutinies, and diſorders in the kingdom. A motion was immediately made for accuſing the miniſters, but through ſome ſtrange chance, not accounted for, it was moſt unexpectedly loſt; a diſappointment which excited the higheſt and moſt viſible degree of rage in the democratic party.

Upon the re-conſideration of the report on the following day, the ſame reporter, who had before acknowledged that both the ſailors and the municipality had been guilty of crimes deſerving of puniſhment, had the effrontery to tell the aſſembly, that ſince they would not puniſh the real authors of miſchief, they ought not to puniſh men, who had only erred through an exceſs of patriotiſm. This ſtrange doctrine was adopted as ſoon as delivered; and, in defiance of all regard to military order, ſubordination, and diſcipline, the mutinous ſailors were only mildly exhorted to return to their duty; ſomething like an apology made to them for the new penal articles, by promiſing to re-conſider them; at the ſame time that they were flattered by preſenting them with a new ſtriped flag, which was to ſuperſede the ancient white military enſign of France. The rage of the democratic party at the defeat which they had met with on the preceding day, was ſo exceſſive as to become intolerable; and ſome of the oppoſite ſide having ſtrongly expreſſed their diſapprobation at the meaſure propoſed of changing the national flag, this awakened all the ſuppreſſed fury of Mirabeau, who, with his uſual intemperance and violence, cried out, "The ariſtocrates are grown inſolent from their victory of yeſterday; a fortnight ago they dared not, for their own ſafety, to have objected to this propoſal." Theſe words being highly reſented, brought forth the immediate reply, "That it was language worthy only of a leader of banditti." Thus was inſtantly produced one of thoſe ſcenes of diſorder, noiſe, clamour, and heat, which have ſo often diſgraced that body.

The ſervants or aſſiſtants of the executive government being now convinced that their official fate was finally determined, did not hold it to be either prudent or wiſe to urge the exertions of power to any farther extremity. The marine miniſter, Luzerne, reſigned, and was replaced by Flurieu; but ſome ſuſpicion or diſlike prevailing againſt him, he met with ſo many mortifications from the aſſembly, that he was ſoon after glad to reſign, and was ſucceeded by M. Thevenard. M. Tour du Pin, the war miniſter, was ſucceeded by M. Duportail, who had the fortune to pleaſe the aſſembly, but was loudly reproached by the other ſide, for totally neglecting the diſcipline of the army, and ſuffering the ſoldiers, already too little diſpoſed to ſubmit to any order or controul, to become entirely independent of all command; at the ſame time that they grew to be the common accuſers of their officers, and conſtituted themſelves judges not only of their actions but of their principles. The other miniſters were weeded out one after another; and the admiral, de Rioms, having likewiſe reſigned, he was ſucceeded in the command of the Breſt fleet by Bougainville.

Though the ſailors at Breſt were pacified, and the preparations carried on with ſuch vigour as to be nearly if not quite concluded, the court of Spain received ſuch terrible accounts of the incorrigible ſpirit of diſorder and mutiny which prevailed in the French fleet, that it is ſaid to have been impreſſed with the greateſt dread, of engaging, with ſuch conſorts, in a doubtful war with a moſt formidable enemy; the whole fortune and ſucceſs of which muſt almoſt entirely depend upon the joint and great naval exertions of the united nations. This impreſſion was ſuppoſed and believed to be the principal operative motive with Spain, in inducing her ſuddenly to conclude the convention with England, which ſettled the differences between the two nations. Thus was prevented a war, which might, poſſibly, in its courſe and conſequences, have greatly changed, if not totally altered, the ſtate of internal affairs in France. It is no great preſumption then to ſuppoſe, or even conclude, that neither the king, the court, nor the royaliſts in general, could have been by any means averſe to the war's taking place at this juncture.

During theſe tranſactions the violent republican party found themſelves ſo much increaſed in ſtrength and in number, both within and without the aſſembly, and believing the new ſyſtem to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as to bid defiance to all danger, did not deem it neceſſary to ſubmit any longer to the reſtraint of obſerving any terms with the nobility, but thought they might venture boldly to bring forward their grand and long-concerted ſcheme for the total extirpation of that body; and even, ſo far as it was poſſible to be done, to eraſe and obliterate the very name, along with all memorials and remembrance of their paſt exiſtence. We are to obſerve, that many of the moſt eminent of the French nobility, whether with reſpect to family, fortune, character, or influence, (among whom we ſhall only mention as inſtances, the dukes de Rochefoucault and de Liancourt) although they abhorred ſome of the violent acts of the aſſembly, were ſtill zealous adherents to the revolution, ſo far as its originally avowed principles went; for they were no leſs averſe to the ancient deſpotiſm of the crown, than the democrates, but then they deteſted republicaniſm, perhaps, even more than deſpotiſm, as the greater evil of the two. Their object was a rational, moderate, limited monarchy, whoſe powers ſhould be preciſely defined, which, with full ſecurity to the perſons and property of the people, with all the liberty that was compatible with good government, ſhould at the ſame time have its own rights as firmly ſecured, and as well guarded, as theirs. It will be eaſily drawn from a recollection of paſt circumſtances, that had it not been for the ſupport and influence of ſuch men as theſe, in different ſeaſons of great difficulty, the buſineſs of the revolution could ſcarcely, if at all, have been accompliſhed. But they were now no longer deemed neceſſary, and they experienced, to their grief and coſt, that from the beginning they had been made inſtruments and tools to the deſigns of that faction, which they abhorred and deteſted beyond all others.

This occaſion obliges us to bring forward an adventurer with a ſtrange name, and of a ſtill ſtranger character, Anacharſis Clootz, a malcontent Pruſſian; who wanted to communicate the knowledge of that liberty to the French, which he dared

not

not to talk about at home. He was one of thoſe men, who, excepting by the commiſſion of ſome extraordinary enormity, could never have been called into notice, under any other ſtate of things than ſuch as now prevailed in France; but having received ſo much education in Germany, as was ſufficient to exalt his natural extravagance to its utmoſt pitch, his ſelf-confidence ſuffered him to miſs no opportunity of exhibiting his talents to the public. As declamation, philoſophy, and the negative quality of infidelity, were the points in which he ſuppoſed himſelf principally to excel, the confuſions of Paris had for ſeveral months opened the faireſt field to him for the diſplay, at leaſt, of the former of theſe talents, that he could have wiſhed; but whether it was that the people thought they had orators and philoſophers enough of their own, and that infidelity was too common to bear any value, or that the bombaſt which loaded his eloquence was incomprehenſible even to the Pariſians, ſo it was, that all his exertions were unable to puſh him forward into any degree of particular notice.

The modern Anacharſis, thus foiled in his hopes, that eloquence and philoſophy would have opened the way to fame and to fortune, ſhrewdly conceived, that extravagance might poſſibly ſucceed where they failed. Having procured a number of thoſe vagabonds who filled and infeſted the ſtreets of Paris, and hired all the foreign, ancient, and groteſque dreſſes, which the opera and play-houſes could furniſh, in order to diſguiſe them, he maſqueraded at the head of this motley crew to the national aſſembly, where he introduced them as ſtrangers arrived from all or moſt of the nations of the globe, being the virtual ambaſſadors of all thoſe enſlaved nations who wiſhed to be free, and were therefore diſpoſed to enter into fraternity with France, for the glorious purpoſe of eſtabliſhing liberty throughout the world. The orator, to give a full diſplay to his talents, delivered a ſpeech in the name of his dumb gang of ambaſſadors, which, for abſurdity and bombaſt, equalled any thing that ever was or can be ſpoken. In this he repreſented the ambaſſadors of all exiſting governments, as being themſelves ſlaves, the repreſentatives of tyrants, and therefore unfitting to be received in that honourable public character which they aſſumed: that thoſe citizens by whom he was accompanied were the real repreſentatives and ambaſſadors of mankind, and had conſtituted him, in their name, to demand places for them, ſuitable to their rank and character, at the enſuing grand confederation of the nation.

So barefaced, ſo impudent, ſo ridiculous a farce, was never before played off before any public aſſembly; or before any collection of men ſuppoſed to be in poſſeſſion of their rational faculties. To heighten, if any thing could ſo do, the ridiculouſneſs of the ſcene, it was affirmed, that ſeveral of the Aſiatic ambaſſadors, ſtripped of their hired robes and plumes, were ſeen at the doors of the aſſembly, in their proper garb and character, humbly ſoliciting the payment of their wages; a trifling matter, which, it would ſeem, the ſublime ideas of their orator had rendered him inattentive to.

It ſeems, however, probable, if we judge from the immediate conſequences, that this exhibition was not to be entirely attributed to the extravagance or inſanity of Clootz; but was calculated to anſwer a moſt ſerious and important purpoſe. But to underſtand this, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that from the bad, and too often ſhameful effects, which the wine drank at dinner had frequently produced on the debates of the aſſembly, it had long become a ſtanding rule, though without any particular order for it, that no buſineſs of moment ſhould be brought forward at the evening ſittings. On this account they were generally very thinly attended, moſt of the members gladly ſeizing the opportunity of indulging thoſe purſuits of private buſineſs or pleaſure, from which they had been withheld by the morning ſitting. The exhibition we have deſcribed was preſented at an evening ſitting; when the houſe was not, indeed, ſo thin as uſual, but, however it happened, ſo it was, that the moſt violent of the democratic leaders, and that party in general, were thoſe who principally attended.

June 19th.

When the ambaſſadors had acted their part, and were withdrawn, it ſeemed as if the aſſembly thought it neceſſary likewiſe to act theirs. As if they had believed the mockery which they juſt beheld to be a reality, and that the ambaſſadors of all mankind were in fact preſent, and ſupplicating their protection, they were all at once, as if it had been an electric ſhock, ſtruck with the moſt violent fit of enthuſiaſm for liberty, which it was poſſible to deſcribe or imagine. The firſt effuſion of this paſſion was laudable: it was a decree to deſtroy or remove thoſe figures of chained ſlaves, intended to repreſent proſtrate and conquered nations, which ſurrounded the ſtatue ſo much celebrated, and ſo often condemned and ridiculed, of Louis XIV. and which, if it had not been for this decree, might have long continued ſhameful memorials of the inſufferable vanity and arrogance of that monarch.

The ſucceeding effect of this enthuſiaſm was not ſo blameleſs. The reſolution for aboliſhing hereditary nobility for ever, was, in this ſame evening's ſitting, introduced, debated in a certain manner, and paſſed into an irrevocable law before their riſing. It was to little purpoſe that the nobility, all the royaliſts, and many others, who were not abſolute republicans, cried out, in the midſt of their diſtreſs or aſtoniſhment, againſt the unfairneſs and diſhoneſty of this proceeding, which they ſaid openly was carried by ſtratagem and ſurprize. The law was paſſed, and there was no remedy! there was no houſe of lords to check the exorbitance of a houſe of commons; there was no king, with freedom or power to curb the enormities of either, or both; and, to crown the evil, the aſſembly itſelf was unfortunately not bound by any of the wholeſome and neceſſary regulations which ſo happily prevail in the Engliſh parliament; by which previous notice is given of the introduction of a new law; by which every bill muſt go through a certain number of readings, and a reaſonable time is allotted for due conſideration, before it can be paſſed; and by which, in caſes of moment, a general call of one or both houſes takes place, and all the members are obliged, under penalty, to give their attendance on a day appointed. All theſe forms, ſo neceſſary to cool and wiſe deliberation, all theſe checks and powers of controul, were here wanting.

In this extraordinary decree, not contented with declaring in its preamble that hereditary nobility was incompatible with the liberty of France, they declare, in general terms, with peculiar arrogance, that hereditary nobility is incompatible with a free ſtate; thereby implicating all the reſt of Europe, excepting a very few petty democratic republics, to be in a ſtate of ſlavery. It aboliſhes for ever all titles exiſting in France, from the prince to the loweſt, equivalent to our eſquire; and, with a preciſion which rather indicated a long and well-concerted deſign, than a ſudden fit of paſſion, it forbids the application of all terms of diſtinction or reſpect, uſually paid to certain degrees of rank, office, or authority, ſuch as highneſs, excellency, &c. from being uſed to any man or body of men. It likewiſe aboliſhed all blazonry, coats of arms, and liveries; in a word, every memorial of heraldry and anceſtry was obliterated. It aboliſhed all names derived from eſtates, a cuſtom long and generally eſtabliſhed in France, and which produced no ſmall trouble and perplexity in reading and endeavouring to comprehend the hiſtory of that country.

The princes of the blood were ſtripped like others of all titles derived from eſtates or places, ſuch as Artois, Provence, or Orleans, and of every ceremonial of phraſe, addreſs, or mark of reſpect, which could diſtinguiſh them from the common maſs of the people. The decree deſcended to minutiæ which appeared ridiculous; ſuch as to ſome trifling marks of diſtinction and reſpect which were uſually paid at church to ſome of the principal nobility, to men high in office, as the governors of great towns or of provinces, and not unfrequently to the lords of pariſhes, in their own churches.

This decree excited a height of indignation before unknown in the whole body of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, who ſent up repeated proteſts againſt it; but there was ſo little regard paid to them, that they were not even ſuffered to be inſerted in the journals. The nobility and clergy of Alſace were peculiarly enraged; they deriving their honours as well as their emoluments not from France but from the German empire, and both being beſides ſecured to them by the treaty of Weſtphalia. The democratic writers ſay, that from that day, the greateſt part of the nobles of the kingdom became the unappeaſeable enemies of the conſtitution; and that this decree had determined them to excite a civil war, and to periſh upon the ruins of France, rather than renounce their claim to honour.

The decree which was paſſed on the 19th received the king's ſanction on the 21ſt of June; and was ſignalized by the ſingular circumſtance, that of all his miniſters, Neckar alone, a plebeian, a republican, a man born and bred in a democracy, inſiſted on his not giving it his ſanction; but on the contrary to ſend back his expreſs diſapprobation to the aſſembly. Being over-ruled in his attempt by the joint oppoſition of the other miniſters, he immediately publiſhed a pamphlet, containing a number of very judicious obſervations on the decree, and informing the public of the reaſons which operated upon him in adviſing the king to refuſe his ſanction.

It would ſeem idle to offer any comments on the juſtice or the policy of this decree: it ſpeaks for itſelf. The language held by the democratic writers, of the abſurdity and folly of being angry at the loſs of ſuch baubles and trifles as titles and frivolous diſtinctions, would ſeem rather to correſpond with the ideas which we might ſuppoſe beings juſt dropped from another planet to conceive, than thoſe of men, who, it might be ſuppoſed, muſt of neceſſity know ſomething of the affairs of this world.

A grand confederation had for ſome time been announced by the national aſſembly, which was to take place on the celebrated 14th of July, the anniverſary of the memorable taking of the Baſtile in the preceding year, and which was now deſtined to be rendered ſacred through all ſucceeding ages. The objects of this grand national meeting were conſiderable, and the deſign well calculated for its purpoſes. It was in no ſmall degree, by this appearance of the general ſuffrage of the people, to legalize, as well as to confirm the revolution. It was to bind the king, the aſſembly, and the people together, by new, ſolemn, and public oaths. And, what was not the leaſt in conſideration, it was hoped that it might be a means of reforming the licentious and mutinous diſpoſition of the troops, which was every day breaking out into acts of the utmoſt diſorder and violence, to the no ſmall uneaſineſs, and even apprehenſion of the aſſembly. Nor were their own favourites, the national guards, much more to be commended for their order. On this account, every regiment throughout the kingdom was obliged to ſend a delegation of their ſoldiers and officers, who were to ſwear in behalf of the whole regiment; and the battalions of national guards were obliged to conform to the ſame regulation.

The duke of Orleans, who now found the firſt fruits of his crooked politics, to be a degradation from the higheſt rank and title of princes to the humble ſtation of a common citizen, had long felt with impatience and grief, that exile in England, which ſo painfully withheld him from partaking in the factions and turbulence of the grand ſcene of action at the Palais Royale and in Paris. He accordingly applied to the aſſembly for leave to return, in order to aſſiſt, and to be ſworn at the confederation; this was granted, notwithſtanding the jealouſy of La Fayette, who uſed every poſſible means to prevent his return.

The preparations for this new and extraordinary ſpectacle were attended with immenſe labour. No leſs than 12,000 hired workmen were employed, and the work would not have been finiſhed any thing nearly within the time, if it had not been for the extraordinary exertions of the Pariſians, who, with their wives and children, were to be ſeen from morning to night in the hotteſt weather, with ſpades, ſhovels, pick-axes, and barrows, labouring in digging and removing the mould from the great field of the Champ de Mars, which was deſtined ever more to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Field of the Confederation. It was neceſſary to remove ſeveral feet of earth from the ſurface of this field, which was about half an Engliſh mile in length, and wide in proportion, in order to ſurround it with ſeats riſing in the form of an amphitheatre, for the purpoſe of accommodating ſomething towards half a million of people, who were expected to behold the ſpectacle. A vaſt ſcaffold was erected in the center, where the king and the national aſſembly were to be placed, and where, the national altar being likewiſe erected, they were to take the preſcribed oath in the ſight of all the people; who, in their ſeveral claſſes, were all to go through the ſame rite, or ceremonial, whichever it may be called. Nothing was omitted, nor no expence ſpared, which could afford ſplendor to this ſpectacle; muſic, incenſe, flags, ſtreamers, military pomp, every thing that could dazzle the eyes or faſcinate the imagination of a vain and frivolous people, ever addicted to ſhows, and captivated by trifles, was here exhibited.

It fortunately happened, though contrary to expectation, that no diſorder or miſchief attended, or proceeded from, this accumulation of ſo extraordinary a multitude. The king, the aſſembly, the army, and the people, were all reciprocally ſworn. The purport of the oath was the maintenance of the conſtitution againſt all oppugners; to which was added, "to continue free or to periſh." The ſame oath was taken on the ſame day throughout the whole kingdom; and all the troops of every ſort, new and old, were perſonally ſworn at their reſpective ſtations, as well as by delegation at Paris.

The troops were, however, too far advanced in licentiouſneſs, to be cured or reſtrained by oaths; they claimed great merit from their ſervices in redreſſing the alledged grievances of the nation; and they preſumed that they were well authorized to redreſs their own. They pretended that their officers cheated them, for in the preſent ſtate of things it ſcarcely ſeems probable that it could have been more than a pretence, and under that colour ſeveral regiments plundered their military cheſts. The averſion and contempt in which they were taught to regard their officers, led to accuſations of this nature, as well as to a total contempt of every degree of ſubordination and diſcipline. But this was only a ſmall part of the enormities which they were guilty of! The fraternal feaſts and intimate connections between the inhabitants and the ſoldiery, which had been ſo much encouraged and promoted in the beginning of the revolution, for the purpoſe of debauching the army from its allegiance, beſides producing that effect, produced others which either were not foreſeen, or which, if they were, it was determined to ſubmit to for the attainment of the grand object. The ſoldiers, as might be expected, vain of the new appellation of citizens, proud of their confraternity, and of the new company into which they were admitted, and their heads ſtill farther turned by the ſhare which they expected to hold in that new ſovereignty, which was to be ſhattered into ſo many diviſions, became all at once politicians, caballers, and reformers. They became every where members of thoſe clubs where they were ſtationed, and naturally embracing their opinions, formed as many political ſects, and were as zealous partizans in all the great buſineſs of reform and government, as thoſe with whom they lived. By theſe means they came to bear a great, and in many places a principal ſhare, in all thoſe dreadful tumults and diſorders which were continually breaking out, and ſpreading every degree of outrage and violence in the greater towns and cities. Theſe were, in general, kindly conſidered as the genuine marks and effects of patriotiſm, and if at all regarded as evils, were only deemed to be the neceſſary appendages of revolutions, in which certain degrees of wrong and violence paved the way for the attainment of the great end.

At Nancy, the capital of Lorrain, theſe exceſſes were carried by the troops, and by the ruling party of the townſmen, who ſeemed jointly to ſet the aſſembly at defiance, to ſo extraordinary a pitch, that they were deemed, if not declared, to be in a ſtate of abſolute rebellion. The marquis de Bouille, (who, we have formerly ſeen, had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the honour and humanity, as well as by the ability which he diſplayed in the Weſt Indies, during the late war with England) then commanded the troops at Metz, and in that quarter; and received an order from the aſſembly to ſuppreſs the inſurgents at Nancy by force of arms. This order was repented almoſt as ſoon as it was iſſued; for beſides its being contrary to the eſtabliſhed practice of never puniſhing democratic criminals, they ſuſpected Bouille of being an ariſtocrat, and were apprehenſive that he might direct the army which he had thus collected to the purpoſe of a counter-revolution. Under this impreſſion they were debating about recalling the decree, and ſending commiſſioners to pacify, inſtead of troops to reduce the inſurgents.

But De Bouille was too alert and active a commander, and knew the duties of his profeſſion too well, to loſe any time in the execution of his orders. He, as it were inſtantly, collected a conſiderable force, compoſed partly of national troops, and partly of thoſe of the line; and the officers being particularly attached to him, as were even the common ſoldiery of the old troops, in no ſmall degree, he appeared before Nancy with an expedition which ſurpriſed every body elſe as well as the inſurgents. He found the latter, however, prepared for, and determined on a vigorous defence. A bloody conteſt took place, in which the inſurgents were reduced with conſiderable ſlaughter, and with no ſmall loſs to the aſſailants.

The embarraſſment of the aſſembly on Bouille's ſucceſs ſeemed rather ridiculous. They could not but apparently approve the conduct of an officer, who had diſplayed great ſpirit and extraordinary diſpatch in the execution of their orders; at the ſame time that they were in fact ſorry for the event, and not a little uneaſy at placing ſo much power in the hands of a man who they unjuſtly ſuſpected would apply it to dangerous purpoſes. But the rage of the Pariſians at the ſhedding of ſo much patriotic blood was beyond all deſcription. They conſidered and repreſented all the inſurgents who were ſlain as martyrs to the cauſe of liberty, and Bouille with his troops as murdering ariſtocrates, who were endeavouring to commence a counter-revolution. They ſurrounded the houſe of aſſembly in great bodies, and loudly and peremptorily demanded the head of Bouille, and the heads of all the miniſters who had any concern in the tranſaction. The ferment was ſo violent, that nothing leſs than the reſolution and firmneſs of the national guards, could have prevented their proceeding to the laſt extremities.

This ferment unexpectedly produced, or at leaſt haſtened, the reſignation of Mr. Neckar, and his final departure from France. That miniſter, who had ſo long been the idol of the people at Paris and Verſailles, having, on the night of that tumult, received intelligence that he was deſtined to be made a victim to the fury of the mob, he fled from his houſe, and ſpent many hours under the greateſt apprehenſion and terror in the fields near Paris. He now at once perceived, that he had not only held his place too long for his ſafety, but for his honour. He had long felt his credit with the aſſembly declining; but ever ſince the removal of that body to Paris, he experienced ſuch repeated inſtances of ſlight and indifference, as made him feel to the heart, that he was now only conſidered as the tool of a party, who having done its buſineſs was no longer thought neceſſary, and might be laid by without ceremony. Camus, and ſeveral other of their members, ſeemed to make it a point continually to cavil at his plans, and to bring captious charges and accuſations upon trifling or contemptible matters againſt him; nor was this ungracious and unworthy conduct ever in the ſmalleſt degree diſcountenanced. In return for this treatment, he frequently told the aſſembly home and blunt truths, which did not by any means tend to conciliate favour.

On this recent affair at Paris, he ſent a letter with his reſignation to the national aſſembly, who having read it, called, with the moſt careleſs and contemptuous indifference, for the order of the day, without taking the ſmalleſt notice of it. Pierced through and through by this diſdainful treatment, this ungrateful return to all his paſt acknowledged ſervices, which, undoubtedly, was not the leſs felt from a vexatious recollection of the fulſome flatteries with which they had heretofore ſo often bedawbed him, the unhappy miniſter ſet out directly for Swiſſerland. But he ſoon found that the bitter cup of his humiliation was not yet exhauſted, and that the dregs were among the moſt odious parts of the potion. Mr. Neckar was ſtopped at a little town called Arci-ſur-Aube by the national guard, who being now all ſtateſmen, and in a certain degree ſovereigns, wiſely determined, that it was by no means fitting a financial miniſter ſhould be permitted to quit the country until he had made a fair ſettlement, and undergone a ſtrict ſcrutiny as to his accounts, and they accordingly confined him as a priſoner. He was now to undergo the mortification of a ſecond application to the national aſſembly, in which he ſtated, that above 100,000l. ſterling of his property being lodged in the French funds, and conſequently within their cognizance, that ſum, which he had depoſited there through the patriotic motive of ſupporting the public credit, would be an ample ſecurity for any error or deficiency which could poſſibly appear in his accounts; and therefore requeſting, that his health, in its preſent precarious ſtate, ſhould no longer be injured, either by confinement, or by detention from the ſalubrious air of his native country. The aſſembly returned a dry anſwer, but ordered his releaſe; and he at length arrived ſafely in his own country.

Such was the fate of a miniſter, who had paſſed through ſuch courſes of popularity, as, perhaps, have ſcarcely been equalled by any foreigner in any country. Yet, ſo uncertain is the ſtate of public favour, and ſo rapid the decline of popularity, that he now retired to his native country without the ſmalleſt mark of honour, eſteem, or regret from that nation, which had in the preceding year, commenced a rebellion againſt its ſovereign on his account. Whatever Mr. Neckar's political faults or errors might have been as a miniſter, he poſſeſſed ſuch excellent qualities as a man, as muſt ever entitle him to reſpect. His integrity was in both characters beyond doubt or ſuſpicion; and his ſtrict attention to the diſcharge and practice of all the moral duties and virtues was never called in queſtion by his enemies. Happy he may now conſider that concurrence of circumſtances and cauſes which obliged him to quit France at ſo early and timely a period; and his family may conſole themſelves in his preſent exiſtence for that, now, hopeleſs property which he left behind.

New conteſts with the clergy afforded the principal objects of buſineſs in which the national aſſembly were engaged for the remainder of the year. Theſe aroſe from the various meaſures adopted, and decrees paſſed, for, what was called, the organization of the church. One of theſe was, the rendering every benefice in the kingdom, from a curacy to a biſhopric, elective. Another was, the admitting people of all religions, not excepting Jews, to vote at theſe elections. And another was, the totally altering the anciently eſtabliſhed extent and limits of dioceſes.

The clergy became troubleſome upon theſe accounts. They ſaid that whatever right the nation might have to ſeize their revenues, it neither could have any right or pretence to interfere or to make any alteration in the diſcipline or ſpiritual government of the church; they therefore demanded the convocation of a national council to ſettle theſe matters, as they could not poſſibly without that determination ſubmit to the preſent decrees. As nothing could be more oppoſite to the ideas or liking of the national aſſembly than to admit by any means of the calling together ſuch an aſſembly, they were highly incenſed at theſe objections made by the clergy to their decrees, and in that ſpirit determined at once to puniſh their refractorineſs, and to cut off the means of all future diſputes, by impoſing a new oath on them, by which they were bound to obſerve and ſubmit to the conſtitution as decreed by the aſſembly, in all caſes whatever.

Vaſt numbers of the clergy refuſed to take this oath, and among them many who had in the beginning been firmly attached to the commons, and furthered the revolution by every means in their power. But ſuch aids were not now wanted. Many offered to take the oath if they were allowed, as a ſalvo, that it did not extend to admit of any ſpiritual authority in the aſſembly; but though that body had generally diſclaimed all interference in the ſpiritual part of religion, yet they would not allow of any reſerve in the oath, or admit any explanation of it. All the clergy, without exception or diſtinction, who refuſed to take the oath, were immediately ejected from their benefices, and others placed in their room; the biſhoprics were filled up by curates. The oath being conſidered as no leſs than perjury, being a direct breach of that taken at ordination, it may not be difficult to form ſome judgment of the character of thoſe men who were now to inſtruct the people in the duties of religion and morality. It afforded a glorious inſtance of the integrity of the French clergy, that of 131 biſhops, only three were found ſervile enough to betray their conſcience and their honour, in ſtooping to take the oath for the preſervation of their biſhoprics.

This meaſure occaſioned a ſchiſm among the people as well as the clergy; for the more devout and ſcrupulous, who were ſtill not a few in the kingdom, refuſed to acknowledge theſe new paſtors, and particularly to receive the ſacraments at their hands; which, according to their religious perſuaſion, it was the height of prophanation, if not ſacrilege, for them to adminiſter. They were the farther confirmed in this opinion, by the utter diſapprobation of the oath which the pope had publicly expreſſed. Thus did France produce in an inſtant the moſt numerous body of nonjuring clergy which ever exiſted in any country: and ſuch was the deſpotiſm which prevailed in a republican aſſembly, that would compel men's perſons, minds, and conſciences, to bend in all things, without reſerve, to its almighty will. Even the more moderate of the democratical writers, regretted and condemned, as a harſh and imprudent meaſure, the forcing of ſuch an oath at once upon minds unprepared to receive it.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. THIS day there was no court either at Windſor or St. James's, as uſual on New Year's day, conſequently the Laureat's ode was omitted. The New Year's ode not being performed as uſual, has occaſioned much ſpeculation—It may not be unacceptable to our readers to give them the following paſſage from Mr. Gibbon's laſt volume of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: "The title of Poet Laureat, which cuſtom rather than vanity perpetuates in the Engliſh court, was firſt invented by the Cæſars of Germany. From Auguſtus to Louis, the muſe has been too often falſe and venal; but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a ſimilar eſtabliſhment of a ſtipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furniſh, twice a year, a meaſure of praiſe and verſe, ſuch as may be ſung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the preſence of the ſovereign. I ſpeak the more freely, as the beſt time for aboliſhing this ridiculous cuſtom is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius."

2d. The Oxford Canal was this day opened by the arrival of upwards of 200 tons of coals, beſides corn and other effects. The firſt boat entered the baſon a few minutes before twelve o'clock, diſplaying the union flag, and having on board the band belonging to the Oxfordſhire militia.

At a meeting, lately held, of the truſtees of John Stock, eſq. late of Hampſtead, who bequeathed 200 *l.* a year to be divided among ten curates of the church of England, whoſe incomes did not exceed 40 *l.* per ann. *thirty-eight* petitions were preſented and received from poor curates to partake of this benevolence, many of whoſe ſtipends were not more than 25 *l.* a year, with which they had to ſupport large families.

4th. The priſoners, convicted at the Admiralty Seſſions, were executed at Execution Dock purſuant to their ſeveral ſentences, viz. John Clark and Edward Hobbins, for ſtealing off the Land's End a boat, ſeveral ſails, and a wooden compaſs, the property of Meſſ. Hurry and Co.; John Williams and Hugh Wilſon, for a mutiny on board the Gregſon of Liverpool, at Duke's Cove, off the coaſt of Africa; and Thomas Brett, for ſtealing from a Dutch hoy, at Dungeneſs Roads, three caſks of geneva, 16 bales, and other merchandize, the property of perſons unknown. They are all ordered to be hung in chains.

The bankrupts in 1788 were 709; in 1752 were 116. Theſe were the moſt and leaſt numerous ſince 1740; in 1789 there were 584.

16th. The Severn flooded a few days ago higher than has been known for theſe twenty years. At Shrewſbury and its environs, particularly at the Abbey Forgate, Frankwell, and cotton-mill, there was no paſſing without a boat.

On the lakes and high mountainous land of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, there has been ſcarcely any ſnow, and not any ice two inches thick. The wind and rain have exceeded, as much as the ſnow and ice fall ſhort of, the uſual proportions. Both are unexampled in the memory of man.

19th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when ſentence of death was paſſed upon 13 convicts; one was ſentenced to be tranſported for 14 years, 29 to be tranſported for ſeven years, ſeven to be impriſoned in Newgate, 18 in Clerkenwell Bridewell, 21 to be publickly whipped, and 16 were delivered by proclamation.

21ſt. As his majeſty was going in ſtate to the houſe of peers, on paſſing the corner oppoſite Carleton Houſe, in St. James's Park, a ſtone was thrown at the coach by a tall man dreſſed in a ſcarlet coat, black breeches, a ſtriped waiſtcoat, a cocked hat, with an orange-coloured cockade; he was immediately apprehended and taken to Mr. Grenville's office, in the treaſury, Whitehall, where he underwent an examination by the attorney general and ſir Sampſon Wright, before Mr. Pitt, Mr. Grenville, the duke of Leeds, Earl of Chatham, &c. which laſted four hours, when he was committed to priſon for further examination. He proves to be the ſame perſon who wrote a libel againſt his majeſty, and ſtuck it on the whalebone in the court-yard, St. James's, about a fortnight ſince, and ſigned his name John Frith, lieutenant of the ſecond battalion of royals. After undergoing ſeveral other examinations, he was committed to Newgate for trial on a charge of high treaſon.

31ſt. The accounts relative to the early appearance of ſpring this year are too numerous to be particularized. Almoſt every production that the month of April uſually exhibits in the garden, and in the field, were to be ſeen at the cloſe of this month in various parts of the kingdom.

DIED, at Horſeley, county of Derby, at the age of 107, Mrs. Frances Barton. It is ſaid ſhe well remembered the revolution in 1688, and that ſhe danced at a merry-making on that glorious occaſion. Her huſband had been ſexton of the pariſh church 70 years; and this antient pair frequently boaſted that ſhe had brought into the world, and he had buried, the pariſh twice over.

At Miles-court, Bath, aged 79, Mrs. Burr, grand-niece of ſir Iſaac Newton, by a daughter of his mother, who married, for her ſecond huſband, the Rev. Mr. Smith. She had a perfect recollection of that great philoſopher, and remembered paſſing much time at his houſe in St Martin's-lane; and that, when a child, ſhe had ſpent whole evenings in his ſtudy, as he was remarkably fond of children. She remembered, alſo, the ſtrength of his ſight, his examining old coins, and reading the ſmalleſt print without ſpectacles;

cles; the ſtrict œconomy of his expences, with the regularity of his domeſtic arrangements, and that he ſeldom dined without company, with whom he was remarkably pleaſant and chearful.

A Portugueſe woman, who, ſome days before her death, had attained the age of 109.

Lately, at Rome, aged 43, Brother Barnabas, of St. Nicholas, a religious queſtor, of the order of the barefooted Auguſtines. A great multitude of people viſited the convent where his body was expoſed for four days. A number of miracles are ſaid to have been performed by him both before and after his death.

Aged 128, John Jacob, the celebrated patriarch of Mount Jura, who came to pay his compliments to the national aſſembly laſt year.

Aged 104, at Cropton near Pickering, Mrs. Mary Jackſon.

At Lean Cadwallader, in the 115th year of his age, the celebrated Hugh Llewellyn, well known in the neighbouring counties for his muſical ſkill, particularly on the Welſh-harp, which he played until within a fortnight of his death.

FEBRUARY.

The two annual premiums of 25 *l.* each, bequeathed by the late Dr. Smith, of Cambridge, to the two junior bachelors of arts, who ſhall appear to be the beſt proficients in mathematics and natural philoſophy, were, on Friday the 29th, adjudged to Mr. Bridge, of Peterhouſe College, and Mr. Wrangham, of Trinity-Hall.

3d. The printer of *The Times* was brought up from Newgate to the king's bench to receive judgment for two libels of which he had been convicted. He was ſentenced for the firſt, which was on the prince of Wales and the duke of York (charging their royal highneſſes with having ſo demeaned themſelves as to incur the juſt diſapprobation of his majeſty) to pay a fine of 100 *l.* and be impriſoned in Newgate one year after the expiration of his preſent confinement;—and for the ſecond, which was on the duke of Clarence, he was fined 100*l.*

The libel againſt the duke of Clarence aſſerted that his royal highneſs returned from his ſtation without authority from the admiralty or the commanding officer.

8th. His royal highneſs the prince of Wales had a ſtate levee, for the firſt time, at his palace of Carlton-houſe.

10th. Sir Joſhua Reynolds, who has honourably filled for 22 years the chair of the royal academy, formally notified to the council his reſignation as preſident.

A man of the name of Edward Derick, who either is, or affects to be, a maniack, went to St. James's this evening, and deſired the marſhalmen to introduce him to his majeſty; he was of courſe informed that his requeſt could not be complied with. He then ſaid, that he had letters of the utmoſt importance for the queen, and *muſt* be admitted. The marſhalmen ſtopped him; and his behaviour in conſequence was ſo riotous, that they were under the neceſſity of taking him into cuſtody. He ſays he was born at Caldecot in Cheſhire, and that he ſlept on Tueſday near Rumford in Eſſex. He is about 24 years of age, very mean in his appearance, and diſcourſes in the ſtile of a quaker. He was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell.

Lately a caſe was argued and determined in the court of king's bench, of ſome importance to the mercantile world. The queſtion was, "Whether a payment made in bank notes can legally be deemed a payment made in money?" The court ſaid, that the judges had not yet gone to the extent of deciding that the tender of a debt in bank notes was a good tender, unleſs the party accepted them as caſh. A payment, however, made in bank notes might certainly be deemed a payment made in money, and might be ſo ſtyled in a deed or other inſtrument by which any ſum is ſtated to be given or paid. Bank notes were unqueſtionably called money, and ſo conſidered by the world.

A young woman, of the name of Finch, took the fatal reſolution of putting an end to her preſent exiſtence, by ſwallowing a quantity of arſenic. What renders this moſt remarkable is, ſhe prevailed upon the ſervant maid of Mr. Huddy, a paſtry-cook, to accompany her in the fatal reſolution. They took to the amount of two ounces between them; in conſequence of which, Miſs Grace Finch ſtruggled with the drug in violent convulſions about three hours, and then expired. The maid ſervant continued in a moſt miſerable ſtate till the next morning, when ſhe expired alſo.

The celebrated *Phillidor* played three games at cheſs *blindfolded*, with three different perſons at once: two with Dr. Rolet, and Capt. Smith, he gained; and the third with count Bruhl was a drawn game.

DIED, at Sutton, near Bingham, in the 103d year of her age, Hannah Jenk, a widow of that village, who remained her faculties in the moſt perfect manner till a very ſhort time previous to her death.

At Edinburgh, aged upwards of 80, the celebrated William Cullen, M.D. firſt phyſician to his majeſty for Scotland.—Notwithſtanding the number of years he read lectures there, he has not left property enough to ſupport his daughters. His miſtaken notions of farming contributed not a little to reduce his income.

7th. At Iſlington, aged 68, John Hyacinth de Magelhaens, F.R.S. member of many foreign academies, formerly an Auguſtine monk at Liſbon, and great grandſon of the celebrated navigator, Ferdinando M. who gave his name to the ſtraight diſcovered by him in 1519. He was alſo related to the jeſuit M. who travelled over China from 1640 to 1648, till he was carried to the court at Pekin, where he reſided 29 years, and died in 1677. He was a ſtudious, ingenious, and learned man, particularly diſtinguiſhed among the literati in this and other enlightened countries for his intimate acquaintance with moſt branches of natural philoſophy, and no leſs ingenious in his experiments therein, particularly in mechanics.

10th. At his houſe in Hereford, at the age of 105 years, the Rev. William Davies, who took his degree of M.A. at Chriſt Church, Oxford, in 1715. He retained his faculties in a great degree till within a few years of his death.

MARCH.

1ſt. A bill of indictment was found by the grand jury againſt John Frith, for high treaſon, in compaſſing the life of the king, by throwing a ſtone againſt his coach, as he went to the parliament houſe.

2d. The following convicts received ſentence of death at the Old Bailey, viz. James Eaſt, William Wilſon, James Betts, Samuel Dring, Joſeph Phillips, Thomas Alexander, and Henry Jones, alias Denton. Three were ſentenced to be tranſported for 14 years, 21 for ſeven years, ſeven fined and impriſoned, ſeven publickly whipped, and 24 diſcharged by proclamation.

3d. This afternoon another maniac went to St. James's, where he ſeized the colours belonging to the firſt regiment, who were on guard, which were placed in the court yard as uſual. The ſentry who guarded the colours not obſerving him, he made his eſcape to the whalebone, where he was ſeized by another ſentry, who ſecured him till he got other aſſiſtance; the maniac immediately threw down the ſtandard, when he was taken into cuſtody by two of the marſhalmen, who conveyed him in a hackney coach to the public office, Bow Street, where he underwent an examination before ſir Sampſon Wright. On ſir Sampſon's aſking him his reaſon for taking away the colours, he ſaid he was a native of the Iſle of Man; that his name was Thomas Cannon; that he went yeſterday morning to Kenſington Palace in expectation of ſeeing his majeſty paſs to Windſor, and on his return he had completed his point, which he had in view for ſome time back, by throwing down the royal ſtandard of England. His reaſon, he ſaid, he would not give, unleſs he was introduced to the king, the prince of Wales, and Mr. Pitt. He was committed to Covent Garden watch-houſe.

4th. The diſagreeable intelligence was received of the loſs of the company's ſhip Vanſittart, in the ſtreights of Billoton, in November laſt. No lives were loſt either among the officers or ſhip's company; the aſſiſtance they received from two country ſhips enabled them to ſave great part of the ſilver on board, and ſome other part of the cargo.

The two gold medals, value fifteen guineas each, given annually by his grace the duke of Grafton, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, for the encouragement of claſſical learning, are this year adjudged to Mr. Francis Wrangham, B.A. of Trinity Hall, and Mr. John Tweddell, B. A. of Trinity College.

Somerſet Houſe.—The eſtimates, as delivered to the houſe of commons, are as follow: Expended 334,703 *l.*; to be expended, 33,500 *l.*

A grant to earl Stanhope, for his new-invented method of conducting veſſels without ſails againſt wind, waves, current, and tide, has paſſed the great ſeal.

On Sunday the 14th inſtant, four men were ſeen on the other ſide Staines, walking towards that town. They had the appearance of foreigners, were dreſſed as ſailors, and one rather better than the reſt. In the evening of the ſame day, they went to the ſhop of a barber at Staines, and were ſhaved, and the man who was beſt dreſſed paid for the reſt. He had a large bag of money; but whether of gold or ſilver, is not known. From this ſhop they went to the White Lion, ſupped, and ſlept; and at four on Sunday morning roſe, had each a glaſs of brandy, for which the beſt-dreſſed man ſtill paid for his companions, and having drunk it, they all ſet out together on the road to London.

On Monday morning, as a man was driving his cows in a field near Belfont-lane, about thirteen miles from London, he diſcovered in a ditch a number of brambles with a quantity of new-raiſed earth thrown over them, which curioſity led him to examine, when, to his ſurprize, he diſcovered the dead body of a man, mangled in a moſt inhuman manner, the throat cut, the ſkull fractured, one arm broke, and one hand almoſt cut in pieces. At this time the duke of Cumberland being out with his hounds, the dogs took the ſcent, and traced the blood from the road to the ſpot where the body was found, which by his royal highneſs's order was removed to the Black Dog at Belfont, where the coroner's inqueſt was afterwards ſummoned to ſit; and at which place the barber by whom the four men were ſhaved, and the people at the White Lion, where they ſlept, were ſummoned to appear, and all agree that the deceaſed is one of thoſe four men, and the identical perſon who paid for all the reſt. Theſe particulars were communicated to ſir Sampſon Wright by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who has taken uncommon pains to bring the murderers to juſtice.

On Friday night the 19th they were found on board a Portugueſe veſſel, where, after ſome reſiſtance, they were hand-cuffed, and committed to different priſons till the 20th, when, at the deſire of the duke of Cumberland, they were examined at the public office in Bow Street, where the officer who took them gave a particular account of the articles found at their lodgings, conſiſting, among other things, of a relick which the deceaſed uſed to wear about his neck, and a coat.

The firſt evidence called was Frederico Solaro, a Genoeſe. He depoſed, that the name of the deceaſed was Joſeph, but could not tell his other name; that he, this deponent, Antonio Murina, a Venetian; Jachin-Pharao, a Genoeſe; and Stephan Apologie, a Ruſſian; came home in the ſhip Crown Prince, captain Nicondia, from the iſland of Sardinia; that they all left the ſhip at the ſame time at Portſmouth; that they received their pay before they ſet off for London. He walked with them about three miles farther than Goſport, and wanting to get to London as ſoon as he could, he turned back and came by the coach. He heard nothing more of them till Wedneſday laſt, when, hearing of the murder, he had ſome ſtrong ſuſpicion of the priſoners; and accordingly came to this office, and gave what deſcription of them he could; that, on ſir Sampſon Wright ſending him to Staines to examine the deceaſed, he knew him. The officers then produced the relick mounted with ſilver, and the other articles they had taken from the priſoners. He had ſeen them on board of the ſhip, and likewiſe ſaw the deceaſed with the relick. He certainly would have parted with his life rather than the relick. The priſoners were examined apart, and all denied committing the murder.

They were committed to different gaols, in order for re-examination.

A very curious diſcovery has lately taken place at Blackwall, near the river Thames, where Mr. Perry, the ſhip-builder, had appropriated about ſeven acres of land for the purpoſe of making a wet dock. In digging the ground, regular ſtrata of ſand, clay, &c. have been found, proper for making bricks; and, 12 feet below the ſurface, hazle-trees, with the nuts upon them.

Died, in the iſle of Sky, Mrs. Flora Macdonald, famed in the annals of the late pretender.

In the 19th year of his age Geo. Haſtings, eſq. only ſon of Mr. Haſtings of Folkſtone, to whom the title of earl of Huntingdon is ſuppoſed to have lately devolved.

At Ipſwich, in his 100th year, Alexander Dean, eſq.

In her 108th year, and in full poſſeſſion of all her faculties, Mrs. Bridget Scaver, late of Treay, county of Armagh.

APRIL.

1ſt. A duel was lately fought in Luttrelſtown between Mr. Corran, M.P. and major Hobart, ſecretary to the lord lieutenant, occaſioned by ſome words ſpoken in parliament. The meeting was at the Hermitage, one of lord Carhampton's ſeats; Mr. Corran was attended by Mr. Egan; major Hobart by lord Carhampton. Being put to their ground, and agreed to fire as they choſe, Mr. Corran fired firſt, without effect; whereupon major Hobart ſaid, "He hoped Mr. Corran was ſatisfied." Mr. Egan than called out to major Hobart that he had not fired, as did Mr. Corran. The major, advancing a ſtep or two towards Mr. Corran, repeated what he had ſaid before. Mr. Corran replied, "I am ſorry, ſir, you have taken this advantage; but you have made it impoſſible for me not to be ſatiſfied."

On the 14th inſt. advice was received at Edinburgh, from William Pulteney, eſq. who has inſtituted a profeſſorſhip for agriculture in the univerſity there, that he had fixed upon Dr. Andrew Coventry to fill that office.

Lectures are to be delivered annually.—The ſubjects are, reſpecting the nature of ſoils and manures, the conſtruction of implements of huſbandry, the beſt and moſt ſucceſsful known practices, the manner of inſtituting experiments to aſcertain the effect of a practice in any given ſoil or climate, and the beſt manner of introducing or training ſkilful labourers and country artificers, where theſe may be wanting.

The patronage of this inſtitution, after the deceaſe of the founder, is veſted jointly in, 1. The judges of the courts of ſeſſion and exchequer; 2. The magiſtrates and town council of Edinburgh. 3. The univerſity of Edinburgh. One delegate from each of theſe bodies is to meet in a hall in the univerſity; and a majority determine the election, in caſe of a vacancy.

A duel was fought at Muſſelborough Links, near Edinburgh, on the 14th inſt. between ſir George Ramſay, and captain Macrae; the circumſtances ſtated are preciſely as follows:

A ſervant of ſir George, keeping a chair at the door of the Edinburgh theatre, was ordered by capt. Macrae to remove it; on his objecting, ſome words enſued, and the fracas concluded in captain Macrae's chaſtiſing the ſervant very ſeverely. Meeting the next day with ſir George Ramſay, he inſiſted on his diſmiſſing the man from his ſervice. This was refuſed, on the ground, that whatever was the miſconduct of the ſervant, he had already received a ſufficient puniſhment.

A challenge was the immediate conſequence of this refuſal. The parties met on Muſſelborough Links; ſir George Ramſay accompanied by ſir William Maxwell of Moncrief; and capt. Macrae by Mr. Hay. The former fired firſt, but without effect. Capt. Macrae returned the fire, and lodged his ball ſo near the heart of his antagoniſt, that every art to extract it was fruitleſs. Sir George languiſhed in much agony until Friday morning, when he expired.

The deceaſed was a gentleman of the moſt amiable character and diſpoſition, and had but lately married a beautiful young lady, the ſiſter of lord Saltoun.

17th. The lord chancellor committed the rev. Mr. Stevens to the fleet priſon, for carrying a young lady of the name of Jefferies to Gretna-Green, where he was married to her, ſhe being a ward of the court of chancery. The mother, aunt, and other relations and friends of the lady, all bore honourable teſtimony, by their affidavits, to the character of Mr. Stevens, and depoſed that they approved of the marriage, although it was contracted without their privity. The lord chancellor ſaid, there could be no excuſe for a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church carrying a ward of the court to Scotland, and there being married by a blackſmith. The protection of the wards of that court was of great importance. His lordſhip, however, paid due attention to the affidavits, which he ſaid might become a ſubject of future conſideration.

19th. Stephano Apologi, Antonio Marini, and Jacintha Farari, for the murder of their companion near Belfont; and Thomas Hewet Maſters, for the murder of his miſtreſs's daughter, Mary Loveden, near Whitechapel, were executed before the debtor's door at Newgate, purſuant to their ſentence. The three former having received the Sacrament according to the ceremonies of the Romiſh church, about ſix o'clock they made a full confeſſion of the horrid deed. Antonio Marini (who profeſſed himſelf to be the ſon of one of the Venetian nobleſſe, and ſpoke Latin, Spaniſh, French, and Italian very elegantly and fluently) declared to the prieſt who attended them, that they had all agreed to kill their comrade as he ſlept in his bed two nights before the murder was committed; but that he, Marini, was ſo ſhocked at the idea of it on reflection, that he determined to abandon it, and from that time never failed to pray ſome hours each day, that the deity would ſtrengthen him in this reſolution. That at the time the murder was perpetrated, he was walking more than a hundred yards before them, when he heard the deceaſed cry aloud, “Antonio—Oh Antonio!” That he ran back and found him lifeleſs, with one arm broken, and his ſkull fractured, which he learnt was done by Apologi in knocking him down; and that his throat was cut in two places by Farari with a knife which he had borrowed of him that morning. That he was in great horror at the ſight of ſuch a ſpectacle! but aſſiſted in burying the body, for fear of a diſcovery, and that he ſhould be deemed an acceſſary in the murder. ——Apologi and Farari acknowledged all he thus ſaid was ſtrictly true. On aſcending the ſcaffold, Apologi and Farari diſcovered great perturbation of mind, and wept abundantly. Marini deported himſelf with more fortitude, and yet with becoming decency. Thomas Hewet Maſters likewiſe ſhewed a becoming contrition. After a few minutes ſpent in devotion with their reſpective miniſters, the drop fell, when they expiated (it is hoped) their offences, in the preſence of an incredible number of ſpectators. After hanging the uſual time, their bodies were cut down, and ſent to ſurgeons' hall for diſſection.

At Warwick aſſizes a perſon was indicted for ſtealing a horſe. It was proved, that he hired the horſe at London, to go a ſhort journey; that he rode him to Birmingham, and there ſold him, and converted the money to his own uſe. Theſe circumſtances were ſubmitted to the conſideration of the jury; who brought in their verdict, "guilty of ſelling the horſe." The judge told them, he knew no law that made the ſelling a horſe a capital crime; and referred back to the charge in the indictment. They then laid their heads together again, and, after mature conſideration, brought in their final verdict, "not guilty."

25th. Mr. Erſkine on the part of ſir James Marriot, judge of the high court of admiralty, moved the court of king's bench for a criminal information againſt David Parry, eſq; governor of the iſland of Barbadoes, for an inſult offered to ſir James in his character as a judge. A cauſe had been tried in the court of admiralty, in which the governor was concerned, and, in giving judgment in that cauſe, ſir James made ſeveral obſervations on the conduct of the governor, which the governor reſented, and called upon ſir James *in the character of a gentleman.* The rule was granted.

But on the 8th of May, the governor, by his counſel, ſignified his deſire of apologizing to ſir James for his warmth. The apology was accepted; the rule diſcharged.

DIED, 16th, at the houſe of a relation near Paris, in the dioceſe of Bayonne, M. Bourgelais, author of ſome very curious remarks on metaphyſical and hiſtorical chronology. He was born a cripple, and ſpent his life in ſtudy. The various ſyſtems of ſacred chronology he treated upon with great ability. He was well verſed in moſt of the European languages. With all his abilities, however, he exiſted in the ſhade of poverty.

17th. At Philadelphia, aged 84 years and 3 months, Benjamin Franklin, eſq. LL.D. and F.R.S. He was born in 1706, and brought up in the profeſſion of a printer; in which capacity he worked ſome years as a journeyman with the late Mr. Watts.

His love of ſcience can be traced from an early period. A letter of his to Sir Hans Sloane, dated June 2, 1725, is printed in vol. L. p. 459, of the Gentleman's Magazine.

He appeared here in the line of his buſineſs; but had procured letters to, and was well received by, Martin Folkes, eſq. afterwards Preſident of the Royal Society, and, through him, was known to Dr. Clarke. In 1735, Mr. Franklin had a ſevere pleuriſy, which terminated in an abſceſs on the left lobe of his lungs, and he was then almoſt ſuffocated with the quantity and ſuddenneſs of the diſcharge. A ſecond attack of a ſimilar nature happened ſome years after this, from which he ſoon recovered, and did not appear to ſuffer any inconvenience in his reſpiration from theſe diſeaſes.

In 1759, he publiſhed "An Hiſtorical Review of the Government of Penſylvania;" and in 1760, "The intereſts of Great Britain conſidered, with regard to her colonies." In 1773 he attracted the public notice by a letter on the duel between Mr. Whateley and Mr. Temple.—On the 29th of January, 1774, he was heard before the privy council, on a petition he had long before preſented, as agent for Maſſachuſets Bay, againſt their governor, Mr. Hutchinſon; when the petition was abruptly diſmiſſed, and Mr. Franklin removed from the office of deputy poſtmaſter-general for the Colonies. Previous to this period, it is a teſtimony to truth, and bare juſtice to his memory, to obſerve, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent a breach between Great Britain and America; and it is perhaps to be lamented that his counſels were diſregarded. He from this time entertained ſo ardent a reſentment, that neither politeneſs nor moderation could reſtrain the moſt pointed and bitter ſarcaſms againſt the conduct of England in mixed companies. In the ſummer of 1775, he returned to Philadelphia, and was immediately elected one of their delegates to the Continental Congreſs. In December that year, being now near 70 years of age, he arrived at Paris, and ſoon after took the houſe which Lord Stormont had occupied.

In February, 1777, he had the regular appointment of plenipotentiary from the Congreſs to the French court; but obtained leave of diſmiſſion in 1780. His paſſport to Capt. Cook bears date March 10th, 1779. In 1783 he cauſed a medal to be ſtruck to commemorate the independence of America. July 24th, 1785, he embarked at Havre, and on the ſame day landed at Southampton; whence, after a ſlight refreſhment, he ſailed for Cowes, where a veſſel was ready to convey him to Philadelphia. He was received there, Sept. 15th, with univerſal acclamation. The memories of the aged are not ſuppoſed to be retentive. Franklin was an exception to this rule; he acquired French after ſeventy; he ſpoke fluently, and even ſcientifically, in that language. In his French embaſſy Dr. Franklin became the *ton*, the faſhionable topic of modiſh converſation; the ladies had hats *à-la-Franklin*; and crowds of belles and beaux often fluttered after him in the garden of the Thuilleries.

The ſtone, with which Dr. Franklin had been afflicted for ſeveral years, had for the laſt 12 months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extreme painful paroxyſms he was obliged to take laudanum, to mitigate his tortures; ſtill, in the intervals of pain, he not only amuſed himſelf with reading, and converſing chearfully with his family, and a few friends who viſited him, but was often employed in doing buſineſs of a public as well as private nature; and in every inſtance diplayed, not only a readineſs and diſpoſition of doing good, but the fulleſt and cleareſt poſſeſſion of his mental abilities. About ſixteen days before his death, he was ſeized with a feveriſh indiſpoſition, without any particular ſymptoms attending it till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in his left breaſt, which increaſed until it became extremely acute, with a cough, and laborious breathing. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themſelves with the hopes of his recovery; but an impoſthumation, which had formed itſelf in his lungs, ſuddenly burſt, and diſcharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had ſufficient ſtrength to do it, but as that failed, the organs of reſpiration became gradually oppreſſed, a calm lethargic ſtate ſucceeded, and on the 17th of April, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly cloſed a long and uſeful life. He has left iſſue one ſon, Governor William Franklin, who was a zealous and active loyaliſt during the late revolution, and now reſides in London; and a daughter married to Mr. Richard Bache, a merchant in Philadelphia. To the two latter he has bequeathed the chief part of his eſtate, during their reſpective lives, and afterwards to be divided equally among their children. To his grandſon, William Temple Franklin, eſq. he leaves a grant of ſome lands in the ſtate of Georgia, the greateſt part of his library, and all his papers, beſides ſomething additional in caſe of his marriage. He has alſo made various bequeſts and donations to cities, public bodies, and individuals; and has requeſted that the following epitaph, which he compoſed for himſelf ſome years ago, may be inſcribed on his tombſtone:

"The body of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,
(like the cover of an old book,
its contents torn out,
and ſtript of its lettering and gilding)
lies here food for worms:
yet the work itſelf ſhall not be loſt,
but will (as he believed) appear
once more in a new
and more beautiful edition,
corrected and amended
by
THE AUTHOR."

Philadelphia never diſplayed a ſcene of greater grandeur than was exhibited at his funeral. His remains were interred on the 21ſt; and the concourſe of people aſſembled on the occaſion was immenſe. The body was attended to the grave by thirty clergymen, and men of all ranks and profeſſions, arranged in the greateſt order. All the bells in the city were tolled muffled, and there was a diſcharge of artillery. Nothing was omitted that could ſhew the reſpect and veneration of his fellow-citizens for ſo exalted a character. The Congreſs have ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the United States; and the national aſſembly of France have alſo decreed a general mourning of *three days*.

The principles and qualities of electricity were ſcarcely known in the laſt age. The electric fluid was barely mentioned at the end of Newton's Optics. It was reſerved for Franklin to inveſtigate its properties; and of that branch of ſcience he may be conſidered as the father. Theory was advanced to practice and utility by the invention of the conductor. Nor were his obſervations confined to this ſcience. There were few ſubjects of common utility upon which he did not comment, none were touched by him which he did not improve and illuſtrate; of this, his Advice to Servants—to Tradeſmen—to Settlers in America—on the Cure of Smoky Chimnies—Rules for Clubs and for Converſation—Maxims to convert a great into a ſmall Empire, written with the cauſtic ſpirit of Swift, are abundant proofs.

MAY.

1ſt. The Marſhal of the King's Bench Priſon having complained to the court of certain irregularities, which he had not power to repreſs, that court, in order to prevent theſe irregularities, has made the following orders:

Firſt—That no priſoner, after the firſt day of next Trinity term, ſhall have any rule for being abſent from his confinement, for a longer ſpace than *three days* during each term.

Secondly—That the New Priſon ſhall be within the rules of the King's Bench.

Thirdly—That the rules ſhall be circumſcribed according to the limits mentioned in the order; and particularly, that every *public houſe* locally ſituated within the rules, ſhall be conſidered as without the rules; ſo that every priſoner who is ſeen at any public houſe within the rules, will render the marſhal liable to an action for an eſcape.—The Dog and Duck, the Circus, and the other places of public entertainment in that neighbourhood, will in conſequence be *without the rules.*

George Franklin, a lieutenant in the marines, received judgment of the court of king's bench, for ſending a challenge to his ſuperior officer.—He was ſentenced to a twelvemonth's impriſonment in the king's bench priſon, and to find ſecurity for keeping the peace for two years, himſelf in 100l. and two ſecurities in 50l. each.

5th. James Chapman was brought from Newgate to the court of King's Bench, to receive judgment for the conſpiracy in carrying-off the counteſs of Strathmore. He was ſentenced to be impriſoned in Newgate for the term of two years, and during that time to ſtand once in the pillory at Charing-croſs.

14th. The recorder made his report to the king in council of the priſoners under ſentence of death in Newgate, convicted at the laſt ſeſſions, when the following were ordered for execution on the 19th, viz. Thomas Parker and Sophia Girton, for coining and counterfeiting the ſilver coin of this realm called a ſhilling; Edward Humphreys, for robbing James Cumberland Bentley, in the Strand, of a cambrick handkerchief; and Guinard Villoni, for ſtealing, in the houſe of James Daubigny, an iron cheſt containing about 2000l. in caſh and notes.—The three men were executed accordingly; but the woman has been reſpited.

21ſt. Frith was this morning tried at the Old Bailey for high treaſon, in throwing a ſtone at the king, when in his coach, going to the parliament houſe.—The jury acquitted him, being ſatisfied, by the proof produced, that he is a *lunatic*. He was tried in the moſt ſolemn manner; and the attorney and ſolicitor general behaved on the occaſion with becoming humanity.

Great riots happened about this time in ſeveral parts of the kingdom of Ireland, in conſequence of the election of members to the new parliament. Colonel Maſſey being returned for the county of Limerick, the mob inſtantly attacked him and his friends, and it was with difficulty they eſcaped with their lives. They afterwards razed to the ground the houſes of many gentlemen who voted for him; among others, the beautiful ſeat of ſir D. Burgh, although lady Burgh, on her knees, prayed them to ſpare it.

Mr. Power, ſon to Richard Power, eſq. one of the candidates for the county of Waterford, in conſequence of an election diſpute with captain Grumbleton of the 13th regiment of dragoons, went out with that gentleman on the 4th inſtant, and was ſhot dead on the field.

We learn from New York, that in the repreſentative houſe of the united ſtates, the report of the ſecretary of the treaſury was read in full aſſembly; when it appeared that the whole debt of the ſtates amounted, with the intereſt due thereon, to 25,750,000l. ſterling; the annual intereſt to 1,320,075 l. which will be provided for by the propoſed new duties on ſpirits, wines, tea, coffee, &c. The report recommended an inland exciſe, which it was judged would fully eſtabliſh the national credit.

Died, at Epſom, after a ſhort illneſs, aged 64, the Rev. Martin Madan, M. A. author of "Thelyphthora," of a late literal tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius, and of ſeveral other publications.

At his apartments in the Britiſh Muſeum, the Rev. Charles Godfrey Woide, D.D. F.R. and A.SS. reader and chaplain at the Dutch chapel in the Savoy, and one of the aſſiſtant librarians of the Britiſh Muſeum; who publiſhed, in 1779, a grammar and lexicon of the Egyptian language, both in quarto, and in 1786 the famous Alexandrian New Teſtament, in folio.

At Norwich, in his 64th year, Ph. Lloyd, D.D. 25 years dean of that cathedral.

21ſt. At Trinity college, Oxford, aged 62, the Rev. Thomas Warton, B. D. ſenior fellow of that college, Camden's reader of antient hiſtory, poet laureat (in which he ſucceeded the late Mr. Whitehead in 1785), and formerly profeſſor of poetry in that univerſity. His ſocial qualities had long endeared him to the members of his own ſociety, among whom he conſtantly reſided. The brilliancy of his wit, the ſolidity of his judgment, and the affability of his temper, give to all who had the happineſs of his acquaintance the moſt poignant regret for his irreparable loſs. His literary productions have rendered him peculiarly eminent as an annotator, a biographer, an antiquary, and a poet; and he may be deſervedly conſidered as the ornament, not only of the univerſity, but of the literary world at large. Such, indeed, was the vigour of his mind, the claſſical purity of his taſte, the extent and the variety of his learning, that his memory will be for ever revered as a profound ſcholar, and a man of true genius. Learning muſt deplore him as one of her beſt and moſt valuable ornaments. The fame which his "Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry" has obtained will remain an immortal ornament of his induſtry, the correctneſs of his judgment, and the penetration of his underſtanding; and whoever reads the odes which loyalty dictated at two periods of the year, will ſhed a tear when he finds that the benevolence and philanthropy of the monarch are no longer to receive their merited panegyricks from the pen of a lover of the muſes, who ſcorned to flatter, and who deteſted mercenary adulation.

Anthony Warton, vicar of Godalming, Surrey, from 1682 to 1715, and buried in the chancel there, with a monument, was ſon of Anthony, vicar of Breamore, Hants, (younger brother of the family of Michael W. eſq. of Beverley, but originally of Warton-hall, in the county of Lancaſter) and was admitted of Trinity college, Oxford, afterwards became gentleman-commoner of Magdalen college, where he took the degree of LL.B. 1673. He was the father of Thomas Warton, B.D. fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, and afterwards profeſſor of poetry in that univerſity, and vicar of Baſingſtoke, Hants, and of Cobham, Surrey, who, by Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Joſeph Richardſon, rector of Dunsfold, had two ſons, John, the preſent able and worthy maſter of Wincheſter ſchool, and Thomas, the ſubject of this article, and one daughter, Jane. Thomas proceeded M. A. 1750; B.D. 1767; was elected poetry profeſſor on the death of Hawkins, 1756, which he reſigned before 1771, when he was elected F.A.S. and Camdenian profeſſor, 1785, on the reſignation of Dr. Scott. In 1768 he was preſented to the vicarage of Shalfield, Wilts; and, 1782, to the donative of Hill Farrance, Somerſet.

The profeſſor's writings are,

"A Companion to the Guide, and a Guide to the Companion; being a complete ſupplement to all the accounts of Oxford hitherto publiſhed, 1760.

"The Triumph of Iſis, 1753," in anſwer to Mr. Maſon's "Iſis, an Elegy, 1748."

"The Life and Literary Remains of Ralph Bathurſt, M.D. dean of Wells, and preſident of Trinity college, Oxford, 1761," 8vo.

"The life of ſir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity college, Oxford, 1772," 8vo.

"A Deſcription of the city, college, and cathedral of Wincheſter," without date or name.

"Newmarket, a Satire," 1751, 4to.

In Dodſley's collection we have by him, vol. IV. p. 253, "The Progreſs of Diſcontent;" VI. 258, "A Panegyrick on Ale;" ibid. "The Pleaſures of Melancholy."

His other poetical effuſions were all collected together in a ſmall octavo volume, 1777. To theſe ſhould now be added the odes written in the years 1785, 6, 7, and 8, ſince his appointment to the place of poet laureat, 1785. Theſe were only the lighter productions of Mr. Warton's genius. In 1754, he publiſhed "Obſervations on the Faerie Queene of Spenſer," which, after he was elected profeſſor of poetry in the univerſity of Oxford, he corrected and enlarged, in 2 vols. 12mo. 1760. He communicated many excellent notes to the *variorum* edition of Shakeſpeare, 1786. But his *chief d'œuvre* was, "The Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, from the cloſe of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century. To which are prefixed, Two

Diſſertations, on the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe, and on the Introduction of Learning into England."

Mr. W. engaged, as might naturally be expected, in the Rowleian controverſy; and his "Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, 1782," carries conviction with every unprejudiced mind.

His laſt publication was, "Poems on ſeveral Occaſions, Engliſh, Latin, and Italian, with Tranſlations, by John Milton; with notes critical and explanatory, and other illuſtrations, 1785," 8vo.

Mr. Warton's "Hiſtory of Kiddington Pariſh," to the rectory of which he was preſented in 1771, by the earl of Litchfield, printed for private uſe, 1781, and afterwards made public, is an admirable ſpecimen of parochial hiſtory, and of his general idea of ſuch hiſtory, which ſerves but to make us regret that he had not opportunity to execute more of ſuch a plan.

In the afternoon of May 27th, his remains were interred in the ante-chapel of Trinity college, near thoſe of Dr. Huddesford, their late preſident, with the higheſt academical honours. The vice chancellor, the heads of houſes, the profeſſors, and the proctors, had previouſly requeſted permiſſion of the preſident and fellows, to attend the funeral.

In digging Mr. Warton's grave, at the depth of about ſix feet, were found ſome few remains of a body, which appeared to have been interred with his boots and other apparel, though they had been evidently incloſed in a coffin. A girdle-buckle, about the bigneſs of a crown-piece, was alſo dug up; and there were found about the middle of the body ſome fine ſilver thread, which might probably have belonged to the fringe of the girdle; but no conjectures can be formed either as to the date or perſonage.

JUNE.

1ſt. Yeſterday the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended, when the following convicts received ſentence of death, viz. Thomas Hopkins, Richard Turner, Elizabeth Aſker, Henry White, William Read, and William Jenkinſon; two were ſentenced to be tranſported for fourteen years; thirty-eight for ſeven years; five were fined, and to be impriſoned in Newgate; one in Wood-ſtreet Compter; four in Clerkenwell Bridewell; ten to be publickly whipped; and thirteen were diſcharged by proclamation.

4th. This being the king's birth day, when his majeſty entered the 53d year of his age, there was a very numerous and brilliant drawing-room at St. James's palace.

A duel was lately fought at Bridlington, between Mr. Macduff, captain's clerk of the Racehorſe ſloop of war, and Mr. Prince, midſhipman, in which the latter was killed.

12th. This day the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation.

13th. During the courſe of the two laſt and of the preſent months, the ſtreets of the metropolis were infeſted by a villain of a ſpecies that has hitherto been nondeſcript. It was his practice to follow ſome well-dreſſed lady, whom he found unaccompanied by a man, and ſometimes after uſing groſs language, ſometimes without ſaying a word, to give her a cut with a ſharp inſtrument he held concealed in his hand, either through her ſtays or through her petticoats behind.—Several ladies were attacked by him in this manner, and ſeveral wounded, and the wretch had always the addreſs to eſcape undetected. At length, on the 13th inſt. in the afternoon, as Miſs Porter was walking in the park, accompanied by Mr. Colman, ſhe ſaw a man whom ſhe informed Mr. Colman was the perſon who had aſſaulted her in the manner ſo often mentioned in the news-papers.

Mr. Colman immediately followed him, in order, if poſſible, to find out his place of abode; and inſiſted upon his going to Miſs Porter's houſe, where all the Miſs Porters declared they perfectly well recollected him to be the perſon who had aſſaulted them. He was confined in St. James's watch-houſe that night, and yeſterday was brought up to the public office in Bow-ſtreet.

The four Miſs Porters, Miſs Ann Froſt, and the two Miſs Vaughans, ſwore poſitively to the priſoner having aſſaulted them on two different days, namely, the lord mayor's day, and the queen's birthday.

The priſoner's name is Renwick Williams; he was originally educated for a dancing-maſter, but has for ſome time followed the buſineſs of artificial flower-making; he was committed to New Priſon, Clerkenwell, for further examination. [See his trial in the Appendix to the Chronicle.]

14th. The high bailiff, conſtables, &c. of Weſtminſter, proceeded to the huſtings before the portico of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, for the purpoſe of commencing the election of members to ſerve in the enſuing parliament; when the right hon. lord Hood, and the right hon. Charles James Fox, ſoon appeared, with a numerous retinue, and were nominated as candidates; the former, by captain Berkeley; the latter, by Mr. Serjeant Adair. And preſently, totally unexpected, Mr. Horne Tooke ſtood up, and after a ſhort ſpeech, nominated himſelf as a candidate for their choice; to give, he ſaid, the electors of Weſtminſter an opportunity to aſſert their independence, and not to be bartered away by miniſterial influence, or the man of tranſcendant abilities; pledging himſelf, at the ſame time, to pay all honourable expences attending the election.

Both the candidates embraced the opportunity of vindicating their characters from any ſiniſter views, and proteſting to ſtand each on his own particular merit.

Being ſeverally heard, about twelve at noon the poll commenced, and was not finally cloſed till the 2d of July; when the numbers were,

For Mr. Fox	3516
For Lord Hood	3217
For Mr. Horne Tooke	1697

The poll being declared, Mr. Fox, in a ſhort ſpeech, returned his thanks to the electors for their ſupport.

Capt. Hood next addreſſed the electors; and, for his father, lord Hood, expreſſed a ſtrong ſenſe of gratitude for the return of his lordſhip to repreſent them in parliament.

Mr. Horne Tooke alſo attracted the attention of the populace by a very patriotic harangue, in which he complimented thoſe worthy independent

dependent electors, who had generouſly ſupported his cauſe, the cauſe of the people, which he ſhould ever maintain whilſt he had a ſhilling left.

22d. The heat of the weather was more intenſe than is commonly felt in the Weſt Indies. In Fahrenheit's thermometer the mercury roſe to 80°, and was ſucceeded in many places by ſtorms of thunder and lightning that were very deſtructive, particularly in its courſe to the ſouth-weſtward. At Yeovil a man was torn to pieces by the lightning. At Upway, in Dorſetſhire, a dairy-houſe was burned down. And at Wincanton, Frome, and Bradford, the ſtorm was very alarming.

25th. A duel was fought between capt. Harvey Aſton and lieut. Fitzgerald of the 60th regiment of foot. The cauſe of the diſpute happened at Ranelagh, but ſo long before the challenge, that it was imagined all idea of hoſtility had ceaſed. A field belonging to Chalk-lodge farm, near Hampſtead, was the choſen ſpot, and break of day the time appointed. Lord Charles Fitzroy was ſecond to capt. Aſton; and Mr. Wood was ſecond to lieut. Fitzgerald. Ten yards was the ground meaſured; and Mr. Fitzgerald had the firſt fire. He reſted his piſtol on his left arm, and took aim accordingly. The ball took a direction ſo as to glance on Mr. Aſton's wriſt, and paſſed from thence under his right cheek-bone, and through the neck. On receiving this wound, capt. Aſton called to his antagoniſt, "Are you ſatisfied?" the anſwer returned was, "I am ſatisfied." Mr. Aſton then retired from the ground, and was aſſiſted to his carriage. Happily the wound is not likely to prove mortal.

Died, at Kingſwood near Bath, aged 101, Mary Roſe.

At Fintry Mill, Edinburgh, aged 113, John Buchanan. He retained all his faculties.

At Dundee, aged 107, James Peters, a travelling packman.

JULY.

3d. In conſequence of a diſpute which happened during the election at Guildford, Mr. John Alcock (nephew to ſir Joſeph Mawbey) called upon Mr. Sewell; and they met, at ſeven o'clock this morning, in a field behind Kilburn Wells; the former attended by capt. Burnell, and the latter by capt. Newgell. As ſoon as they had taken their ground, they both fired together, without effect. Mr. Sewell's ſecond piſtol went off accidentally; and the ball lodged in his own foot. Mr. Alcock then fired, and his ball paſſed through the ſkirt of Mr. Sewell's coat.—The ſeconds interpoſed, and the affair terminated to mutual ſatisfaction.

A young whale, of the Greenland ſpecies, was found this evening among the rocks near Liverpool. It meaſured 18 feet 6 inches in length, and 10 feet 4 inches in circumference in the largeſt part. It had been left on ſhore by the tide; and was nearly dead when diſcovered.

6th. Was commencement day at Cambridge. On the preceding evening his royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter arrived at Trinity Lodge; and the next morning was waited upon by the vice chancellor, noblemen, heads of houſes, doctors, profeſſors, &c. in their reſpective robes, who conducted him to the ſenate-houſe, where his royal highneſs prince William Frederick, being introduced by Mr. Manſel, the public orator, was admitted to the degree of maſter of arts.

The company aſſembled upon the occaſion was exceedingly numerous: among others preſent were Mr. Pitt, the marquis of Huntley, earl of Euſton, earl of Hardwicke, lord George Thynne, biſhop of Ely, maſter of the rolls, &c.

The junction of the Birmingham and Coventry canals being compleated, boats are preparing to paſs twice a week between London and Birmingham. The eſtabliſhment of water-carriage between places that have ſuch an extenſive trade, muſt greatly aſſiſt the commercial intereſts of the kingdom.

In a peat-bog at Donnadea, near the ſeat of ſir Fitzgerald Aylmer, bart. was lately diſcovered the ſepulchre of ſome Iriſh chieftain, at the depth of ſeventeen feet below the ſurface of the ground.—In it they found a coffin, 10 feet 4 inches in length, containing a ſkeleton 8 feet 2½ in length, with a ſpear 7 feet long by the ſide of it; but the handle mouldered away, when expoſed to the air, and touched. There were beſides in the coffin two ſmall urns of braſs, on which were engraven the figures of the ſun and moon, of exquiſite workmanſhip, though very antique. This ſepulchre is ſuppoſed to have been built, and the coffin depoſited in it, before the introduction of Chriſtianity into Ireland.

Two duels have lately been fought near Dublin; one between two lieutenants of the 56th regiment of foot; and the other between a gentleman of Rathfarnham and his attorney. No life was loſt in either; but one of the parties in each rencontre was ſeverely wounded.

10th. This day the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended, when one capital convict, viz. John Dyer, for forgery, received ſentence of death. At this ſeſſion, John Stymack was indicted, upon the proſecution of his own father, for felony.—Adam Stymack, the father, ſaid, his ſon had often robbed him, and he felt himſelf under the painful neceſſity of bringing him before the court, to ſave him, if he could, from the gallows.

At this ſeſſion was tried alſo Robert Jaques, for a miſdemeanor, in having entered into a conſpiracy, with one Stanley and others, againſt the warden of the Fleet priſon, by having the ſaid Stanley arreſted for a fictitious debt of 800 *l.* and afterwards aſſiſting him to make his eſcape. He was convicted on the cleareſt evidence; and the crime appeared ſo heinous, that the judge pronounced ſentence upon him with peculiar energy: "Robert Jaques, you have been convicted of the blackeſt crime that ever came before a court of juſtice under the denomination of a miſdemeanor, &c. &c.: therefore the ſentence of the court is, That you be impriſoned in his majeſty's gaol of Newgate for three years, and that, during that time, you do ſtand in and on the pillory for one hour, between twelve and three in the day-time, at the Royal Exchange."

11th. This evening, two young gentlemen, having engaged a boat at Vauxhall to take them to London Bridge; about twelve at night, when they entered the boat, they found another man in it beſides the waterman, who, pretending only to want to croſs the water, was permitted to remain: but, after a ſhort time, he, with the aſſiſtance of the waterman, dragged the young gentlemen aſhore, and robbed them of their watches and money.

22d. The election of a common ſerjeant came on; and Mr. Sylveſter being the only candidate, after ſome converſation concerning the duties of his office, was unanimouſly choſen *during pleaſure.* But this being thought inconſiſtent with the nature of his office, part of which is to act as a judge in the firſt criminal court in the kingdom, it was reſcinded next court-day.

The following caſes were lately decided in the court of king's-bench.

Caſe 1. Brown againſt Allen.—This action was brought to recover a large ſum for the board, lodging, and maintenance of the defendant's wife.

On the part of the plaintiff it was proved, that the defendant's wife had lodged and boarded three years in the houſe of the plaintiff, during which time he had provided her with money to buy clothes; that ſhe came to his houſe, as he underſtood, in conſequence of the ill treatment ſhe had received from her huſband, who had forcibly turned her out of doors.

The counſel for the defendant gave a quite different account. This caſe, he ſaid, was marked with the greateſt enormity that ever diſgraced a court; that the defendant's wife, without any cauſe, eloped from his houſe, and deſerted her three infant children, and ever ſince ived in adultery, and had even at imes gone by the plaintiff's name. If cauſes like this were ſucceſsful, the condition of a huſband would be miſerable indeed; for every incontinent wife, after deſerting her huſband, would call upon him to defray the expences of a life of infamy and proſtitution. The plaintiff was non-ſuited. The judge ſaid, the law was clear on this ſubject. If a man turned his wife out of doors, whoever received her into his houſe might bring an action, and recover the ſum expended for her neceſſary maintenance; but if ſhe elopes, he is not liable to any debts ſhe may contract.

Caſe 2. An indictment preferred by the relations of the late earl Cowper againſt Edward Topham, eſq. proprietor of "The World," for a libel, which appeared in that paper on the 17th of February laſt, againſt the late earl Cowper.

Mr. Erſkine, on the part of the proſecution, admitted that the defendant was only reſponſible in his relative ſituation as proprietor of the paper; in which character, however, he muſt be anſwerable for every thing inſerted in it, even though it was without his knowledge; and, he ſaid, this libel was the more unjuſtifiable, as it ſlandered the character of a perſon deceaſed, and therefore incapable of protecting his own reputation.

Mr. Topham's property in the paper was proved beyond a doubt; and the charge ſuppoſed to be libellous was contained under the title of "Memoirs of Earl Cowper;" in which it was ſaid, that, while at Venice, and in Italy, he led a very diſſipated life.

Mr. Mingay, counſel for the defendant, obſerved, that, however honourable the motives might be of the relations of earl Cowper, who preferred the indictment, yet he thought there ought to be ſome meaſure to their vengeance. They had firſt proſecuted the printer, who had let judgment go by default; the author was then offered to them, and yet they were not ſatisfied: but the defendant, though totally ignorant of the buſineſs, muſt be dragged forward to be made a ſacrifice at the immaculate tomb of earl Cowper. The jury, after ſome conſideration, found the defendant guilty.

The counſel for the defendant took two exceptions: 1. That the charge could not be a libel, becauſe it defamed no one perſon *living*. 2. That the defendant, as proprietor, could not be anſwerable, unleſs it was proved that he knew of the inſertion.

Died, at his houſe in Argyle-Street, after two hours illneſs, major-general William Roy, deputy quarter-maſter-general, colonel of the 30th regiment of foot, ſurveyor-general of the coaſts, F.R. and A.SS. He was tranſacting buſineſs at the war-office till eight o'clock the preceding evening. While colonel of artillery, he and his engineers, under colonel Watſon, in the winter of 1746, made an actual ſurvey of Scotland, which goes under the name of the Duke of Cumberland's Map, on a very large ſcale, moſt accurately pointing out every the ſmalleſt ſpot, with the Roman camps, &c. the original of which is in the ordnance-office. He reduced it, and engraved a few for preſents, under the title of "Mappa Britanniæ Septentrionalis facies Romana ſecundum fidem monumentorum perveterum depicta ex Ricardo Corinenſi, monacho Weſtmonaſterii, emendata, & recentioribus geometricis atque aſtronomicis obſervationibus accommodata. J. Cheevers, ſc." a ſingle ſheet, 18 inches by $23\frac{1}{2}$; drawn by colonels Watſon and Roy, and called the King's Map. It has many camps, a good number of Roman names, a few modern ones of towns, and all the rivers and hills properly laid down. His experiments to obtain a rule for meaſuring heights with barometers may be ſeen in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions," vol. lxvii.; his curious account of the meaſurement of a baſe on Hounſlow Heath, in vol. lxxv. for which he was complimented with the Copley medal; his account of the mode propoſed to be followed in determining the relative ſituations of the royal obſervatories of Greenwich and Paris, in vol. lxxviii. By command of his majeſty, he had lately undertaken, and had juſt completed, a moſt curious, accurate, and elaborate ſet of trigonometrical experiments and obſervations to determine the true and exact latitude and longitude of the two royal obſervatories of Greenwich and Paris; an account of which, illuſtrated by tables computed from actual meaſurements (to take which, his majeſty had furniſhed him with ſome very expenſive trigonometrical inſtruments), he had drawn up and preſented to the royal ſociety, and was ſuperintending the printing of it in their "Tranſactions" at the time of his death.

At Edinburgh, Adam Smith, eſq. LL.D. and F.R.S. of London and Edinburgh, one of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in Scotland, and formerly profeſſor of moral philoſophy in the univerſity of Glaſgow, which he gave up to travel with the preſent duke of Buccleugh. In 1759 he publiſhed "The Theory of Moral Sentiments," 8vo; and in 1776, "The Wealth of Nations," 2 vols. 4to.

In Newgate, the Rev. Mr. Withers, confined there ever ſince November laſt, for a libel on Mrs. Fitzherbert.

AUGUST.

An uncommonly dreadful and deſtructive ſtorm has fallen, on the 30th of July, at Monymuck, the ſeat of ſir Archibald Grant, and its neighbourhood. About ten o'clock in the morning the ſky was overcaſt, and a thick, dark cloud ſettled to the eaſtward. Some flaſhes of lightning ſoon appeared, which were followed by a dreadful clap of thunder, that ſeemed to burſt juſt overhead, and then to roll along for ſome minutes in a direction from north to ſouth. This affrighting clap was ſucceeded by ſeveral others, before the clouds rent, and let fall ſuch ſhowers of ice and hail, as no man in that part of the country was ever witneſs to before. The hail was of the ſize of a muſket-ball, with an angular point generally, and cut, or rather cruſhed, every thing they fell upon. The potatoes, turneps, and greens of every kind growing in the gardens, were laid flat and covered with its weight, which in ſome places lay three feet deep. On that day ſir Archibald Grant filled his ice-houſe; though, what is remarkable, during the whole courſe of the winter, he was unable to collect a quantity of ſnow ſufficient for the purpoſe. It is not eaſy to conceive the general conſternation of the country people on this occaſion. Some feared for their ſheep and cattle; ſome for themſelves and children, leſt they ſhould all be ſmothered together in the ruins of their houſes; while others trembled, thinking the great day come, when all things were to be at an end, and the world deſtroyed by fire.

The important event of opening the Forth and Clyde navigation from ſea to ſea took place, on the 28th of the laſt month, by the ſailing of a track-barge from the baſon of the canal near Glaſgow to the river Clyde at Bowling Bay, deſcending thereby 150 feet. In the courſe of her voyage ſhe paſſed along that ſtupendous aqueduct over the Kelvin, a new object to paſſengers below, exhibiting a veſſel navigating 70 feet over their heads.

The following are the ſums bought by the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt.

Conſol. 3 per cent.	£. 2,509,800
Reduced ditto -	1,540,700
Old South Sea -	994,900
New ditto - -	725,500
South Sea, 1751 -	227,000
	5,997,900

4th. Francis Fonton, one of the clerks in the 3 *per cent.* bank annuity office at the bank of England, was brought before William Addington, eſq. at the public office in Bow Street, and underwent a long examination. He was charged on the oaths of William Edwards, eſq. accomptant-general of the bank, John Beard, and Robert Hands, for knowingly and wilfully uttering, forging, and counterfeiting the name of William Baker, as the proprietor of a ſum of 550*l.* in the 3 *per cent.* annuity, and thereby transferring the ſaid ſum of 550*l.* and receiving, or endeavouring to receive, the ſame, as his own property, with an intent to cheat and defraud the governor and company of the bank of England. The fact being clearly proved, he was fully committed to New Priſon, Clerkenwell, for trial, and the parties bound over to proſecute. He has been a clerk in the bank near twenty years, and bore the beſt of characters.

Same morning, at half paſt ſeven o'clock, John Dyer, for forgery, was brought out of Newgate, and, after the uſual ſolemnities, was executed before the debtors gate in the Old Bailey, purſuant to his ſentence. He was only 22 years of age, and was brought up at Weſtminſter-ſchool.

10th. Parliament met, and was prorogued to the 12th of October.

28th. Mr. Powell, the celebrated pedeſtrian, arrived in London from York. He ſet out on the 22d from the monument in London to walk to York and back again in five days and eighteen hours, which is the ſame time he performed this journey in the year 1773; the wager 10 guineas to 13. On Monday night he reached Stamford, where he ſlept; on Tueſday night, at twelve, he reached Doncaſter, and arrived in York at 25 minutes after one on Wedneſday noon; ſet out on his return a quarter after four in the afternoon, reached Ferrybridge that evening, paſſed through Doncaſter at eight o'clock on Thurſday morning, and arrived at Grantham in the evening, where he ſlept; at five o'clock on Friday morning he purſued his journey, and arrived at Biggleſwade that evening, where he alſo ſlept; ſet out at half paſt four o'clock on Saturday morning, and arrived at the monument at ten minutes paſt four in the afternoon (being one hour and fifty minutes within the time), amidſt the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people.

Mr. Spellard, for many years quarter-maſter in the 16th (or queen's) regiment of light dragoons, known by the name of Burgoyne's, and who was captured with that general and lord Cornwallis in America, has lately arrived at Boſton from Gibraltar; and is an inſtance of the good effects that walking has upon the health. This gentleman is conſidered as one of the firſt walkers in Europe—he has lately walked through every county in England and Ireland, through France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and a great part of the Barbary States, particularly from Tangiers to Mequinez and Fez in Morocco, and through the Arabs country; he has alſo walked about 790 miles ſince he arrived in America.

Died, in Ruſſia, aged 31, James Trevenen, eſq. a lieutenant in the Britiſh navy, and a poſt-captain in the Ruſſian ſervice. In the action with the Swediſh fleet off Wyburg, on the 4th of July, he carried a commodore's pendant, and, after having gallantly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, was mortally wounded by the laſt ſhot fired by the enemy, and died on the 9th. He was a native of Cornwall, and of a very reſpectable family in that county. He received his education at the royal academy of Portſmouth; and in the year 1776 embarked as a midſhipman with capt. Cook, on his laſt voyage to the South Seas. In taking aſtronomical obſervations, and ſurveying the various coaſts, he proved an able aſſiſtant to that great navigator, who juſtly conſidered him as a young gentleman of ample promiſe to do honour to the ſervice and to his country. On his return from that expedition, in 1780, he was promoted by the earl of Sandwich to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he ſailed, till the concluſion of the war, with capt. King, who had the higheſt eſteem and friendſhip for him. Being impatient of an inactive life, in the year 1787 he ſolicited employment of lord Howe, then at the head of the admiralty; but, unfortunately for the naval ſervice of this country, his application proved ineffectual. This refuſal induced him to draw up a plan of diſcovery, and a propoſal for opening an intercourſe by ſea between Kamtſchatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China; which was laid before the empreſs of Ruſſia, and ſo well approved of by her, that ſhe immediately ſent an officer expreſs to invite him over to carry it into execution. He arrived at Peterſburgh the latter end of 1787; but the war with the Turks breaking out, put a ſtop to the intended expedition, and he was prevailed upon to accept the command of a ſhip of the line. In the various engagements that have taken place in the Baltic, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities between Ruſſia and Sweden, he has borne a very active part, and has been honoured with repeated marks of the empreſs's favour; and doubtleſs, had he lived, would ſoon have arrived at the firſt rank in her ſervice. He was a man of ſtrong natural abilities, greatly improved by cultivation; and poſſeſſed a high ſenſe of honour, and a liberal enlightened mind. To the manly courage, and the open generoſity of a Britiſh ſailor, he united, in an eminent degree, the education and the manners of a gentleman. To thoſe who had the pleaſure of knowing him, his death is deeply diſtreſſing; and to his country the loſs of ſo accompliſhed an officer will not eaſily be repaired.

14th. At his head-quarters in Moravia, of a fever, in conſequence of an operation he underwent for an obſtruction in the urethra, Field-marſhal Laudohn, commander in chief of the Auſtrian forces. His impatience under the medical applications, the impetuous ardour of his character, and the knowledge, above all, of his importance in the war, contributed to irritate his mind, and promote the violence of the fever. He reſiſted the application of cataplaſms, before and after the inciſions were made, with a fatal obſtinacy, which raiſed the inflammation to ſuch an height, that he expired under the acceſſion of the fever.——He was born in 1716; was a native of Livonia; and deſcended from a Scottiſh family.

SEPTEMBER.

Warſaw, Sept. 1. We have at length had, in the perſon of Prince Poninſki, Grand Treaſurer of the Crown, a ſtriking inſtance of the inſtability of fortune, or more properly ſpeaking, of the certain retribution which ſooner or later awaits thoſe who build their own greatneſs at the expence of the reputation of their country. It is unneceſſary to recount either the unlimited power he poſſeſſed at the famous Diet of Delegation, of which he was Marſhall, and of the Diviſion of Poland, or the criminal proceſs inſtituted againſt him, after an interval of ſixteen years, for having at the above period betrayed (owing to perſonal views) the deareſt intereſts of the ſtate. The buſineſs, it was thought, would by degrees have died away, but was on a ſudden reſumed again; and on the reſumption of it at the ſeſſion of the Diet of the 10th ult. very ſtrong debates took place. The Grand Treaſurer, foreſeeing the reſult of them, reſolved to avoid the conſequences of it by a ſecond flight; and though releaſed for the firſt offence on his parole, he ſecretly quitted Warſaw on Sunday the 29th of laſt month, but was met on the road by the ſame Captain who guarded him the firſt time he made his eſcape, and who was near paying ſo very dear for it. This officer met him fifteen leagues from this place, ſeized him, and brought him back to Warſaw. This day the delinquent was brought before the tribunal of the Diet, which was aſſembled on Saturday and Sunday laſt, from the morning till late at night. The ſentence, which was read to him, declares him "*a traitor to his country,*" of courſe diveſted of his nobility, dignities, functions, and employments; condemns him to be ſtripped of the orders with which he has been decorated; that he ſhall quit Warſaw within twenty-four hours, and the country within four weeks; after which, any Judge or Juriſdiction, who finds him on the territory of the Republic may arreſt him, and puniſh him with death. Prince Poninſki, who heard the judgment pronounced at the bar of the tribunal, muſt further ſubmit to the degrading mortification of aſſiſting at its publication before all the people aſſembled on the ſquare before the Town-hall, where the inſignia of the orders with which he has been decorated are to be torn from him, and from whence he is afterwards to be conducted through the principal ſtreets, accompanied by a crier, who is to proclaim, "Such is the fate of traitors to their country." However, the puniſhment of the culprit will be perſonal, and will not affect his conſort, children, brothers, or any of his family or poſterity.

17th. At the Old Bailey, Barrington was put to the bar, indicted for ſtealing a gold watch, the property of H. H. Townſend, eſq. at Enfield races. He was very genteelly dreſſed. He challenged one of the jury, a Mr. Miſt, peremptorily, which was allowed. Mr. Townſend gave a very clear and deciſive evidence of his loſing the watch from his waiſtcoat pocket —that as he was leading his horſe to the poſt, ſome perſon puſhed by him in a violent manner, twice. That on being ſhewn him, by a Mr. Blades, as Barrington, he recognized him as the perſon who had puſhed by him, and immediately ſecured and carried him to a booth. Here it was proved by ſeveral witneſſes that Barrington dropt a watch behind him, which was taken up immediately, and proved to be Mr. Townſend's. Some of the witneſſes ſaw the watch falling from him, and were poſitive it could come from no other quarter.

Before he pleaded in his defence, he requeſted to be heard; which being granted, he addreſſed the court as follows:

"My lords! At the time of my apprehenſion I had in my pocket a ſilk purſe, containing twenty-two guineas and ſilver. This property was forcibly taken from me, and although I have applied to have it returned, it is ſtill detained; under what pretext, I am totally at a loſs to know. Perhaps I ſhare, in common with other miſerable men in my ſituation, this hardſhip, I had almoſt ſaid cruelty; becauſe, to deprive priſoners of their property, is tantamount to withholding the means of their defence, and the chance of proving their innocence. I am adviſed, my lord, that ſuch proceedings are illegal, and directly contrary to a poſitive act of parliament (11th Henry VII). I therefore leave it to your lordſhips, who, I am convinced, will give ſuch directions as are conſiſtent with ſacred law and ſtrict juſtice."

The judges ordered the money to be returned; which was accordingly done, in open court.

Being now called upon for his defence, he ſaid, "I am placed in a very diſtreſſing ſituation; if I am ſilent, it may lead to an opinion of my guilt; if I ſpeak too boldly, it may occaſion the jury to diſtruſt any thing which I may advance; on either ſide I am likely to be involved in ſome danger. I hope, however, that the gentlemen of the jury, adverting only to the preſent affair, will indulge me with ſome favour, and credit that which wears the ſemblance of truth.

"The evidence adduced againſt me is, in many parts, defective and inconſiſtent; and that of Mary Danby I am inclined to think rather unfair, as it never was heard of until this day. When Mr. Townſend came up to me at Enfield races, he ſaid my name was Barrington, and that I had robbed him of his watch. I anſwered him, that in the firſt he was right, but that as to the robbery he was perfectly wrong. I was then, amidſt a great tumult, conveyed to the booth; and a very great misfortune it is for me that you have not ſeen that booth, and might thereby be enabled to judge how probable it is that another perſon might drop the watch over the rails.

"I was ſtanding cloſe to the rails when the watch was claimed, and am ſorry that this material part ſhould be varied by the evidence. —The coachman ſaid before juſtice Hubbard, that he did not ſee it fall, and the probability that he would have called out if he had, tended very much to invalidate his evidence. He was aſked before Mr. Hubbard, whether he could ſwear to the watch; and although he at that time declined it, yet he now comes forward, and poſitively affirms what he had before doubted.

"From Mr. Townſend's ſituation, who was anxious, amid a crowd, to careſs a winning horſe, it is more than probable that in the ſqueezing his watch might either have tumbled out of his pocket, or might have been taken by ſome perſon, who, feeling for my ſituation when forcibly detained in the booth, might have thrown it at my feet, to ſave an innocent man.

"I am ſenſible that common report has injured my character, and it may well be expected that the aſſertions in newſpapers have conſiderably hurt my reputation for integrity: of this I am conſcious that many now preſent are convinced; but I can, however, truſt my fate to the noble nature of a Britiſh court. Life is the gift of God—liberty the greateſt bleſſing; and they cannot reſt more ſecure than in the breaſt of an Engliſh jury, who delight not in blood, but whoſe only failing is—Humanity.

"It is probably expected that I ſhall make an appeal to the paſſions—and if I can be thought with juſtice to appeal to them, I will think myſelf fortunate; for to the paſſions we owe benevolence, the beſt of virtues.

"I am now juſt thirty-two years of age, and from the enjoyments of my paſt life I am not very impatient about the other thirty-two years which I may reaſonably ſuppoſe to come:—the uncertainty of human happineſs I have often remarked, and have always conſidered a tranquil heart as the greateſt bleſſing:—the thought of death may appal the rich, but it is not ſo hideous in my eyes, who have been continually involved in miſery.

"I have an affectionate companion, and an infant offspring, whoſe countenances have cheered me through all my misfortunes: my good name is loſt in this land; but ſhould I be ſo happy as to overcome the preſent accuſation, I will retire to ſome far diſtant land, where ſimplicity of manners will not render me a ſubject of ſuſpicion, and rather ſtarve upon the pavement than be brought into this predicament again.

"If the gentlemen of the jury think me innocent of the preſent accuſation, I pledge myſelf to endeavour to recover my loſt character; and I hope, that by my conduct my future life will as largely deſerve applauſe, as my paſt has been ſubject to cenſure and ſuſpicion."

Baron Eyre then proceeded (no evidence whatever being offered on behalf of the priſoner) to recapitulate the evidence, which he did with the utmoſt preciſion and impartiality; and the jury, with little or no heſitation, brought in their verdict—*Guilty!*

The lord chief Baron then addreſſed Barrington in a manner that reflected the higheſt honour upon him. He obſerved to him, that during the whole of his trial he had behaved to him with the ſame impartiality as if he had never before ſeen him at that bar. The event, however, being over, and there being no danger of prejudicing him in the minds of thoſe who heard him, he could not help reminding him that, he had juſt eſcaped, by the lenity of his proſecutor, that fate which the offended laws of his country had richly demanded. He was ſorry to ſee talents ſuch as he poſſeſſed ſo baſely and ſo ſhamefully proſtituted; and he could not help expreſſing his fears, that from the many ineffectual warnings he had had, both in his own perſon, and a thouſand other inſtances, he would, notwithſtanding, perſiſt in his evil courſes, till he ſhould meet with a ſhameful and ignominious termination of his exiſtence.

Barrington bowed, and retired.

On the 22d, upon receiving his ſentence, he called the attention of the court to the following ſpeech:

"My Lord,

"I have much to ſay in extenuation of the crime for which I ſtand convicted; but, upon conſideration, I will not arreſt the attention of the court too long. Amongſt the extraordinary viciſſitudes incident to human nature, it is the peculiar and unfortunate lot of ſome perſons to have their beſt wiſhes and moſt earneſt endeavours to deſerve the good opinion of ſociety entirely fruſtrated; whatever they ſay or do, every action and its motive is miſinterpreted and twiſted from the real intention. That this has been my fate, does not ſtand in need of any confirmation. Every effort to deſerve well of mankind, that my heart bore witneſs to its rectitude, has been conſtantly thwarted, and rendered abortive. Many of the circumſtances of my life have therefore happened in ſpite of myſelf.

"The world has given me credit for abilities, indeed much more than I deſerved: but I have found no kind hand to foſter thoſe abilities. I might aſk, Where was the generous and powerful hand that was ſtretched forth to reſcue George Barrington from infamy? In an age like this, which in many reſpects is ſo juſtly famed for liberal ſentiments, it was my hard lot that no noble-minded gentleman ſtepped forward and ſaid, "You are poſ-" ſeſſed of abilities which may be "uſeful to ſociety. I feel for your "ſituation, and as long as you act "the part of a good citizen I will "be your protector; you will then "have time and opportunity to reſ-" cue yourſelf from the obloquy of "your former conduct." Alas! my lord! George Barrington had never the ſupreme felicity of having ſuch comfort adminiſtered to his wounded ſpirit.

"As it is, the die is caſt, and I bend to my fate without one murmur or complaint."

On the 20th inſt. another duel was fought at Margate, between Mr. Stephens, a young gentleman of twenty years of age, only ſurviving ſon of Philip Stephens, eſq. of the Admiralty; and Mr. Anderſon, an attorney. The parties met at Kingsgate, and, after exchanging ſhots without effect, the ſeconds interpoſed. Mr. Stephens inſiſted on an apology. Mr. Anderſon ſaid, he could not apologize for words he had never uſed. They again took their ground, and, firing together, Mr. Anderſon's ball entered the head of Mr. Stephens, and killed him on the ſpot. Mr. Anderſon was apprehended; and, as the offence was committed within the juriſdiction of the Cinque Ports, he will, by a law peculiar to that port, be immediately tried, without waiting for the aſſizes. The coroner's inqueſt have brought it in "Man-" ſlaughter."

29th. Being Michaelmas-day, a Common Hall was convened at Guildhall, as uſual, for the choice of a Lord Mayor for the year enſuing; when alderman John Boydell was choſen without oppoſition.

Died, 10th. at his apartments in Greenwich hoſpital, ſincerely regretted by all who had the pleaſure of his acquaintance, Capt. John Gore, one of the captains of Greenwich hoſpital, a moſt experienced ſeaman, and an honour to his profeſſion. He had ſailed four times round the world; 1ſt, with Comm. Byron; 2dly, with Capt. Wallace; and the two laſt times with Capt. James Cook.

At Richmond, in the county of York, aged 105, Mrs. Todd.

Near Havant, Hants, aged 102 years, 6 months, and 8 days, Mr. John Coomer.

At Imley hall, the ſeat of lord Dudley and Ward, Charles Norris, Muſ. Bac. whoſe name will hold a reſpectable rank in the annals of Engliſh muſic, while his mild virtues and inoffenſive diſpoſition will be remembered with regret by all who knew him.

David Roſs, Eſq; late patentee

of the theatre-royal at Edinburgh, and well known over the three kingdoms for his merit as an actor.

OCTOBER.

A letter has been received from Samuel Burt, the perſon convicted of forgery, but pardoned on condition of going to New South Wales; dated from on board the Scarborough tranſport, Falſe Bay, which contains the following account:

“ On the 12th of February, our ſhip having ſeparated from the Surprize tranſport, the Neptune being a great way a-head, and the ſea perfectly calm, the convicts began to whiſper from one to the other their mutinous intentions; the plot being communicated to myſelf, I readily agreed to the ſcheme, aſſenting to every propoſal of plunder and murder, until ſuch time as I became completely maſter of the conſpiracy, and the ringleaders of it. I then appriſed the captain of the ſhip, and the military officers, of the danger they were likely to encounter; and ſo thoroughly did my information prepare them for the buſineſs, that with little or no trouble the ringleaders were ſecured, and the ſcheme entirely fruſtrated. The particulars being enquired into, they made ſuch confeſſions that human nature would almoſt ſhudder at the thoughts of. Several of them have been flogged with the greateſt ſeverity, and others of more dangerous deſcription are at this time chained to the deck, and it is ſuppoſed will be tried and executed immediately on their arrival in New South Wales.”

The circumſtances of Burt's caſe were rather remarkable. Being rejected by a woman whom he wiſhed to marry, he committed a forgery, and immediately afterwards ſurrendered himſelf at Bow-ſtreet, for the purpoſe of getting hanged. Being conſidered as an object of compaſſion, he was offered his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, which he twice or thrice refuſed. The lady at length conſented to marry him, and he then became as ſolicitous to live, as he had before been anxious for death: but, during her repeated viſits to him in Newgate, ſhe caught the gaol fever, and died.

9th. Macleod, the Scotchman, aged 102, walked ten miles on the Hammerſmith road, for a wager of 100 guineas. Two hours and a half was the time given, but he covered the ground in two hours and twenty-three minutes.

A Spaniard, calling himſelf Joſe Seylink, was apprehended at Plymouth by two boatmen, on ſuſpicion of being a ſpy. He was carried before admiral Greaves, who ſent him to the mayor of that town for examination.—His papers being inſpected, it appeared he came from London on the 1ſt of October, and went to Oxford, Bath, Briſtol, and Exeter, and from thence to Plymouth, and wiſhed to go to Falmouth. He was anxious to know how many ſhips were there, wiſhed to view the dock, magazine, &c. He ſeems an intelligent, ſenſible man, and had many ſhrewd remarks on the government and police of Great Britain in his journal, which was written in French.

19th. Joſe Seylink, the Spaniard, underwent another examination—but nothing material came out againſt him. He ſays he came hither to view the arſenal, fleet, citadel, magazines, &c. as he had at Portſmouth. He ſaid he was *une Citoyen du Monde*; that his paſſport was *l'argent* (ſhewing ſome ſilver), and that his companions were his books. On being queſtioned why he came by way of Oxford, &c. he ſaid to ſee the country, and that he came here to go to Falmouth to embark for Liſbon—ſaid he knew none of his own nation in London—that he wiſhed not to be recognized by them, and that he was a man of no note in his own country.

He had a good map of the coaſt with him: but perſiſted that he had no other object than curioſity—to gratify his wiſh to know the manners and cuſtoms of England.

It is ſomewhat remarkable that he was averſe to write to the Spaniſh ambaſſador in London, which occaſions a conjecture that he is not a Spaniard, but a Frenchman.

On Tueſday the 12th inſt. the people of Dartford and its neighbourhood were terribly alarmed by the blowing-up of the powder-mills within a ſhort mile of that town.

No certain account can be given of the manner by which the fatal ſpark was communicated to the gunpowder in the corning-houſe, which was the firſt building that blew up. No work was carrying on in that place at the time the fatal accident happened: it is therefore ſuppoſed that ſome electric fire had entered the building, and ignited the looſe gunpowder. From hence the exploſion inſtantly communicated itſelf to the ſtoves, to five powder-mills, and to a cloſe magazine containing 25 barrels of gunpowder, which from their confined ſtate, ſpread dreadful devaſtation around. The ſtoves, corning-houſe and magazines, were inſtantly levelled with the earth; the ſtrong beams were ſhivered in pieces, and thrown every where around to a conſiderable diſtance; and broken bricks, tiles, and pieces of wood, ſhowered ruin on the neighbouring fields.

The doors of a magazine which ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from the works, to the S.W. up the river, and which contains near 200 barrels of gunpowder, were forced open by the exploſion; but the wind blowing with great violence from that quarter, providentially prevented the flaſh from reaching it: for had it communicated with this laſt, the whole town of Dartford would probably have been laid in ruins.

Six men were deſtroyed in the dreadful havock, moſt of whom have left wives and families behind them. The foreman of the works has left a wife and ſeven children.

21ſt. A cauſe came on in the ſheriff's court at Guildhall, in which John Wilkes, eſq. as chamberlain of the city of London, was plaintiff, and John Pardoe, eſq. defendant. The action was brought to recover the ſum of 600l. being the penalty which is ordained by a bye-law of the court of Common Council, to be paid for declining to ſerve the office of ſheriff of London, to which office the defendant had been elected in the year 1783; but refuſed to ſerve, on the ground of his being incapacitated. It appeared that Mr. Pardoe, when he was choſen ſheriff, was ſixty-nine years of age, in an infirm ſtate of health, and totally unfit to ſerve the office of ſheriff. The jury, which was ſpecial, gave a verdict for the defendant.

Canterbury, Oct. 28. Yeſterday morning, at ten o'clock, Mr. Foſter Powell, the celebrated pedeſtrian, ſet off from the Talbot inn, in this city, to walk to St. George's church, Southwark, and back again, which he had engaged to perform in 24 hours, for a wager of 60 guineas. At ten o'clock this morning he reached Canterbury within two miles, and conſequently loſt his wager. His failure was occaſioned by miſtaking the road through the darkneſs of the night, and going round by Greenwich, where he fell down ſeveral times. He was brought the remainder of the way in a carriage, very much exhauſted.

30th. On Monday laſt, two troops of the Oxford blues, from Peterborough, marched into Nottingham, intimation having been given of an intended riot among the frame-work knitters there.

On Tueſday an outrageous mob collected, and proceeded to ſuch acts of violence, that the military were under the neceſſity of firing upon them; by which many were wounded, and upwards of forty of the rioters were ſeized and ſent to priſon.

The diſturbance had not ſubſided on Wedneſday, on which day one of the officers was much hurt by ſome glaſs bottles thrown at him.

Intelligence is arrived that Mr. M'Kendrie, who undertook, between two and three years ago, to penetrate from Montreal to the ocean, has performed his enterprize. He took a courſe north-weſtward from Montreal, and he reached the ocean, according to his obſervation, about the 69th degree of northern latitude. In his track he found the country very unpromiſing for trade, and very uninviting otherways.

30th. This day is made memorable in the annals of London, by the tral of two incendiaries (the moſt dangerous ſet of villains that ever entered into combination for the devaſtation of a great and populous city), namely Edward Lowe, and William Jobbins; the firſt in the 23d year of his age; the other only in his 19th year. Theſe miſcreants, in concert with James Flindall, an old offender, and Catherine the wife of Lowe, conceived the horrid deſign of ſetting fire to the houſes of their opulent neighbours, not from malice to their perſons, or any diſlike of their characters, but merely for the ſake of plunder.

Fortunately, they were detected while they were yet but young in this villainy. Had they lived to become proficients, it is not eaſy to ſay to what an extent of devaſtation they might have carried their miſchievous machinations. At their outſet, it appeared upon this trial, that they had deſtroyed property to the value of *forty thouſand pounds*, though all the plunder they had been able to realize, at the riſque of their lives, did not exceed *half ſo many pence.*

Flindall, being aſked by the priſoners' counſel how he had maintained himſelf before this affair happened, made anſwer, with aſtoniſhing aſſurance in the face of the whole court, *by robbery and thieving.* This fellow being further aſked, by the ſame counſel, Did you not fear that the plan of burning houſes might be fatal to the lives of many people? plainly ſhewed by his anſwer, that it was the very principle he went upon, that, when men were waked from their ſleep with their houſes on fire, they would have little concern about their property, while under the terror of periſhing in the flames; ſo that the incendiaries might enrich themſelves with the plunder before the owners had recovered their conſternation.

Died, at Bourn, in the county of Lincoln, aged 102, James Quanborough.

At Battyready, near Roſs, Ireland, aged 107, William Butler.

At the Hague, in the 84th year of his age, and 60th of his miniſtry, Henry Fagel, greffier to the States General. He is ſucceeded in his office by his grandſon.

Mr. John Edwin, the Comedian.

NOVEMBER.

Advices have been received at Madrid, that the city of Oran, on the coaſt of Africa, has been almoſt entirely demoliſhed by a violent earthquake; that twenty ſucceſſive ſhocks were felt at ſhort intervals. The whole city is deſtroyed, and a great part of the inhabitants and of the garriſon are buried under the ruins. Almoſt all the forts which cover that place and its diſtrict are open or deſtroyed, ſo as not to be in a ſituation to reſiſt an attack. The interior part of the garriſon is in ruins in many places, and the conſiderable number of people, who were wounded and not actually killed by this diſaſter, remained without aſſiſtance.

Accounts have alſo been received from Carthagena, of a fire which happened a ſhort time ago in that dockyard, and which, beſides doing other damage, has entirely conſumed a new ſhip of the line.

15th. A violent ſtorm blew from the ſouth-weſt. Among the many accidents by falls of chimnies in the metropolis, the moſt remarkable happened at the houſe of J. Angerſtein, eſq. in Pall-Mall. A ſtack in the center of the houſe broke through the roof, and carried before it the floors of all the ſtories, leaving the hall open to the roof. Mrs. Angerſtein, who was at breakfaſt in her dreſſing-room, was left behind on the remains of its floor, with her maid: the men-ſervants had juſt before quitted the hall.

17th. At Serjeant's-inn-hall, eleven of the Judges conſulted upon the caſe reſerved at the Old-Bailey ſeſſion, reſpecting the indictment againſt Renwick Williams, the ſuppoſed *Monſter*.

The queſtions were, firſt, Whether his having an intention to cut the perſon of Miſs Porter, and in carrying that intention into execution, cutting the garments of that lady, is an offence, within the ſtatute of 6 Geo. I. c. 23. ſ. 11. on which he was convicted; the jury giving in their verdict, found, that in cutting her perſon he had thereby an intention to cut her garments? Secondly, Whether the ſtatute being in the *conjunctive*, "That if any perſon ſhall aſſault another with an intent to cut the garment of ſuch perſon, *and* ſhall cut the garment of ſuch perſon, then the offender ſhall be guilty of felony;" and the indictment, in ſtating the intention, not having connected it with the act, by inſerting the words that he "*then and there*" did cut her garment, could be ſupported in point of form?

Nine of the eleven judges were of opinion, that the offence, notwithſtanding the finding of the jury, was not within the ſtatute, and that the indictment was bad in point of form. This determination declares the offence to be only a miſdemeanor, for which, in all probability, Williams will be indicted at the next ſeſſions at Hicks's-hall.

18th. The Recorder of London made his report of the convicts in Newgate, at the two laſt ſeſſions, when Edward Lowe and William Jobbins, the two incendiaries, were ordered for execution in Alderſgate-ſtreet, which has ſince taken place, over-againſt the ruins of Mr. Gilding's houſe. At the ſame time the following were ordered for execution, at the uſual place, viz. Francis Fonton, and Thomas Tyler, for forgeries; and James Royer, James Smith, and Edward Ivory, for counterfeiting the current coin of the kingdom; theſe have likewiſe been executed. But William Slaughter, James Sullivan, William Burbridge, and Thomas Durkin, for burglaries, were ordered for tranſportation; as was Thomas Brown, for privately ſtealing. Jane Norton, for ſhoplifting, was ordered to be impriſoned for twelve months. And Joſeph Biggs, George Storey, and Thomas Dunken, for breaking a houſe with intent to rob, were reſpited during pleaſure.

21ſt. A very ſevere ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain, came on at London, but nothing like that which took place in the ſouthern parts of Hampſhire and Wilts. The Elephant, of 74 guns, was ſtruck in Portſmouth harbour, in a manner ſcarcely to be deſcribed. The lightning ſeemed firſt to have ſtruck the heel of the main top-maſt, and from thence to have deſcended down the body of the maſt, which, though a ſtick of immenſe ſize, is ſhivered to ſplinters. The iron hoops that ſurrounded it, and the woldings, were every one broke in ſmall pieces, and parts thereof driven to the extreme parts of the ſhip, both fore and aft; the ſulphureous ſmell, when the ſhip was firſt ſtruck, was ſo very powerful, that it was difficult the people below could breathe. This cauſed an alarm that the ſhip was on fire, than which nothing can be more dreadful on board a man-of-war. In this fearful moment of ſuſpence, an immenſe ſhower of the largeſt hail ever ſeen, added to the terrors of the night. But the greateſt part of the officers and crew being in bed (it being near eleven o'clock at night) or under cover, the direful effects that might have been expected from this diſaſter were hardly felt by many on board.

26th. Was ſolemnly argued and determined, in the court of King's Bench, a queſtion of conſiderable importance to the mercantile world. It came before the court upon a motion for a new trial, in a cauſe, in which a Mr. Mead was plaintiff, and Meſſ. Young and Co. defendants. The action was brought againſt the defendants, and the acceptors of a bill of exchange, under the following circumſtances. The bill was drawn by a Mr. Chriſtian, who is reſident at Dunkirk, and dated from that place. It was ſent to the defendants, who live in London, and made payable to a Mr. Henry Davis. The defendants, knowing it to be a bill of their correſpondent, accordingly accepted it. The bill afterwards ſurreptitiouſly got into the hands of another Henry Davis, who fraudulently put his name on the back, and carried it to the plaintiff, who, finding the acceptors were men of reſponſibility, gave him the value of it, not entertaining the leaſt doubt but that he was the ſame Henry Davis to whom it was payable.

After hearing the counſel on both ſides, lord Kenyon ſaid, he was then of the ſame opinion as he entertained when he directed the jury to find a verdict for the plaintiff, upon the trial. His lordſhip conceived that, no fraud having been imputed to the plaintiff, there was no legal ground to preclude him from the right of recovering upon this bill; and he was of opinion, that if any man took a bill payable to a certain name, and it is indorſed by the perſon of that name, ſuch indorſement was a legal transfer, although it might afterwards turn out that the indorſer was not the ſame perſon to whom it was made payable. Unleſs this doctrine were admitted, an inſuperable clog would be introduced to the negociation of bills of exchange, which muſt deſtroy the whole of that ſpecies of paper credit.

Juſtices Aſhurſt, Buller, and Groſe, totally differed from the Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſtated their reaſons with great deference in oppoſition to ſo high an authority. All theſe learned judges ſaid, that the indorſement of the bill in queſtion was unqueſtionably a capital forgery, and that no legal right could be derived under forgery or fraud. It were better that a clog ſhould be put to bills of exchange, than they ſhould be negociated by means of forgery; but they conceived that no inconvenience to trade would accrue to mercantile tranſactions by depriving the plaintiff.

Saliſbury, Nov. 27. The inhabitants of this city were viſited laſt Sunday evening with a very tremendous ſtorm of lightning and thunder, accompanied with a very heavy fall of rain. The high impending clouds were ſo highly charged with the electric matter, that the lightning, which was unuſually vivid and ſtrong, appeared to roll along the ground like a body of liquid fire, and its frequent flaſhes were ſo inſtantaneouſly ſucceeded by ſuch terrible burſts of thunder, that many perſons were exceedingly alarmed, and almoſt every houſe felt an inſtantaneous ſhock from its powerful effects. At the Three Swans inn a ſtack of chimnies was thrown down with great violence, and much damage was done to two rooms within the houſe, the windows of which were broken, and much of the furniture deſtroyed. By accounts from different parts of the country, we learn, that this ſtorm, which began at Portſmouth, continued from Saturday noon, the 21ſt, to Monday night, and that its effects were equally awful and deſtructive in many places.

30th. It has been laid down as a law in the court of King's Bench this term, that a wager, in itſelf *legal*, is not recoverable if laid on an *illegal* object; for inſtance, no winnings can be recovered on the event of a boxing-match, becauſe the object of a bet in the caſe is a *breach of the peace*; and ſo it will operate with a wager laid on a horſe-race, provided the ſum raced for is below what the act of parliament ſtipulates.

It has likewiſe been laid down as law this term, that the keeper of a livery-ſtable cannot detain a horſe for his keep, though an inn-keeper can. The livery-ſtable keeper is ſuppoſed to know the perſon from whom he receives a horſe, and to make a bargain for his keep; but an inn-keeper is from neceſſity obliged to receive all that come; and without ſuch a remedy, he would be ſubject to many impoſitions, which the prudent livery-ſtable-keeper may avoid if he pleaſes; at leaſt ſo ſays Lord Kenyon.

Died, The Rev. Michael Lort, D.

D. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S. well known to the literati of this and other countries, as a man of learning, and a collector of curious and valuable books.

At Vagg farm (near Yeovil, in the county of Somerſet), which he had rented 60 years, Thomas Beer, aged 101.

Hannah Wilkinſon, aged 108.

In Jamaica, aged 100, Mrs. E. Gibbon, a native of Port Royal.

At Maryport, Cumberland, aged 107, Joſeph Peale.

At Aberdeen, aged 105, Ann Bannerman.

At Crumlin, Ireland, aged 160, Mrs. Mary Tench.

At Aſhely, Lancaſhire, aged 102 years 15 months, Iſaac Hyde.

Mr. Kendal, the celebrated conſtructor of time-keepers.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. The wrecked veſſels on the French and Flemiſh coaſts exhibit at this time too many melancholy effects of the late hurricane. No leſs than twenty-five ſail of veſſels were loſt between Holland and Cherbourg; and more than 400 bodies have been picked up on the ſands between Oſtend and Boulogne.

3d. On Friday laſt lord viſcount Falkland attended the court of king's bench, to receive his ſentence, for an aſſault on Mr. Henry Seymour, an ironmonger at Maidenhead. Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt obſerved to his lordſhip, that the law, much to its honour, regarded the meaneſt ſubjects as much as thoſe of the higheſt rank, and that no elevation could place a man beyond the reach of juſtice. He then ſentenced the right hon. lord to pay a fine of 20*l.*

8th. Francis Fonton and Thomas Tyler, for forgery; James Royer, James Smith, and Edward Ivory, for coining; were executed in the Old Bailey, purſuant to their ſentences.

At ten o'clock this morning the ſeſſion at the Old Bailey was opened by the lord mayor, judges Buller and Aſhhurſt, and the aldermen Newnham and Newman.

Renwick Williams was put to the bar.

Judge Aſhhurſt ſpoke nearly to the following purport:

Priſoner, You have been capitally indicted upon the ſtatute of the 6th of Geo. I. for that you did on the 18th of January laſt, in the pariſh of St. James's, wilfully and maliciouſly aſſault Ann Porter, and that you did, with force and arms, tear, ſpoil, cut, and deface her garment, namely, a ſilk gown, and other apparel; and the jury have found you guilty; but your counſel have arreſted the judgment upon two grounds; *firſt*, to the form of the indictment; *ſecondly*, to the applicability of the act of parliament to your particular offence. A majority of the judges have, after ſolemn conſideration, determined that both the objections in arreſt of judgment are well founded. The objection to the words of the indictment, that you did *then and there* make an aſſault, and cut and tear Ann Porter's garment, being ſtated to be done both at one and the ſame time, is bad in law, for the aſſault might be made at one time and place, and the cutting and tearing at another. In framing indictments upon acts of parliament which affect life, the law requires that the utmoſt preciſion ſhould be obſerved. With reſpect to the ſecond objection, namely, that your crime is not within the intent of the act, it is conſidered that the act is made for a particular purpoſe, that of wantonly cutting, tearing, &c. for the mere ſake of miſchief, and not with any previous malicious intention. Now an aſſault, cutting, &c. muſt have ſuch a premeditated intention, and therefore the indictment is not within the purview of the act. But although the lenity of the law has ſo far judged favourably of your caſe, yet God forbid that the common law of the land ſhould not reach ſuch an enormity as you have committed, and that you ſhould not be puniſhed for your temerity: you are therefore to be remanded, to take your trial for the miſdemeanour at common law."

13th. Renwick Williams was brought from Newgate to the ſeſſions houſe on Clerkenwell Green, and put on his trial.

Mr. Pigott opened on behalf of the crown, and told the jury that the indictment was for an *aſſault* and *battery* only.

The evidence of Miſs Ann Porter and her ſiſter was then given. It was in ſubſtance the ſame as that delivered on the former trial. All the other evidence was in the ſame ſtate.

At half paſt one next morning the cauſe ended; and the jury, after conſulting ten minutes, found him *Guilty*.

He was convicted on two other indictments, and has been ſentenced to ſix years impriſonment.

14th. A chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held after the levee broke up, at which were preſent the king, prince of Wales, dukes of York and Glouceſter, and marquis of Stafford, when his ſerene highneſs the duke of Saxe Gotha, his grace the duke of Leeds, and the earl of Chatham, were choſen to fill up the vacant ſtalls. The duke of Leeds and earl Chatham were ſeverally introduced, and, after being knighted, were inveſted with the blue ribbon, with the uſual ceremonies.

Sunday morning laſt the inhabitants of Banbury were alarmed by the ſudden falling in of the principal aiſle of the church, for the taking down and rebuilding of which an act had paſſed in the laſt parliament. Providentially ſeveral perſons had juſt left church; and had it not fallen, it was intended that the workmen ſhould have begun taking it down on the morrow, in which caſe many lives would probably have been loſt. The craſh was heard near two miles from the ſpot. On the following day the tower likewiſe fell.

18th. The adjourned ſeſſion at the Old Bailey ended, when 35 men and 4 women, capitally convicted, received his majeſty's pardon on condition of being tranſported during their natural lives; three were pardoned on condition of being tranſported for 14 years; and two for 7 years. Mary Talbot refuſed to accept his majeſty's pardon. She ſaid her return from tranſportation was on account of three dear infants, and that as ſhe could not take them with her, ſhe had rather die. The recorder pointed out the dreadful precipice on which ſhe ſtood; as it was moſt likely, when her refuſal was reported to his majeſty, ſhe would be ordered for execution. She ſtill perſiſted, and was taken from the bar in ſtrong convulſions. The behaviour of ſome of the convicts upon the above occaſion was extremely riotous, inſolent, and noiſy.

20th. At Dover, the indictment preferred againſt Mr. Anderſon, for killing Mr. Stephens, in a duel at Margate, was returned by the grand jury, *Not found.*

21ſt. Lieut. King, of his majeſty's navy, arrived yeſterday from Harwich at the admiralty, with diſpatches from Governor Phillip, dated at Sydney Cove, the 13th of April laſt. The colony had very much extended its agriculture, and in particular the ſpots laid out for garden ground; but the produce had been rather ſcanty. Very tolerable harmony had been preſerved among the ſettlers.

Dublin, Dec. 22. It is with a very ſenſible concern we are obliged to announce to our readers the loſs of the Charlemont packet. This veſſel ſailed on Wedneſday, and had reached the bay of Dublin, when ſhe was driven back by a violent gale of wind; not long after a large Weſt Indiaman went to the bottom with her crew at the entrance of that harbour. On Friday the weather became favourable, and the captain again proceeded to ſea, having, during this interval, increaſed his paſſengers to the number of about 120. He again had nearly made the port of Dublin, when a ſecond time he was forced to put back. By this time the uneaſineſs of the people became general, and the cabin paſſengers were very importunate with the maſter to land them at Holyhead, although he declared himſelf imperfectly acquainted with the coaſt, and exhorted them to relinquiſh their intentions. His mate, however, confident of his own intimate knowledge, ſucceeded in carrying the favourite point of the paſſengers, and they accordingly ſteered thither; the conſequences were fatal, the mate, deceived by ſome lights, miſtook his courſe; the veſſel ſtruck on one of the rocks which ſkirt the Welch coaſt, ſoon after went to pieces, and ſixteen perſons only eſcaped the mercileſs element.

Among thoſe providentially ſaved is the hon. capt. Jones, ſon to lord Ranelagh, who, when the veſſel ſtruck, ſprang from her on the rock, and received no injury; through the intrepidity of this gentleman, and at an imminent hazard to himſelf, a perſon belonging to Mr. Aſtley's company was reſcued from a moſt perilous ſituation, being caught by capt. Jones on the return of the wave which waſhed him from the ſame rock, on which he had alſo leaped from the packet.

About twelve ladies were on board, ſome of whom, in expectation of aſſiſtance, and under the horrors of death impending over them in ſo terrible a form, clung round the ſteward of the ſhip, who, thus prevented from the poſſibility of making any efforts for his own preſervation, periſhed in their embraces.—Among other paſſengers were two Romiſh clergymen, one of whom eſcaped. The captain, by aſcending the ſhrouds, was landed in a place of ſafety on the heeling of the veſſel; and the mate has alſo eſcaped, but, we are informed, is impriſoned, for ſome negligence of information, fatal, as is ſaid, to many who might have been ſaved on an earlier knowledge of the ſtate of the veſſel.

The circumſtances of thoſe who ſurvived this dreadful event (every article but what remained on their backs being loſt) were conſiderably alleviated by the generous and humane attention of capt. Jones, whoſe bounty and benevolence were as conſpicuous in the hour of diſtreſs, as his fortitude was apparent in the moment of danger.

23d. Between four and five o'clock in the morning, a violent ſtorm blew from the ſouth-weſt, attended with ſucceſſive flaſhes of lightning, and continued rolls of loud thunder, ſucceeded by heavy ſhowers of hail and rain. Part of the copper roofing of the new ſtone buildings in Lincoln's-inn was blown over the Six Clerks' office into Chancery-lane, and ſome part of it over the roofs of the oppoſite houſes in the lane, into a yard, and part paſſed through a garret window of one of thoſe houſes, inhabited by Mr. White; ſo that it muſt have been raiſed near a hundred feet into the air. Thirteen trees were blown down in Lincoln's-inn gardens. A maid-ſervant of counſellor Graham's was killed in her bed, by the falling of a ſtack of chimnies, at his chambers on the ſouth ſide of Lincoln's-inn New-ſquare: his man-ſervant fortunately eſcaped, by quitting his bed on the firſt alarm. Several trees were blown down in Moorfields.

Many houſes were unroofed, and others ſuffered conſiderably.

The high piles of wood in moſt of the timber-yards round the metropolis were blown down.

At Walthamſtow, a large barn, ſeveral ſtacks of chimnies, and ſeveral trees were blown down.

At Windſor, the ſtorm was very dreadful; the ſentinels on guard upon the terrace deſcribe the air to have been ſo luminous, that they could for a minute ſee at very great diſtances; and inſtantly after it became dark in the extreme, with a ſmell reſembling the freſh diſcharge of cannon.

The drivers on the road from Saliſbury, and the paſſengers, corroborate the teſtimony, that the lightning was rather like a ſtream of fluid from a glaſs-houſe furnace; and the horſes were ſo generally terrified, that with difficulty they got on.

At Purfleet and Erith, which are on the oppoſite ſides of the river, a few miles above Graveſend, the inhabitants were in one continued alarm the greater part of the night, for fear of the gunpowder magazine taking fire by the continued lightning.

At Harrow-on-the-Hill and St. Alban's, both elevated ſituations, the electrical ſhock was very ſenſibly felt, but no miſchief done; though at the latter the fire was ſeen to play through and about the abbey ſteeple in a ſingular manner.

As a proof that the ſtorm was as wide and extenſive as awefully dreadful, at Springfield near Colcheſter, the hail-ſtones were very heavy, the lightning continual, and, with the thunder, reſembled the beſieging of a fortreſs by the moſt formidable enemy.

At the Nore, a ſloop, that caſt anchor during the tempeſt, had her ſails torn from the maſts, but nobody hurt.

The ſteeple of Beckenham church in Kent, a ſpire built of ſhingles, was fired, and a part deſtroyed.

The ſhingles of the ſpire of Horſham church, in Suſſex, were ſet on fire, but were extinguiſhed by the rain.

A hovel belonging to Mr. Grant, of Towceſter, was blown down by the violence of the wind, by which accident, four cows that were under it at the time were killed. A barn at Bliſworth was likewiſe blown down. Trees were blown up by the roots, the thatch ſtripped off cottages, and many chimnies blown down, in different parts of the country.

A very large elm tree, by the ſide of the road about a mile from Brentwood, was ſtruck down by the lightning, about two yards from the bottom, and fell acroſs the road, about five yards before the leaders of the Ipſwich mail coach. All the horſes turned round, ſnapped the pole, overſet the coach, and tore the harneſs to pieces. By the conſtruction of the mail coach, the paſſengers eſcaped unhurt; but the guard received a bruiſe in his leg.

The driver of the Liverpool ſtage-coach was terribly ſcorched by the lightning; and the drivers of the different mails had the utmoſt difficulty to make their horſes keep the road.

At Whitehaven, in the night it became tempeſtuous; the wind raged dreadfully; there was much thunder and lightning, and a great deal of hail and ſleet fell. The tide in the harbour flowed much earlier than the uſual time, and roſe to an aſtoniſhing height. Several of the ſhips (there were a great number in port) broke adrift in the courſe of the night, and many of them were damaged, but none materially. The proſpect of the ſea, with the coming tide, was alarming beyond deſcription; the huge billows, chaſing each other, broke with irreſiſtible fury over the outer works of the harbour, and all was whitened with the foam.

Accounts from North Wales are full of melancholy events. Trees in ſeveral parts were torn up by the roots; and in one place a cottage was blown down, by which a man, his wife, and four boys, were killed in their beds. In another place the wind quite unroofed the houſe of a gentleman, and blew the bell, &c. which ſtood on his coach-houſe, ſeveral yards, ſhattered the gable end of the ſtables, in which were ſix fine coach-horſes and five hunters: they all, however, eſcaped unhurt, except two hunters that were in the ſtalls neareſt the weſt end, one of which was killed on the ſpot, the other maimed ſo much, that it was neceſſary to ſhoot it immediately. A very fine large hot-houſe, built the laſt ſummer, was alſo entirely levelled with the ground; and the gardener, who lived cloſe to it, ſuffered very much, ſome bricks, tiles, &c. falling through the roof and top of the bed, which broke his left arm, and bruiſed his thigh exceedingly.

The ſtorm was ſeverely felt in many parts of France. Several houſes at Dunkirk were thrown down, and much damage done among the ſhipping.

DIED, near Blarney, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, aged 84, Owen M'Carthy, eſq. commonly called Maſter-na-moran, or lord or maſter of the principality of Moran. He has left an only ſon, now governor of Miranda, and colonel of a regiment of horſe in the Portugueſe ſervice. The deceaſed had 15 brothers, 13 of whom emigrated for bread, after loſing their eſtates in that kingdom, and were promoted to high ranks in the different armies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

At Arleſcote-houſe, near Edge-hill, in the county of Warwick, Mr. Thickneſſe, many years high maſter of St. Paul's ſchool, from which employment he had retired near twenty years. He died in the 77th year of his age. The mercers company had ſo great an opinion of his worth, and ſo much gratitude for his ſervices, that they would not conſent to his reſignation, until he had named his ſucceſſor; and they ſettled upon him, during his life, one hundred guineas a year. The late Mr. Holbeach, a bachelor of large fortune in Warwickſhire, had been Mr. Thickneſſe's friend from the time he was upon the foundation at Wincheſter; and, when he reſigned St. Paul's ſchool, the good old man deſired him to retire to a wing of his old manſion-houſe, which he had left ſtanding for that purpoſe more than fifty years before. When Mr. Thickneſſe arrived at this pleaſant remnant of hoſpitality and goodneſs, ſituated in the midſt of a noble park, he found a good fire burning upon all the hearths in the houſe; his binns filled with wines, and an annuity upon his table, the donation of the generous owner: but alas! before the revolution of one year, while Mr. Thickneſſe and he were at dinner together, the good old man threw his head back in his chair, and died without a groan.

At Alderwaſley, Derbyſhire, aged 102, Dorothy Fletcher.

At Carlmywark, Galloway, aged 108, Jane Walker.

At Limerick, aged 102, Mrs. Magee.

Near Donaghadee, aged 107, Mr. James Cree.

At Uttoxeter, in Staffordſhire, a perſon of the name of Raulin, aged 32, nearly equal in weight to the celebrated Mr. Bright, of Eſſex, viz. 34 ſtone. Though but 5 feet 6 inches and an half high, he meaſured 6 feet 4 inches round the waiſt.

BIRTHS for the Year 1790.

Jan. 1. Lady Compton, a ſon and heir.
21. Lady of Sir Tho. Whichcote, bart. a ſon.
Feb. 9. Lady of Reg. Pole Carew, eſq. M. P. a daughter.
13. Lady Warren, of Stapleford-hall, a daughter.
24. Right hon. lady Charlotte Dundas, a daughter.
Lady Herbert, a daughter.
Lady Apſley, a ſon and heir.
March 16. Lady of ſir John Frederick, bart. a daughter.
19. Hon. Mrs. Finch Hatton, a daughter.
April 5. Lady of the biſhop of Lincoln, a ſon.
11. Lady viſcount Falmouth, a ſon.
23. Lady of W. Baker, eſq. M. P. a daughter.
Lady Louvaine, a ſon.
Lady Willoughby of Ereſby, a daughter.
28. Lady of hon. colonel Fane, a ſon.
May 8. Rt. hon. lady John Ruſſel, a ſon.
10. Lady of ſir John Rous, bart. a daughter.
21. At Paris, the ducheſs of Devonſhire, a ſon and heir.
Hon. Mrs. Clifford, of New Park, a ſon and heir.
28. Lady of ſir Wm. Foulis, bart. a ſon.
June 14. Lady Haddo, a ſon.
24. Lady of ſir Alex. Jarvis, bart. a ſon.

28. Lady of ſir Geo. Rumbold, bart. a ſon.

July 2. Her Sicilian majeſty, a prince.

7. Rt. hon. lady Louiſa Macdonald, a daughter.

Counteſs of Glaſgow, a daughter.

19. Lady of the right hon. Thomas Steele, M. P. a daughter.

Counteſs of Caithneſs, a ſon.

Aug. 3. Counteſs of Harrington, a ſon.

4. Lady of hon. Lewis Watſon, a daughter.

15. Rt. hon. lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.

16. Lady of J. Cox Hippiſley, eſq. M. P. a ſon and heir.

20. Lady of col. North, a ſon.

Right hon. lady Arden, a daughter.

Lady of Sam. Smith, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

Sept. 18. Lady of ſir David Carnegie, bart. a daughter.

Lady of ſir John Ingilby, bart. a daughter.

25. Lady of John Anſtruther, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

30. Lady of hon. col. Rodney, a ſon.

Oct. 4. Counteſs of Lauderdale, a daughter.

6. Lady of ſir Geo. A. W. Shuckburgh, baronet, a daughter.

8. Lady of ſir Wm. Cunningham, bart. a ſon.

9. Lady Grace Douglas, of Cavers, a ſon.

15. Lady of ſir James Colquhoun, bart. a daughter.

Rt. hon. lady Charles Somerſet, a daughter.

31. Lady of ſir Henry Daſhwood, bart. a daughter.

Nov. 18. Counteſs of Carysfort, a ſon.

Dec. 5. Lady of Geo. Summer, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

6. Rt. hon. lady Stourton, a ſon.

29. Lady of J. Blackburne, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

Right hon. lady Compton, a ſon.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1790.

Jan. 4. Duke of Dorſet to Miſs Cope, eldeſt daughter of lady Hawkeſbury.

Hon. Hen. Fitzroy to Rt. hon. lady Ann Weſtley.

Hon. Mr. Digby to Miſs Gunning, one of her majeſty's maids of honour.

Thomas Langford Brooke, eſq. of More, to Miſs Boughton, eldeſt daughter of ſir Th. Boughton, bart.

Rev. J. Jones, D. D. to the dowager viſcounteſs Aſhbrook.

Earl of Errol to Miſs Blake, eldeſt daughter of J. Blake, of Ardfry, county of Galway, eſq.

Owen Wynne, eſq. M. P. to lady Sarah Cole.

Edw. Jeron Rickets, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Twiſleton.

Feb. Hon. John Spencer to lady Eliz. Spencer.

Miles Sandys, Eſq. to Miſs Dalrymple, daughter of ſir J. Dalrymple, bart.

24. Hen. Otway, eſq. to Miſs Cave, ſiſter of ſir Thomas Cave.

March 3. Hon. Mr. Montagu, ſon of

viſcount Hinchinbrook, to Miſs Buckingham.

5. John Calcraft, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Hales, daughter of ſir Pym Hales, bart.

22. Hon. Ed. Foley to Miſs Hodgetts.

27. Col. Freemantle to the hon. Miſs Ongley.

In Italy, earl of Home to Miſs Coutts.

April. Rev. J. Eyre to Miſs Charlotte Armytage, daughter of the late ſir George Armytage, bart.

13. Hon. Mr. Townſhend to the hon. Miſs Southwell.

William Elliott, eldeſt ſon of ſir Francis Elliott, bart. of Stobbo, to Miſs Ruſſell.

24. Hon. Henry Dillon to Miſs Grant.

May. Col. Loftus to the right hon. lady Eliz. Townſhend.

Ch. Hoare, eſq. to Miſs Robinſon, daughter of ſir Geo. Robinſon, bart.

Edw. Hay, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Maria Murray, daughter of lord Elibank.

Col. Hotham to Miſs Dyke, daughter of ſir J. Dixon Dyke, bart.

June. Hon. and Rev. Arch. Ham. Cathcart to Miſs Fr. Henry Freemantle.

Eben. Oliphant, eſq. to Miſs Mary Stirling, daughter of ſir W. Stirling, of Ardock, bart.

Wyndham Knatchbull, eſq. to Miſs Knatchbull, ſiſter of ſir Edward Knatchbull, bart.

Edw. Southwood Percival, eſq. to Miſs Sutton, daughter of the late lord Geo. Manners Sutton.

Wm. Hen. Beauchamp, eſq. ſon of ſir W. Beauchamp Proctor, bart. to Miſs Frances Davis.

Hen. Methold, eſq. to Miſs Eden, daughter of ſir J. Eden, bart.

July. Ch. Yorke, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Harriet Manningham.

Humph. Prideaux, eſq. to Miſs St. Aubyn, daughter of the late ſir J. St. Aubyn, bart.

Marquis of Graham to lady Caroline Montagu, ſiſter of the duke of Mancheſter.

W. P. Hamond, eſq. to Miſs Carr, daughter of ſir Rob. Carr, bart.

Sir Wm. Wake, bart. to Miſs Sitwell.

Aug. Hon. capt. Townſhend to Miſs Gladwyn.

Wm. Trenchard, eſq. to lady Heſter Amelia de Burgh, ſiſter of the marquis of Clanricarde.

Sir Griffith Boyntun, bart. to Miſs Parkhurſt.

Hon. Spencer Perrival to Miſs Jane Wilſon, daughter of ſir Tho. Spencer Wilſon, bart.

Benj. Jennings, eſq. to the dow. viſcounteſs Dudley and Ward.

Cap. Ch. Irvine to Miſs Diana Gordon, daughter of the late ſir Alexander Gordon of Leſſmoor, bart.

Sir Ch. Aſgill, bart. to Miſs Jemima Sophia Ogle, daughter of ſir Chaloner Ogle, bart.

Rev. Str. Maſter to Miſs

Eliz. Moſley, daughter of ſir John Parker Moſley, bart.

Rev. Mr. Palmer to Miſs Eliz. Payne, daughter of ſir Gillies Payne, bart.

Sept. 4. James Lowther, eſq. to lady Eliz. Fane, ſiſter of the earl of Weſtmorland.

5. Hon. Geo. Anneſley, ſon of viſcount Valentia to the hon. Miſs Anne Courtnay.

Sir Edward Hales, bart. to Miſs Palmer.

9. Hon. John Eliot to Miſs York, ſiſter of the earl of Hardwicke.

Dr. Stewart, of Southampton, to lady Shelley.

27. Jac. Boſanquet, eſq. to Mrs. Grady, ſiſter of ſir Geo. Armytage, bart.

Peter Godfrey, eſq. to Miſs Rowley, daughter of the late ſir Joſhua Rowley, bart.

Andrew Stuart, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Stirling, daughter of ſir W. Stirling, of Ardock, bart.

Rowland Bateman, eſq. to Miſs Arabella Denny, daughter of ſir Barry Denny, bart.

Oct. 6. John Wigſten, eſq. to Miſs Lake, daughter of ſir James Winter Lake, bart.

Chriſt. Muſgrave, eſq. ſecond ſon of ſir Philip Muſgrave, to the hon. Miſs Archer.

12. Earl of Donegall to Miſs Barbara Godfrey.

John Wharton, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Suſan Lambton, daughter of gen. Lambton.

Geo. Veſey, eſq. to Miſs Latouch, daughter of the right hon. dow. Latouch.

Hon. John Colvill, eldeſt ſon of lord Colvill, to Miſs Ford.

Nov. Tho. Bligh, eſq. to lady Theodoſia Bligh.

13. Col. Couſſmaker to the hon. Miſs Southwell.

23. Nich. Ridley, eſq. brother of ſir Matthew White Ridley, bart. to Miſs Letitia Atkins.

Dec. 5. Capt. Clive to the hon. Miſs Archer.

Sir Edw. Wm. Crofbie to Mrs. Dodd, daughter of lady Heſter Weſtenra.

Wm. Manſel, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Wm. Manſel, bart. to Miſs Bell.

Barry Denny, eſq. ſon of ſir B. Denny, bart. to Miſs Morgell.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1790.

January. Alan Gardner, eſq. appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, vice Gower, reſigned.

Hon. Miſs Julia Digby, appointed one of the maids of honour to her majeſty, vice Gunning, reſigned.

Wm. Bellingham, eſq. appointed one of the commiſſioners in quality of a principal officer of his majeſty's navy, vice Campbell, deceaſed.

Francis Stephens, eſq. appointed a commiſſioner for victualling his majeſty's navy, vice Bellingham reſigned.

Henry Hamilton, eſq. appointed

governor and commander in chief of the Bermuda or Somers Iſlands, vice Browne.

Febr. Major-general Thomas Stirling to be colonel of the 41ſt regiment of foot, vice major-general M'Nab, deceaſed.

The earl of Cheſterfield to be joint poſtmaſter-general, vice the earl of Weſtmoreland, lord lieut. of Ireland.

The right hon. John Charles Villiers to be chief juſtice in Eyre North of Trent.

The hon. Dudley Ryder to be comptroller of his majeſty's houſehold, in the room of the right hon. John Charles Villiers, reſigned.

George Auſt, eſq. to be joint under ſecretary of ſtate with Mr. Burges, vice the hon. Mr. Ryder.

March. The earl of Leiceſter to be maſter of the mint, vice the earl of Cheſterfield; and viſcount Falmouth to be captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners, vice the earl of Leiceſter.

Earl Harcourt to be maſter of the horſe to her majeſty, vice the earl of Waldegrave, deceaſed.

Doctor William Black to be firſt phyſician to his majeſty in Scotland.

John Hunter, eſq. to be ſurgeon-general of his majeſty's forces, and inſpector of the regimental hoſpitals, vice Robert Adair, deceaſed.

Surgeon Thomas Keate, of the 1ſt reg. of foot guards, to be ſurgeon of Chelſea-hoſpital.

Sir William Scott, to be maſter of the faculties, in the room of the late biſhop of St. Aſaph.

Commiſſioner Martin, of the dock-yard at Portſmouth, to be comptroller of the navy, vice ſir Charles Middleton, reſigned.

The right hon. Dudley Ryder, to be one of his majeſty's commiſſioners for the affairs of India.

Mr. Nicholas, member for Cricklade, and Mr. Buller, to be commiſſioners of exciſe.

April. The right hon. lord Henry John Spencer, his majeſty's ſecretary of embaſſy to the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, to the character of his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to their high mightineſſes.

James Duff, eſq. to be his majeſty's conſul at Cadiz.

Sir Alexander Hood, to be rear admiral of Great Britain, in the room of admiral Darby, deceaſed.

George Hammond, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation at the court of Copenhagen.

Charles Henry Talbot, of Belfaſt, eſq. to the dignity of a baronet of Ireland.

The right Rev. Father in God Lewis lord biſhop of Norwich tranſlated to the ſee of St. Aſaph.

June. Colonel George Hotham, David Dundas, Adam Williamſon, Robert Abercromby, Gerard Lake, Thomas Muſgrave, Joſeph Goreham, Guſtavus Guydickens, John Manſell, George Morgan, Alexander Stewart, James Coates, Ralph Dundas, Richard Whyte, Alured Clarke, and James Hugonin, to be major-generals in the army.

Right hon. John James earl of Abercorn, to be governor of the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, in Ireland.

The Rev. Charles Morgan, A.M. to the deanry of his majeſty's cathedral church of St. Patrick, in the dioceſe of Ardagh, in Ireland.

The Rev. John Horne, D.D. dean of Canterbury, to the biſhoprick of Norwich, vice Dr. Bagot, tranſlated to St. Aſaph.

Earl Gower to be his majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the moſt chriſtian king.

Right hon. George Granville Leveſon Earl Gower, to be one of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy council.

Charles Oakeley, of Shrewſbury, eſq. to be a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

Archibald Cockburn, eſq. to be one of the barons of his majeſty's exchequer in Scotland, vice the late David Stewart Moncrieffe, eſq. deceaſed.

George Buchan Hepburn, eſq. to be judge of the admiralty court of Scotland, on the reſignation of Archibald Cockburn, eſq. late judge thereof.

The right hon. George Henry earl of Euſton to be lord lieutenant of the county of Suffolk.

The right hon. James marquis of Graham to be lord lieutenant of the county of Huntingdon.

The right hon. Philip earl of Hardwicke to be lord lieutenant of the county of Cambridge.

The Rev. William Buller to be dean of Canterbury, vice Dr. John Horne, promoted to the biſhopric of Norwich.

Rev. Ch. Harward, D. D. to be dean of Exeter, vice Dr. William Buller, promoted.

The Rev. Joſeph Turner, D. D. to be dean of Norwich, vice the Rev. Dr. Philip Lloyd, deceaſed.

The dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland to the following perſons and their heirs male, by the names, ſtiles, and titles under mentioned, viz.

The Right Rev. William Cecil Pery, D. D. biſhop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghdadoe, baron Glentworth, of Mallow, in Cork.

Mrs. Margaretta Foſter, wife of the right hon. John Foſter, baroneſs Oriel, of Collon, in Louth; and to the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten by the ſaid John Foſter, the dignity of baron Oriel, of Collon aforeſaid.

Right hon. George Agar, baron Callan, of Callan, in Kilkenny.

Robert Dillon, of Clonbrock, in Galway, eſq. baron Clonbrock, of Clonbrock aforeſaid.

James Alexander, of Caledon, in Tyrone, eſq. baron Caledon, of Caledon aforeſaid.

The dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Great Britain to the ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen following, and the heirs male of their reſpective bodies lawfully begotten, by the names, ſtiles, and titles under mentioned, viz.

The right hon. Arthur earl of Donegall, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Fiſherwick, of Fiſherwick, in Staffordſhire.

The right hon. James earl of Fife, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron of Fife, in the county of Fife.

The right hon. James Bucknall Grimſton, viſcount Grimſton, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Verulam, of Gorhambury, in the county of Hertford.

The right hon. Conſtantine John lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Mulgrave, of Mulgrave, in Yorkſhire.

Archibald Douglas, eſq. baron Douglas, of Douglas, in the county of Lanerk; and

Edwin Laſcelles, eſq. baron Harewood, of Harewood, in Yorkſhire.

Rt. rev. Dr. George Lewis Jones, biſhop of Kilmore, tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Kildare, and to hold the deanry of Chriſt Church, Dublin, *in commendam*, vice Jackſon, deceaſed.

Rt. rev. William Foſter, biſhop of Cork and Roſs, tranſlated to Kilmore, vice Jones.

Rev. William Bennet, D. D. promoted to the biſhoprick of Cork and Roſs.

Right hon. William Pitt, elected high ſteward of the univerſity of Cambridge, vice earl Hardwicke, deceaſed.

July. Rev. Combe Miller, M. A. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Chicheſter, vice Harward, reſigned.

John Orde, eſq. governor of the iſland of Dominica, and captain in the royal navy, created a baronet.

Henry James Pye, eſq. appointed poet laureat to his majeſty, vice Warton, deceaſed.

Paul Deugenan, eſq. LL. D. to be king's advocate in the court of admiralty in Ireland.

John Sylveſter, eſq. to be common ſerjeant of the city of London.

Auguſt. Rev. Mr. Winſtanley, of Hertford College, Oxford, appointed Camden profeſſor of antient hiſtory; vice Warton, deceaſed.

64th regiment of foot. Major-general John Leland to be colonel, vice lieut. gen. Pomeroy, deceaſed.

Lieut. col. Oliver De Lancey, of the 17th regiment of (light) dragoons, to be deputy adjutant-gen. of the forces in South Britain, vice major-general Williamſon, promoted to the command of the 47th regiment.

47th regiment of foot. Major-general Adam Williamſon to be colonel, vice Guy lord Dorcheſter.

Lieut. col. James Moncrief, of the corps of royal engineers, to be deputy quarter-maſter-general of his majeſty's forces, vice major-general William Roy, deceaſed.

Charles Henry Fraſer, eſq. to be his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the circle of Lower Saxony, and reſident with the Hanſe Towns, vice Emanuel Mathias, eſq. deceaſed.

William Hanbury, eſq. to be his majeſty's agent conſul in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 21.

This day, in purſuance of the king's pleaſure, the following flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet were promoted, viz.

Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. John Evans, and Mark Milbanke, eſqrs. vice admirals of the white, to be vice admirals of the red.

Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Benjamin Marlow, eſqrs. and ſir Alexander Hood, K. B. vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white.

Sir Richard Hughes, knt. John Elliott, and William Hotham, eſqrs. rear-admirals of the red, and Joſeph Peyton, eſq. rear-admiral of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

John Carter Allen, eſq. ſir Charles Middleton, and ſir John Laforey, barts. John Dalrymple, eſq. Herbert Sawyer, eſq. ſir Rich. King, knt. and Jonathan Faulknor, eſq. rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red.

Phillip Affleck, eſq. ſir Richard Bickerton, bart. the hon. J. Leveſon Gower, ſir John Jervis, K. B. and Adam Duncan, eſq. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white.

The following captains were alſo

appointed flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet, viz:

Richard Braithwaite, and Phillips Coſby, eſqrs. to be rear-admirals of the white.

Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Corniſh, John Briſbane, John Houlton, Charles Woolſeley, Charles Inglis, and Sam. Cranſton Goodall, eſqrs. to be rear-admirals of the blue.

And the following further promotions of ſea-officers have alſo been made, viz:

Twenty maſters and commanders, taken from the liſt of thoſe who were made before the end of 1782, to be poſt captains.

Twenty lieutenants, taken from the liſt of thoſe who were made before the end of 1780, to be maſters and commanders.

Twenty midſhipmen, formerly appointed lieutenants by commanders in chief, which appointment, from particular circumſtances, could not be confirmed, to be lieutenants.

October. The dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, to the right hon. John James Hamilton, earl of Abercorn, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, ſtyle, and title of marquis of Abercorn.

The hon. capt. Keith Stewart to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet.

John Cowſlade, eſq. to be gentleman uſher of the privy chamber to her majeſty, vice the late general Wynyard; John Smith, eſq. to be gentleman uſher daily waiter, vice John Cowſlade, eſq.; and —— Moleſworth, eſq. to be gentleman uſher quarter waiter, vice John Smith, eſq.

The right hon. John Charles Villiers to be warden and chief juſtice in eyre of all his majeſty's foreſts, parks, chaces, and warrens beyond Trent, vice the right hon. George Evelyn, viſcount Falmouth.

Lieutenant-general ſir Robert Boyd, K. B. to be governor of Gibraltar, vice right hon. general lord Heathfield, deceaſed; and major-general ſir Henry Calder, bart. to be lieut. governor of Gibraltar, vice lieut. gen. ſir Robert Boyd.

The right hon. Dudley Ryder to be preſident of the committee of privy council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, in the abſence of the right hon. Charles lord Hawkeſbury.

Lord viſcount Wentworth to be one of the lords of his majeſty's bed-chamber.

Joſhua Johnſon, eſq. to be conſul for the united ſtates of America at the port of London, and the places adjacent.

Novem. Right hon. Henry baron Digby, created viſcount Coleſhill, county of Warwick, and earl of Digby, county of Lincoln.

Right hon. Algernon Percy, lord Louvaine and baron of Alnwick, created earl of Beverley, in the county of York.

Right hon. William Hall Gage, viſcount Gage of the kingdom of Ireland, and baron Gage of Firle, in the kingdom of Great Britain, created baron Gage of Highmeadows, county of Glouceſter; with remainder to his nephew, Henry Gage, eſq.

Right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, created baron Grenville, of Wotton under Bernewood, in the county of Buckingham.

His grace the duke of Montroſe, appointed maſter of the horſe to the king, vice the duke of Montagu, deceaſed.

Decem. Geo. Hammond, eſq. appointed ſecretary of embaſſy at the court of Madrid.

Francis Drake, eſq. appointed ſecretary of legation at the court of Copenhagen.

George Auguſtus Frederick Lake, eſq. appointed one of the pages of honour to the prince of Wales.

Alex. Shaw, eſq. appointed lieut. governor of the Iſle of Man, vice Dawſon, reſigned.

His royal highneſs prince William Henry duke of Clarence, promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue.

DEATHS for the Year 1790.

Jan. At Lyons, ſir Wm. Meredith, bart. He was elected a repreſentative in parliament for Wigan in 1755, and for Liverpool in 1762. In 1764 he was appointed a lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, which he reſigned the year following, on the diſmiſſion of the marquis of Rockingham. In 1768, he was again elected for Liverpool, and was afterwards appointed comptroller of the houſehold, from which office he was diſmiſſed ſeveral years before his death.

At his ſeat at Killrudery, county of Wicklow, the right hon. Anthony Brabazon, earl of Meath. He was born in February, 1721; married, 1758, Grace, daughter of Jn. Leigh, eſq. of Roſs Garland, county of Wexford, and had iſſue four ſons and ſix daughters. His third ſurviving ſon, William, lord Ardee, born 1769, lately elected knight of the ſhire for the county of Dublin, ſucceeds him in his honours and eſtates.

Feb. In her 32d year, lady Hoſkyns, wife of ſir Hungerford Hoſkyns, bart. only daughter of Edwin Francis Stanhope, eſq. groom of the chambers to her majeſty.

Geo. Darby, eſq. rear-admiral of England, and an elder brother of the Trinity-houſe, in which he is ſucceeded by the right hon. William Pitt.

March. Aged near 60, of a fever and ſtone in his bladder, Dr. Samuel Hallifax, biſhop and archdeacon of St. Aſaph, to which ſee he was tranſlated from Glouceſter, in March, 1789.—He was a prelate of great knowledge, and of great ability; an incomparable civilian, and an extremely acute public ſpeaker. His ſermons at biſhop Warburton's lectures and other writings are much eſteemed, and are written with great elegance of ſtyle, as well as with much profundity of thinking.

Sir John Coghill, bart. of Coghill-hall, in the county of York.

In his 19th year, Mr. Richard Green, of Minſterley.

At Cambro, in Scotland, ſir Charles Erſkine, bart.

At Leinſter-houſe, Dublin, lady Auguſta Fitzgerald, youngeſt daughter of the duke of Leinſter.

Right Rev. Dr. Ch. Jackſon, lord biſhop of Kildare.

April. Charlotte Counteſs of Fauconberg. She was daughter of the late ſir Matthew Lambe, bart. and ſiſter of the preſent lord Melbourne; and was married, May 29, 1766, to Henry earl Fauconberg, by whom ſhe had four daughters.

Sidi Mahomet, emperor of Morocco. Whilſt taking the air on horſeback, he was ſeized with a pain near his heart; and a ſtorm ſuddenly ariſing, he called, with ſome exertion, for his coach; was placed in it, and inſtantly expired.

His remains have been depoſited in one of the towers of Rabat. His ſon Muli el Zezid was, on the 15th, proclaimed emperor in his room; and, as it is ſaid, began his reign with wreaking his vengeance on the Spaniſh conſul, to whom he has behaved with unexampled ſeverity.

The hon. Mrs. Walſingham, relict of the late hon. commodore Robert Boyle Walſingham, who was loſt in the Thunderer man of war, ſome years ago. She was the daughter and coheireſs of ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, K.B. and of the lady Frances, daughter of the late earl Coningſby.

At Munich, in her 68th year, after two days illneſs, her ſerene highneſs the ducheſs dowager of Bavaria, widow of duke Clement.

Right hon. Hugh lord Maſſey, ſon of Hugh, created lord Maſſey 1776. He married Catherine, eldeſt daughter of Edw. Taylor, eſq. of Ballynort, 1760, by whom he had iſſue three ſons and four daughters, and ſucceeded his father in 1788.

At Roſtellan, county of Corke, the counteſs of Orkney and Inchiquin. She was the grand-daughter of George the firſt earl, who was the fifth ſon of William and Anne duke and ducheſs of Hamilton, and field-marſhal of his majeſty's forces. Both this lady and her mother married earls of Inchiquin. Neither of them having male iſſue, the titles of Orkney have ever gone to females. The preſent counteſs is married to Mr. Fitzmaurice (brother to the marquis of Lanſdowne), who has a ſon, now viſcount Kirkwall, and the firſt heir male of the family.

At Briſtol, the hon. Miſs Elizab. Hewitt, youngeſt daughter of the late lord chancellor of Ireland.

May. At his houſe in St. James's-ſquare, the right hon. Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, viſcount Royſton, and lord Hardwicke, one of the tellers of his majeſty's exchequer, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Cambridge, and high ſteward of that univerſity, a truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum, LL.D. F.R.S. London, and F.S.A. of Scotland. His lordſhip was born Dec. 20, N.S. 1720, and ſucceeded his father, the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, in March 1764. The titles, and ſuch parts of the eſtate as deſcended from the chancellor, are devolved on Philip Yorke, eſq. eldeſt ſon of the late Mr. Charles Yorke. During his reſidence in Bennet college, a work was undertaken by his lordſhip, aſſiſted by ſome of his contemporaries, intituled, "The Athenian Letters;" and though it has not hitherto been printed with a view to publication, yet it has been circulated amongſt ſo many of his lordſhip's friends and acquaintance, that it is well known as a work of conſiderable merit. He publiſhed the Correſpondence of Sir Dudley Carleton, embaſſador to the ſtates general during the reign of James I. and prefixed to it an hiſtorical preface, containing an account of the many important negociations that were carried on during that intereſting period. In 1779 he publiſhed two volumes of ſtate papers, ſelected from the collections at the Paper-office and the Britiſh Muſeum, as well as from his own valuable collection.—His lordſhip was married, in May 1741, to Jemima, daughter of the late earl of Breadalbane, who inherited from her grandfather, the late duke of Kent, eſtates in the counties of Bedford, Eſſex, and Wiltſhire, and the antient baronies of Lucas and Crudwell. The title of marquis of Grey, which was conferred upon the duke of Kent, with remainder to his eldeſt grand-daughter, and her heirs-male, will now become extinct; but the barony of Lucas (being limited to heirs general) will deſcend, upon the death of the marchioneſs Grey, to her eldeſt daughter, lady Amabell Polwarth, widow of lord Polwarth. His lordſhip's perſonal property, and the eſtates of the duke of Kent, will devolve upon his immediate deſcendants.

Lately, the right hon. Stephen Moore, earl and viſcount Mountcaſhell, baron Kilworth, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. His lordſhip married, in the month of June, 1769, lady Helen Rawdon, ſecond daughter of the earl of Moira, by whom he had iſſue Stephen lord Kilworth (now earl of Mountcaſhell), born March 9, 1770, at preſent on his travels; as alſo two other ſons, John and William, born in 1772 and 1775, and a daughter, lady Helen, born in 1773.

At his houſe in privy-gardens, George Montagu duke of Montagu, marquis Monthermer, earl of Cardigan, baron Brudenell of Stanton Wivil, and baron Montagu of Boughton, maſter of the horſe to the king, governor and captain of Windſor Caſtle, lord lieutenant of the county of Huntingdon, preſident of St. Luke's Hoſpital, vice-preſident of St. George's Hoſpital, and preſident of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, F. R. S. baronet, and knight of the moſt noble orders of the garter and bath. Dying without male iſſue, the dukedom and marquiſate become extinct. The earldom of Cardigan deſcends to his brother, lord Brudenell. The barony of Montagu of Boughton comes to lord Henry Montagu Scott, ſecond ſon of the duke of Buccleugh, who is married to the late duke's only daughter.—His grace was born July 26, 1712, and ſucceeded his father, the late earl of Cardigan, in 1723. He was created duke of Montagu, and marquis Monthermer, in 1760. On July 7, 1730, he married a daughter of the late duke of Montagu, who died in 1775, by whom he had iſſue John marquis of Monthermer, who was created baron Montagu of Boughton in 1762, and died April 11, 1770, unmarried; and Elizabeth, the preſent ducheſs of Buccleugh.

June. In his 66th year, right hon. J. Pomeroy, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the 64th regiment of foot, of which he was commander 24 years, M. P. in the preſent Iriſh parliament for the borough of Trim, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

At his houſe in Portman-ſquare, of a pleuriſy in his ſide, his excellency the count de Luccheſi, envoy extraordinary from the king of Naples to our court, which office he had filled ſome years. His remains were interred in the burying-ground at Pancras, with the uſual Roman Catholic ceremonies. All the foreign ambaſſadors, miniſters, and envoys, went in proceſſion; the duke of Leeds's coach and ſervants followed the hearſe, the former in their full livery; but his grace was not there, on account of public buſineſs.

Maria Thereſa, counteſs of Ilcheſter.

July. At Calcutta, the ſon of ſir Ed. Aſtley, bart.

In Dublin, Mrs. Molyneux, ſiſter

of the right hon. ſir Capel Molyneux, bart.

Hon. Miſs Fitzgibbon, eldeſt daughter of the lord chancellor.

At his chateau at Aix-la-Chapelle, of a ſecond ſtroke of the palſy, in his 73d year, the right hon. Geo. Auguſtus Eliott, lord Heathfield, K. B. governor of Gibraltar, and colonel of the 15th regiment of light dragoons.—He was born in 1718; and received the firſt rudiments of his education under a private tutor, and at an early time of life was ſent to the univerſity of Leyden, where he made conſiderable progreſs in claſſical learning, and ſpoke with fluency and elegance the German and French languages. Being deſigned for a military life, he was ſent from thence to the celebrated Ecole Royale du Genie Militaire, at La Fere in Picardy, where he laid the foundation of what he ſo conſpicuouſly exhibited at the defence of Gibraltar. In 1735, he became a volunteer in the 23d regiment of foot, or Royal Welch Fuzileers, and ſoon after was admitted into the engineer corps at Woolwich; from whence he purchaſed the adjutancy of the 2d troop of horſe-grenadiers, in which he became a captain and major, as well as lieutenant-colonel, when he reſigned his commiſſion as an engineer. In 1759 he quitted the horſe-guards, and was ſelected to raiſe, form, and diſcipline the 1ſt regiment of light-horſe, which bore his name. Having gone through various departments in different ſervices with the greateſt marks of bravery and military knowledge, in 1775 he was appointed commander in chief in Ireland, which he ſoon relinquiſhed, and was appointed to the command of Gibraltar, in a fortunate hour for the ſafety of that important fortreſs; where he, by a cool and temperate demeanour, maintained his ſtation for three years of conſtant inveſtment, in which all the powers of Spain were employed, and where he never ſpent his ammunition in uſeleſs parade, but ſeized on the proper moment, with the keeneſt perſpection, to make his attack with ſucceſs, which ever crowned his endeavours. All the eyes of Europe were on this garriſon; and his conduct as juſtly exalted him to the moſt elevated rank in the military annals of the day. On his return to England, the gratitude of the Britiſh ſenate was as forward as the public voice in giving him that diſtinguiſhed mark his merit deſerved, to which his majeſty was pleaſed to add that of the peerage, by the title of lord Heathfield, baron Gibraltar, on June 14, 1787, and permitting his lordſhip to take alſo the arms of the fortreſs he had ſo bravely defended, to perpetuate to futurity his noble conduct.—He married Anne, daughter of ſir Francis Drake, of Devonſhire, and had by her (who died in 1769) Francis Auguſtus, now lord Heathfield, lieutenant-colonel of the 6th regiment of horſe.

Lady Anne Paterſon, relict of ſir John Paterſon, bart. of Eccles, near Kelſo, and daughter of the earl of Marchmont.

Sir Tho. Geo. Shipwith, bart. the title is ſuppoſed to deſcend to a relation in Virginia.

Sir Peter Heyman, bart. of Somerfield, Kent. He was formerly in the navy; and at the age of 17 married Miſs Kempe, daughter and ſole heireſs of ——— Kempe, eſq. of Plymouth, by whom he had three children, who, as well as his lady, are long ſince dead; and he leaving no iſſue, the title devolves to the

Rev. Henry Pixe Heyman, M. A. of Canterbury, fellow of Emanuel colledge, Cambridge, grandſon of his father's ſecond brother.

Auguſt 4. In the 87th year of his age, the right honourable Francis North, earl of Guildford, lord North and Guildford, treaſurer to the queen's houſehold, high ſteward of Banbury, and a vice-preſident of St. George's hoſpital. His lordſhip was born April 13th, 1704, and ſucceeded his father in 1729, as lord Guildford: October 31ſt, 1734, he ſucceeded to the title of lord North, by the death of William lord North and Grey; and on March 8th, 1752, was created earl of Guildford. His lordſhip married, June 16th, 1728, Lucy, daughter of George earl of Halifax, by which lady, who died May 7th, 1734, he had iſſue Frederick, the preſent lord North (now earl of Guildford), who was born April 13th, 1732. By his ſecond lady, relict of George lord viſcount Lewiſham, and only daughter of ſir Arthur Kaye, of Woodſome in Yorkſhire, bart. he had three daughters, whom he ſurvived, and a ſon, Brownlow, born in July, 1741, the preſent biſhop of Wincheſter. His ſecond lady died April 21ſt, 1745; and in June, 1751, his lordſhip married Anne, relict of Lewis Watſon, earl of Rockingham, who died without iſſue in December, 1776.

Katherine, counteſs dowager of Plymouth, relict of Other Lewis, 4th earl, to whom ſhe was married in 1750. She was eldeſt daughter of Thomas lord Archer, by whom ſhe had twelve children.

13. At Kirklees, the ſeat of ſir George Armitage, bart. his lady, eldeſt daughter of lord Suffield.

Lady Mawbey, wife of ſir Joſeph Mawbey, bart. She was the daughter, and (on the death of her brother, Joſeph Pratt, eſq. in 1766) heireſs of Richard Pratt, eſq. of Vauxhall, in the county of Surrey.

In Dublin, lady Blaney, mother of the counteſs of Clermont.

Sept. The counteſs of Clarendon.

Archibald lord viſcount Goſford, baron Goſford, of Market-hill, baronet of Nova Scotia, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. His lordſhip was born in the year 1718, and choſen M. P. for the univerſity of Dublin in 1741. He ſucceeded his father, the late ſir Arthur Acheſon, in title and eſtate in 1748. In 1761, he was choſen to repreſent the county of Armagh; and in 1770, during the adminiſtration of lord Townſend, he was made a privy counſellor. On July 20, 1776, he was advanced to the peerage, by the title of baron Goſford, of Market-hill; and in the year 1785 was created viſcount Goſford.—In 1740 he married Mary, youngeſt daughter of John Richardſon, eſq. of Richill, county of Armagh; and by her ladyſhip, who is ſtill living, he has left the following ſurviving iſſue: one ſon, the hon. Arthur Acheſon, member in the preſent parliament for the borough of Old Leighlin, and now lord viſcount Goſford; and ſix daughters: Anna-Maria, married to the Rev. Henry Maxwell; Nicola, to Michael Obins, eſq. of Portadown; Julia-Henrietta, to Alex. Mac Aulay, eſq. of Glenville; Lucinda, to Jeremiah French, eſq.; Mary, to Hugh Montgomery, eſq. of Caſtle Hume; and Sophia, unmarried.

The lady of ſir John Orde, bart.

Hon. lieut. gen. Philip Sherard. He commanded as major-general in the campaign of 1762, and acquired great credit in the affair of Brucker Muhl, where he was at the head of the 1ſt regiment of Britiſh guards.

At his houſe in Pall-mall, his royal highneſs prince Henry-Frederick, duke of Cumberland and Strathern, earl of Dublin, in Ireland, knight of the moſt honourable order of the garter, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, an admiral of the white, and ranger of Windſor Great Park. His royal highneſs was born Nov. 7th, 1745; and was created an admiral in 1788. He married the honourable Anne Horton, widow of Chriſtopher Horton, eſq. daughter of the late, and ſiſter of the preſent earl of Carhampton, by whom he has left no iſſue.—After laying in ſtate two days, the body was depoſited, with great ſolemnity and pomp, in the vault of the chapel of Henry the VIIth, in Weſtminſter-abbey, on the 28th inſtant, at ten o'clock at night.

23. At his ſeat at Twickenham, after a long and painful illneſs, the moſt noble William Graham, duke, marquis, and earl of Montroſe, marquis and baron Graham, Dundaff, Kincarn, Mindock, and Kinabor, in Scotland, and earl and baron Graham of Belford, county of Northumberland, in England.—His grace married, in October, 1742, Lucy Manners, daughter of John ſecond duke of Rutland, by whom (who died June 18th, 1780) he had iſſue, one, James, marquis Graham, born February 8th, 1755 (married, firſt, March 5th, 1785, Jemima Elizabeth, daughter of the earl of Aſhburnham, by whom he had iſſue a ſon, born September 4th, 1786: the marchioneſs died fourteen days after ſhe was delivered, and the child died April 23d, 1787; and the marquis married, ſecondly, July, 1790, lady Caroline Maria Montagu, eldeſt daughter of the late, and ſiſter to the preſent duke of Mancheſter);—2. Lucy, born July, 1751, and married June, 1771, to Archibald Douglas, eſq. now lord Douglas of Douglas, and heir to the late duke of Douglas, by whom ſhe has iſſue. His grace had loſt his eyeſight many years before his death. He is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his only ſon James, marquis Graham.

Sir John Moore, bart. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his only brother, now ſir Thomas Moore, bart.

Honourable Mrs. Eliza Granville, daughter of the late celebrated viſcount Lanſdowne, aunt to the marquis of Bath.

October. In his 65th year, Edward Harley earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, lord Harley, a lord of the bed-chamber to his majeſty, lord-lieutenant of the county of Radnor, one of the curators of the Britiſh Muſeum, LL.D. and F.R.S. He was born September 2d, 1726; and was married, in 1751, to Miſs Suſannah Archer, who is now living. Not having any iſſue, his lordſhip will be ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his nephew Edward Harley, eſq. eldeſt ſon of his lordſhip's late brother, the biſhop of Hereford.

Sir James Wemyſs, bart. of Bogie.

Sir Tho. Barnewell, bart.

The right honourable dowager viſcounteſs Wallingford, aunt to the preſent earl of Banbury, and daughter of John Law, eſq. (who was comptroller-general of the finances of France in 1719) by lady Catherine Knollys, daughter of Nicholas earl of Banbury. Her late huſband William viſcount Wallingford, was her couſin-german, being the eldeſt ſon of Charles the fourth earl of Banbury, and major in the firſt troop of horſe-guards, M. P. for the borough of Banbury, and at the time of his deceaſe a patent was making out to call him up to the houſe of peers, his father, the earl of Banbury, being then living. She ſurvived her huſband (by whom ſhe had no iſſue) fifty years.

Novemb. In his 71ſt year, right honourable lord James Manners, youngeſt brother to the late John duke of Rutland, uncle to the celebrated marquis of Granby, and great uncle to the laſt duke.

Sir Hildebrand Jacob, bart.

Aged 90, Mrs. Barbara Slingſby, a maiden lady, aunt to ſir Thomas Turner Slingſby, bart.

The honourable John George Montagu, eldeſt ſon of lord viſcount Hinchinbrook, and M. P. for the borough of Huntingdon.

Dorothy viſcounteſs Liſburne, relict of John ſecond viſcount, by whoſe death a large property in that county devolves to his nephew Wilmot, the preſent viſcount. She was daughter of Richard Hill, eſq. of Henblas, county of Montgomery; married 1725, and had one daughter, born 1727, and ſince deceaſed.

Decemb. In his 91ſt year, right honourable John Bourke, earl of Mayo. He was ſon of Richard Bourke, LL. D. who died in 1727, and was created baron Naas, of Naas, county of Kildare, 1776, viſcount Mayo, 1781, and earl of the county of Mayo, 1785. He married Mary, daughter of the right honourable Joſeph Deane, lord chief baron of the exchequer; and by her, who died in 1774, had ſeven daughters, now all deceaſed, and three ſons; the eldeſt and three youngeſt daughters died young; the ſecond, John, viſcount Naas, ſucceeds to his title and eſtate; and the third, Joſeph Deane, biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, 1772, was tranſlated to the archbiſhoprick of Tuam, 1782.

The moſt noble Jane ducheſs of Athol. She was ſiſter to lord Cathcart, and married to the duke of Athol Dec. 26th, 1774, by whom ſhe has had iſſue four ſons and four daughters.

The lady of ſir Nigel Bowyer Greſley, bart. of Drakelow, county of Derby. She was the only daughter and heireſs of the late ſir Thomas Greſley, bart. of that place, and was married to his nephew, the preſent baronet, about the year 1776.

Sir Samuel Hannay, bart. M. P. in the laſt and preſent parliaments for Camelford, Wilts. He was formerly an eminent chemiſt in London, and ſucceeded to the baronetage on the death of the laſt baronet, of Mochrum, in Scotland, ſo created in 1630.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1790; *viz.*

Berks. Al. Cobham, of Shinfield Place, eſq.

Bucks. John Hicks, of Braddenham, eſq.

Cambridge and *Huntingdon.* T. Ground, of Wittleſea, eſq.

Cumberl. W. Browne, of Tallentire-hall, eſq.

Cheſhire. John Arden, of Arden, eſq.

Devonſh. Peter Perring, of Halberton, eſq.

Dorſetſh. H. W. Fitch, of High Hall, eſq.

Derbyſh. T. Wilſon, of Derby, eſq.

Eſſex. T. Nottage, of Bocking, eſq.

Glouceſterſh. J. Blagdon Hale, of Alderley, eſq.

Herts. S. R. Gauſſen, of North Mims, eſq.

Herefordſhire. John Cotterell, of Garnons, eſq.

Kent. Leo. Bartholomew, of Addington, eſq.

Leiceſterſh. E. Hartop Wigley, of Little Dalby, eſq.

Lincolnſh. Sir T. Whichcote, of Aſwarby, bart.

Monmouthſhire. W. Dinwoody, of Abergavenny, eſq.

Northumberland. J. Lowes, of Ridley-hall, eſq.

Northamptonſh. J. Ereke Willes, of Aiſtrop, eſq.

Norfolk. James Pell, of Snare-hill, eſq.

Nottinghamſh. G. Chaworth, of Anneſley, eſq.

Oxford. David Fell, of Caverſham, eſq.

Rutlandſh. H. O'Brien, of Tixover, eſq.

Salop. St. J. Charlton, of Charlton, eſq.

Somerſetſh. J. Stephenſon, of Bayford, eſq.

Staffordſh. J. Sparrow, of Biſhton, eſq.

Suffolk. Miles Barne, of Satterley, eſq.

Co. Southampton. G. Dacre, jun. of Marwell, eſq.

Surrey. S. Long, of Carſhalton, eſq.

Suſſex. H. Manning, of Southover, eſq.

Warwickſhire. H. Clay, of Birmingham, eſq.

Worceſterſh. Ph. Greſley, of Salwarpe Court, eſq.

Wiltſhire. Gifford Warrener, of Conock, eſq.

SOUTH WALES.

Caerm. W. Paxton, of Middleton-hall, eſq.

Pemb. W. Philips, of Hill, eſq.

Cardig. Matt. Davies, of Wileirog, eſq.

Glam. W. Lewis, of Greenmeadow, eſq.

Brecon. S. Hughes, of Tregunter, eſq.

Radn. F. Garbet, of Knill, eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſey. T. Williams, of Lanidan, eſq.

Carnarv. R. Lloyd, of Geſſelgyfarch, eſq.

Merioneth. J. Wynn Pugh, of Garthmaelen, eſq.

Montgomeryſh. Maurice Stephens, of Birthdw, eſq.

Denbigh. E. Lloyd, of Cefn, eſq.

Flintſhire. C. Brown, of Llwynegrin, eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales in Council, for the Year 1790.*

County of Cornwall. R. Hichens, of Poltair, eſq.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Dr. Johnſon's *Monument.*

AT a meeting of the friends to the memory of the late Dr. Samuel Johnſon, held at Thomas's tavern, in Dover-ſtreet, purſuant to public advertiſement, on Tueſday, January 5th, 1790.

Sir Joſeph Banks, bart. in the chair,

The following reſolutions were entered into:

I. That a ſum of ſix hundred guineas will be requiſite to erect a monument, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, to the memory of Dr. Samuel Johnſon; conſiſting of a ſingle ſtatue, according to the plan and eſtimate made by Mr. Bacon, ſculptor, and approved of by ſir Joſhua Reynolds.

II. That the meaſures which have hitherto been taken to procure ſubſcriptions for this purpoſe have proved ineffectual; the total amount of the ſums already received not exceeding two hundred pounds.

III. That a committee of eight perſons be appointed (of which ſir William Scott and Sir Joſhua Reynolds, the ſurviving executors of Dr. Johnſon, ſhall be two), to conſider of the moſt proper meaſures to be taken to procure contributions to effectuate ſo deſirable an object; and that the ſaid committee be requeſted to apply, by letter, in the names of any four of them, to ſuch perſons as may be thought likely to aid and patronize this undertaking.

IV. That the following ſix gentlemen, in conjunction with Dr. Johnſon's two ſurviving executors, be the committee:

Sir Joseph Banks, bart.
The Rt. Hon. W. Windham,
The Rt. Hon. Ed. Burke,
Edmond Malone, eſq.
Philip Metcalf, eſq. and,
James Boswell, eſq.

V. That the foregoing reſolutions be publiſhed in the newspapers.

VI. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman.

Joseph Banks.

Report of perſons appointed by a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, to inſpect the ſeveral Houſes and other Buildings immediately joining to Weſtminſter-hall, *and the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Offices thereto belonging,* &c.

IN obedience to your reſolution of the 17th inſtant, that we ſhould inſpect all the buildings of the houſe of lords, the houſe of commons, office of exchequer, the different offices belonging to the ſame, and the other buildings contiguous to Weſtminſter-hall, and to report our opinion of the preſent ſtate of the ſame, and their ſecurity from fire and other accidents; we beg leave to make the following report, in which we are unanimous, after having inſpected the ſame with care and attention.

The houſe of lords, prince's chamber, and painted chamber, are buildings of great antiquity, in many parts defective; and have been altered and repaired ſo very much, from time to time, that, though they may ſtand many years, are incapable of uſeful repair and improvement; and there are cellars under the whole, variouſly occupied, only one of which is ſecured by arches from the communication of fire. All the buildings eaſt of the houſe of lords are in ſo bad a ſtate, that many of them are in immediate danger of falling down, and are therefore unoccupied and ſhut up; and the others would coſt more to repair than rebuild them. The building weſt of the houſe of lords, containing the entrance thereto, and the ſtaircaſe and committee room, is a ſubſtantial modern building; and the other buildings adjoining, compriſing the paſſages, black rod and privy ſeal rooms, are part built with timber, liable to rapid decay, and accidents from fire; and the remainder extremely old and ruinous.

The houſe of commons, though an ancient building, has been ſo continually repaired, that it is in a ſtate to remain a great many years; but is ſo connected with the auditor of the exchequer's houſe and offices, and ſurrounded by a great number of other buildings, applied to various purpoſes, and in various occupations, as to expoſe the whole to a general conflagration, ſhould an accidental fire happen in any one of them.

The dwelling-houſe in Cotton-garden, belonging to the principal clerk of the houſe of commons, communicating therewith, erected within thirty years paſt, is defective in ſeveral places, from the inſecurity of the foundations.

The buildings eaſt of Weſtminſter-hall, between it and the river, are the pell-office and chambers over it in the eaſt tower, and the offices of the exchequer, contiguous and connected with the hall, and ſituate between New Palace-yard and St. Stephen's court: thoſe of the four tellers are moſt inconveniently arranged, and liable to immediate deſtruction in caſe of fire, being placed in the upper ſtory, without any walls of diviſion, or arched floors; are ſeparated only by timber partitions, ſurrounded by combuſtible buildings, ſtables, coach-houſes, hay-lofts, ſervants lodging-rooms, and kitchens: the dutchy court of Lancaſter, a ſlight building of one room, and over it the dutchy chamber, with garrets above; the kitchen of the clerk to the deputy uſher of the exchequer, a low ſhed, between theſe rooms and the eaſternmoſt tower, and immediately connected with them. The houſe inhabited by the uſher of the exchequer, in New Palace-yard, eaſtward of the dutchy court of Lancaſter, has a brick front, and its rear is entirely of timber, lathed and plaiſtered, forming two ſides of a narrow court, from which it receives light, and which communicates with the windows of the tellers office, caſh rooms, and of the dutchy court; and moſt of the kitchen offices belonging to the deputy-uſher and his clerk, are immediately under thoſe offices, and the ſmall wood ſtaircaſes in the centre of them, and leading thereto.

The buildings on the eaſt ſide of New Palace-yard, from the king's bridge or water-gate, to the houſe in poſſeſſion of Mr. Roberts, tenant to the Marquis of Buckingham, as teller of the exchequer, contain the late cofferer's office, the office of the auditor of the land revenue, the lottery office, the examiner's office, the tellers for the payment of American claims, the pells American office, the exchequer-bill book-binders office, the office of the auditor of the principality of Wales, the annuity pell-office, the firſt and ſecond annuity offices, and the 14 per cent. annuity office, which are principally conſtructed with timber, lath and plaiſtered, or weather-boarded; in many places propt up, and in others contiguous to low ſheds, equally combuſtible. The adjoining building ſouthward is Mr. Roberts's houſe, which, with the garden, occupies all the ſpace from St. Stephen's court to the river, and is immediately connected with the laſt-mentioned offices; it has been lately repaired, and ſome additional ſmall buildings erected thereto. The next houſe, adjoining ſouthward to the laſt-mentioned, belongs to lord viſcount Bayham as teller of the exchequer; the buildings and garden likewiſe extend to the Thames, and are at preſent unoccupied, being in a very dilapidated ſtate.

On the weſt ſide of St. Stephen's court, againſt the eaſt wall of Weſtminſter-hall, are the coach-houſes and ſtables of the auditor of the exchequer, having hay-lofts and ſervants lodging-rooms over them, which adjoin to and come cloſe under the windows of the office and caſh-room of one of the tellers. On the ſouth of this court is the auditor of the exchequer's houſe, extending ſouthward to the houſe of commons, and under part of it; the garden extends to the river. The buildings are ſubſtantial, and extend under two of the committee-rooms of the houſe of commons.

The court of exchequer, and exchequer chamber, contiguous to, and connected with, Weſtminſter-hall, are very old, but not in a ſtate of actual ruin. On the ground-floor, under the court of exchequer, is the cuſtos brevium of the court of common pleas, and treaſurer's office belonging; the cieling and walls of them are lined with deal, are inſecure from fire, and very damp. Adjoining weſtward to theſe, and projecting into the ſtreet, to the great obſtruction and imminent danger of perſons and carriages paſſing to and from the houſes of parliament, is ſituated an old brick building, occupied on the ground-floor by the deputy-uſher of the court of exchequer, moſt of his rooms containing a fire-place, and the cielings are flat and low; over theſe, on the one-pair of ſtairs, is the king's remembrancer's office, and over that the augmentation office. We underſtand, that, ſo long ago as the paſſing of the act of parliament for building Weſtminſter bridge, a clauſe was inſerted, empowering the commiſſioners under that act to remove this nuiſance, the roof of which is immediately connected with the court of exchequer. The public-houſes and coffee-houſes on the ſouth ſide of New palace-yard, immediately adjoining the cuſtos brevium of the court of common pleas, are particularly dangerous, as they have ſeveral chimnies and coppers; the roofs are under, and cloſe to, the windows of the cuſtos brevium, and ſome of them covered with ſail-cloth pitched; the ſmoke of one of the chimnies is conveyed by a ſlight tin funnel, and, as well as the flues, are near the windows of Weſtminſter-hall, of the towers, and of the court of exchequer.

Next to St. Margaret's-ſtreet, and adjoining ſouthward to the old brick building before-mentioned, is a building of the ſame kind, containing the tally office, being a depoſitary for the tallies belonging to the exchequer. Adjoining ſouthward thereto is the coach-houſe for the judges, a ſlight timber-building, covered with tiles.

The ſtone building next St. Margaret-ſtreet, comprizing committee-rooms, and other apartments occupied by officers of the houſe of commons, cuſtos brevium of the court of king's bench, and the exchequer bill office, is of recent date, and very ſubſtantial. Behind that building, and contiguous to Weſtminſter-hall, are the court of common pleas, judges chambers, and record office, which are in tolerably good condition; to them are annexed ſundry excreſcences, moſtly of timber, which ſhould be removed, as they increaſe the danger of fire and its communication.

The court of requeſts is in itſelf a ſecure ſubſtantial building, but communicates with, and is ſurrounded on the ſouth and weſt by, a variety of houſes, which are private property, part of them timber; which muſt very much endanger the whole as long as they remain.

We beg leave to ſubmit to this honourable committee, that, from the very circumſtantial detail we have entered into of the ſtate of the various parts of the buildings which the committee requeſted we might examine, it is almoſt ſuperfluous and unneceſſary to declare our unanimous opinion, that the hazard they have been, and ſtill are, expoſed to from fire, are ſo great, that we cannot help being aſtoniſhed at their having ſo long and ſo happily eſcaped (with but one late and fortunate exception) from the moſt imminent danger. Unprotected by walls of either brick or ſtone, connected and joined together by boarded or lath and plaiſtered partitions; with iron bars to defend the windows of the moſt conſequential offices, which ſerve to attract the lightning, to the deſtruction of their valuable contents, with funnels and chimnies running into old decayed piers, in the very boſom of theſe combuſtible materials, in many of which fire from a neglected chimney might conſume the whole; without the poſſibility of bringing ſufficient water to extinguiſh the flames, ſuch aid being hitherto overlooked, or deemed unneceſſary, and not more than one engine kept near the moſt eſſential offices in this kingdom. All which is humbly ſubmitted.

ROBT. ADAM,
GEO. DANCE,
J. P. COCKERELL,
H. HOLLAND,
JOHN YENN,
JOHN SOANE,
ROBT. BROWNE,
THO. TILDESLEY,
JOHN WOOLFE, Jun.
R. ADAM, for R. MYLNE.
THOS. FULLING,
CHA. ALEX. CRAIG,
JAMES WYATT.

20th July,
1789.

Particulars

Particulars reſpecting the laſt Illneſs and Death of the Emperor.

ON the 5th of February very unfavourable ſymptoms began to alarm his phyſicians.

On the 6th his majeſty was thought to be rather better. Dr. Querin, his firſt phyſician, was created a baron; and, as a proof of his majeſty's confidence in his ſkill, received a preſent of ten thouſand florins.

It was on the 7th that the emperor was made fully acquainted with the danger of his diſorder. It was on that day that the emperor ſent for Querin, and inſiſted on knowing the doctor's real opinion of his caſe. The doctor replied, with tears in his eyes, "Sire, your diſorder is incurable."—The monarch, ſeemingly not at all affected, ſaid, "I have mighty affairs on my mind that I wiſh to ſettle. Do you think I may be able to hold out a few weeks longer?"—"Your majeſty may, it is *poſſible*," ſaid the doctor; "but ſuch is the nature of your complaint, that I ſhould conceal from your majeſty the truth, if I did not tell you, that, in caſes like yours, the patients are every minute in danger of being carried off."—The emperor, on hearing this, was ſilent for ſome moments. He then ſigned a diſpatch which his miniſters had prepared for him. It was directed to his brother, the grand duke of Tuſcany: the object was, to apprize his brother of his approaching diſſolution, and to preſs his highneſs's preſence at Vienna. The diſpatch was inſtantly ſent off.

A ſhort time after this interview, the emperor ſeemed more compoſed, and inclined to reſt.

He continued for ſome days in a ſtate of great compoſure, did buſineſs with his five ſecretaries, roſe in the morning, was dreſſed, and walked about; but his cough was frequently violent, and at thoſe times he ſeemed in danger of ſuffocation.

On the 13th he received the holy ſacrament in the royal apartments; at which time he called all his ſecretaries before him, ſpoke to each with great condeſcenſion, recommending fidelity in their ſeveral departments to his ſucceſſor, and, as a proof of his approbation of their conduct to himſelf, ordered each a thouſand ducats.

On the 14th he continued in the ſame ſtate of contemplative ſerenity in which he had remained for ſome days before. But on the 15th he grew worſe; and at eight in the morning, being thought by his phyſicians to be in great danger, he received the *extreme unction.*

On the 16th he ſtill continued ſtruggling with death, as loath to leave a country convulſed and embarraſſed as his dominions were, without being able to recommend to his ſucceſſor any practicable plan for their arrangement.

On the 17th his favourite niece, the archducheſs Elizabeth, who did not expect to be delivered till March, being an eye-witneſs of the near approach of the emperor's death, was ſuddenly taken in labour in the morning; at ſix in the evening ſhe was ſeized with ſtrong convulſions; at nine was delivered; and at ſix next morning expired.

The emperor, who had a truly paternal affection for this amiable princeſs, whom he himſelf had choſen as a fit conſort for his nephew, was inceſſantly making enquiries after her health, after hearing ſhe was in labour; and it was thought proper

per at laſt, that his majeſty's confeſſor ſhould break to him the melancholy event, which probably accelerated his death by ſome hours.

His majeſty, the day after the death of the archducheſs, ſent to the counteſs de Chancos an order for 100,000 florins, as a mark of gratitude for the attention which ſhe had ſhewn to this beloved princeſs. The counteſs had been at the head of her royal highneſs's houſehold.

About the ſame time, finding death drawing near, his majeſty ſent for cardinal Migazi, archbiſhop of Vienna. When he arrived, "My lord," ſaid the Emperor, "my life is drawing faſt to an end: it is fit that I ſhould die in Chriſtian peace with all men. If I have offended you, I intreat your forgiveneſs; and through you the forgiveneſs of all mankind." "Sire," ſaid his eminence, with tears in his eyes, "the offences you have committed againſt man, your death will expiate. For thoſe *accountable to God, God is merciful.*" From ten o'clock at night on the 19th, till half after five on the 20th, his majeſty continued in the agonies of death, and at that hour expired, in the 49th year of his age, and in the 26th year of his reign as emperor of the Romans, and the 10th as king of Hungary and Bohemia. He ſucceeded to the imperial crown, on the demiſe of his father Francis, the 18th of Auguſt, 1765; and to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, on the death of his mother Maria Thereſa, Nov. 29, 1780. He was twice married: firſt, to a princeſs of Parma, and, again, to a princeſs of Bavaria; but, having left no iſſue, the hereditary honours of his houſe devolve on his brother, Peter Leopold Joſeph, grand duke of Tuſcany.

Two days before his death, he wrote with his own hand a farewell letter to the empreſs of Ruſſia, who, it is ſaid, lies dangerouſly ill. He wrote likewiſe to prince Potemkin; as it is ſuppoſed recommending peace.

Account of the miraculous Eſcape of Captain Bligh, *of the* Bounty *Sloop.*

THIS ſhip ſailed from England in the autumn of 1787, on a voyage to the Society Iſlands, for bread-fruit-trees, intended for our Weſt-India ſettlements; in which climate, it was the opinion of Sir Joſeph Banks, they might be ſucceſsfully cultivated, and prove a ſuccedaneum for other proviſions in times of ſcarcity.

The Bounty had made good the object of her voyage, ſo far as to have received on board a great number of theſe trees in various ſtages of growth; and there was every proſpect of there being capable of preſervation.

The ſhip, thus laden, quitted Otaheite, on the 4th of April, 1789, and continued her courſe in a weſterly direction, touching at one more iſland, and then meditating her progreſs through the Pacific Ocean, towards the Moluccas.

The ſhip loſt ſight of the Friendly iſlands on the 27th of that month, and every thing like good order was ſuppoſed to prevail on board; even the mid-watch was relieved without the leaſt apparent diſorder: but, at day-break on the 28th, the cabin of Captain Bligh, who commanded the Bounty, was forcibly entered by the officer of the watch, aſſiſted by three others upon the watch, who dragged him inſtantly on the deck, menacing his life if he attempted to ſpeak. His endeavours to exhort and bring back the conſpirators to their duty proved of no avail. Each of the deſperadoes was armed with a drawn cutlaſs, or fixed bayonet; and all their muſquets were avowed to be charged.

Captain Bligh diſcovered, when he came upon deck, ſeveral of the crew, and moſt of the officers, pinioned; and while he was thus contemplating their perilous ſtate, the ſhip's boat was let over her ſide, and all who were not on the part of the conſpirators, to the number of eighteen, beſides the Captain, were committed to the boat, and no other nouriſhment afforded to them than about 140 pounds of bread, 30 pounds of meat, one gallon and a half of rum, a like portion of wine, and a few gallons of water. A compaſs and quadrant were ſecured by one of theſe devoted victims, as he was ſtepping into the boat; and thus abandoned, the mutineers, after giving them a cheer, ſtood away, as they ſaid, for Otaheite.

The captain, in this dreadful ſituation, found his boatſwain, carpenter, gunner, ſurgeon's mate, two midſhipmen, and one maſter's mate, with Mr. Nelſon the botaniſt, and a few inferior officers, among thoſe who were likely to ſhare his fate. After a ſhort conſultation, it was deemed expedient to put back to the Friendly Iſlands; and accordingly they landed on one of theſe, in hopes they might improve their ſmall ſtock of proviſions, on the 30th of April; but were driven off by the natives two days after, and purſued with ſuch hoſtility, that one man was killed, and ſeveral wounded.

It was then deliberated, whether they ſhould return to Otaheite, and throw themſelves on the clemency of the natives; but the apprehenſion of falling-in with the Bounty, determined them, with one aſſent, to make the beſt of their way to Timor; and, to effect this enterprize, aſtoniſhing to relate! they calculated the diſtance near 4000 miles; and, in order that their wretched ſupply of proviſions might endure till they reached the place of deſtination, they agreed to apportion their food to one ounce of bread and one jill of water a day for each man. No other nouriſhment did they receive till the 5th or 6th of June, when they made the coaſt of New Holland, and collected a few ſhell-fiſh; and with this ſcanty relief they held on their courſe to Timor, which they reached on the 12th, after having been forty-ſix days in a crazy open boat, too confined in dimenſions to ſuffer any of them to lie down for repoſe, and without the leaſt awning to protect them from the rain, which almoſt inceſſantly fell for forty days. A heavy ſea and ſqually weather, for great part of their courſe, augmented their miſery.

The governor of this ſettlement, which belongs to the Dutch, afforded them every ſuccour they required. They remained here, to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits, till the 20th of Auguſt, when they procured a veſſel to carry them to Batavia. They reached Batavia on the 2d of October laſt; and from thence captain Bligh and two of the crew embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and the reſt of the crew were preparing to follow as ſoon as a paſſage could be obtained.

Captain Bligh reached the Cape about the middle of December; and ſoon after took his paſſage for England, which he reached on the evening of the 13th of March, and arrived in London on the 14th.

The leader of the mutineers is named Fletcher Chriſtian; a man of reſpectable family and connections, and conſidered a good ſeaman: he was of the rank of maſter's mate of the Bounty, and ſerved regularly the watch from the time the ſhip ſailed from England. The command of the Bounty thus devolving upon him, there was no poſſibility of defeating his purpoſe; as not the leaſt previous circumſtance could be traced, from the teſtimonies of the faithful part of the crew after they were in the boat, of a mutiny being on foot. The mutineers were to the number of 25; and thoſe who remained firm to their duty 19; conſequently, had the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion been entertained of the deſign, it might have been eaſily fruſtrated, as all the principal officers remained faithful to their commander.

A conjecture not improbable is, that the plot was projected while captain Bligh was engaged on ſhore at Otaheite and other iſlands, collecting plants, and making charts. This officer only holds the rank of lieutenant in our navy. His merit pointed him out to the Admiralty as highly qualified for this expedition; and the diſtreſſes he has undergone entitle him to every reward. In navigating his little ſkiff through ſo dangerous a ſea, his ſeamanſhip appears as matchleſs as the undertaking ſeems beyond the verge of probability.

We felicitate thoſe who were companions in this hazardous voyage, that in the preſent Admiralty board exiſts a diſpoſition to foſter and protect ſuffering merit; and our dock-yards, it is hoped, will prove an aſylum to moſt of them to the end of their lives.

We are ſorry to add, that Mr. Nelſon, the botaniſt, died ſoon after the boat reached Timor. This gentleman went out with his majeſty's particular approval: and a ſecondary object of the voyage was to collect curious plants for the botanic garden at Kew.

Account of the Diſaſter that befel his Majeſty's Ship Guardian, *Lieutenant* Riou, *Commander.*

THIS ſhip was fitted out in a moſt expenſive manner, and furniſhed with all ſorts of ſtores and proviſions for the new ſettlement at Botany-bay, and had a very proſperous voyage till ſhe arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where ſhe recruited her proviſions, and increaſed the number of her live-ſtock, beyond any former precedent.

On the 24th of December, 1789, being in lat. 44° S. and long. 41° 30′ E. of London, the weather extremely foggy, we ſaw an iſland of ice about three miles to the S. W. Lieutenant Riou gave directions to ſtand towards it, in order to collect lumps of ice to ſupply the ſhip with water. This proceeding was judged highly expedient, as the daily demand of water was prodigious, owing to the great quantity of cattle on board. As the ſhip approached the iſland, the boats were hoiſted out and manned, and ſeveral lumps collected. During this time the ſhip lay-to, and on the ſupply of water being brought on board, ſhe attempted to ſtand away. Very little apprehenſion was at this time entertained of her ſafety, although the monſtrous bulk of the iſland occaſioned an unfavourable current, and, in ſome meaſure, gave a partial direction to the wind.

On a ſudden the baſe of the iſland, which projected under water conſiderably beyond the limits of the viſible part, ſtruck the bow of the ſhip; ſhe inſtantly ſwung round, and her head cleared; but her ſtern coming on the ſhoal, ſtruck repeatedly, and the ſea being very heavy, her rudder broke away, and all her works abaft were ſhivered. The ſhip in this ſituation became in a degree embayed under the terrific bulk of ice; the height of which was twice that of the main-maſt of a ſhip of the line.

At this critical moment, the captain and officers retaining their ſpirit, their example and vigorous exertion led the people to their duty; but it was with difficulty they were prevailed on to overcome the firſt panic, and lend their aſſiſtance to trim and fill the ſails. This being at laſt effected, and the fore top-gallant-ſail and ſtay-ſails between the fore and main-maſt being ſet on the ſhip, ſhe began to forge-off, and the ſame inſtant ſtruck with greater force, if poſſible, than before, nearly a-breaſt of the main chains, kept craſhing for ſome time along the ice under her, and at laſt ſhot entirely clear of it. The weather continued very foggy, and the wind blowing ſtrong, we ſoon loſt ſight of the ice; our ſpirits then gained new vigour, and ſerved to ſupply freſh ſtrength, and to ſupport us under the afflictions which were yet in embryo.

From the commencement of theſe misfortunes to this ſhort interval of better hope, includes about the ſpace of half an hour; and the cheering proſpect again vaniſhed as a flaſh of lightning.

At about a quarter paſt eight the carpenter came up from ſounding the well, and reported two feet water in the hold, and that it was increaſing very faſt. The pumps were ordered to be rigged, and got to work, and all the officers and people joined in a diligent and ſpirited compliance therewith. The chain-pumps were at firſt found to be much out of order, which cauſed ſome delay. Meantime all the hands that could be ſpared were ſet to work to clear the deck of the cattle, &c. holding themſelves in readineſs, however, to man the pumps, which about nine o'clock were all at work; and three or four of the people were left between decks, to hoiſt up, and heave overboard, whatever they could manage. The water had at this time increaſed to three feet and a half, and was ſtill gaining on all the pumps. The few hands left between decks did almoſt more than their ſtrength could be expected to effect: in the courſe of half an hour, they got up and hove overboard moſt of the bags of flour, peaſe, wheat, barley, &c. received at the Cape of Good Hope, beſides two hogſheads of tobacco. At about ten, water had increaſed to five feet.

Since the firſt of our misfortunes, there had not been an officer or man unemployed. It was, however, impoſſible that the few hands we had could hold out much longer, if employed together; a reſervation was therefore made, by dividing the whole of the officers, ſeamen, convicts, &c. into two watches, to relieve alternately. About half paſt ten, the firſt diviſion went to the pumps. At this time the captain ordered refreſhments to be allotted to each man, taking particular care that the grog ſhould not be made too ſtrong. Every man received a dram for the firſt ſupply, with biſcuit and cheeſe, which ſeemed to give them freſh ſpirits. The rum above was ſoon nearly expended; but the captain thought it would be extremely dangerous to open the hold to get at more, for fear of the men's getting at it. Wine and water was accordingly given in lieu.

At midnight, the water had increaſed to ſix feet, and it was then blowing a very ſtrong gale. At day-break a few hands were ſet about filling one of the lower ſtudding-ſails with oakum, and the off-watch were ordered to get it under the ſhip's bottom, which was found to be extremely difficult. The leak, however, gained upon us near a foot of water during this application. By unwearied exertions at the pumps it became reduced, and continued diminiſhing till near eleven o'clock, when the water was reduced to only nineteen inches.

At half paſt eleven we were, however, unhappily informed that the leak had again gained upon us ſome inches, and continued to do ſo, more or leſs, for a ſhort time.—Another ſail was then prepared for a ſecond fothering, which again encouraged our hopes. At noon the water was 27 inches, the ſhip's head about W. the wind blowing very hard.

Dec. 25. It ſtill continued to blow a ſtrong gale, the ſea running extremely high, often breaking over the ſhip with great violence. Between one and three in the afternoon, the ſecond fothering was got under the ſhip's bottom. About this time ſeveral of the crew became almoſt unable to perform any duty. The weather was likewiſe uncommonly piercing. At four the water again gained on us, when Mr. Clements went down by the way of the rudder into the gun-room, and from thence into the bread and ſpirit rooms, to endeavour to diſcover the leak, but without effect. It was then thought fit to endeavour to ſcuttle the deck cloſe aft, which, being out of the roll of the water, would enable us to get up and heave overboard ſome more of the cargo.

Accordingly, the captain, the chaplain, the purſer, and two men, were employed in this buſineſs, but unfortunately endeavouring to heave up a caſk, it fell back on the captain, and bruiſed his hand in ſo ſhocking a manner, as to diſable him from giving any farther aſſiſtance. This endeavour was then given up, and all hands were again ſet to the pumps.

At five the water increaſed to four feet, and at midnight to four feet and a half. At this time the ſtarboard pump became diſabled, from the wrench breaking; and the leak from that time gained upon us very faſt.

At four in the morning the water was reported to have increaſed to ſix feet, and at ſix to ſeven feet. About this time the people began to break off occaſionally from the pumps, and to ſecrete themſelves, and could only be kept to their duty by threatening to have them thrown overboard. During the night, the fore and main-top-ſails were ſhivered by the violence of the wind, and the ſhip left entirely at the mercy of a moſt tremendous ſea, the dreadful proſpect being rendered ſtill more diſmal by the thick, black, ſtormy clouds, which appeared as if collected to hide our misfortunes from the compaſſionate eye of Providence.

The people till now had been kept unacquainted with the true ſtate of the ſhip, which had hitherto been reported favourable; when one of the carpenters ſtationed to ſound the well, came up, and reported that the water was as high as the hallop-deck, and gaining above a foot every half hour. The officers could not poſſibly ſuppreſs this report; and many of the people, who were really unable to bear the fatigue any longer, immediately deſponded, and gave themſelves up to periſh with the ſhip. A part of thoſe who had got any ſtrength left, ſeeing that their utmoſt efforts to ſave the ſhip were likely to be in vain, applied to the officers for the boats, which were promiſed to be got in readineſs for them, and the boatſwain was directly ordered to put the maſts, ſails, and compaſs, in each. The cooper was alſo ſet to work to fill a few quarter-caſks of water out of ſome of the butts on deck, and proviſions and other neceſſaries were got up from the hold.

Many hours previous to this, Lieutenant Riou had privately declared to his officers, that he ſaw the final loſs of the ſhip was inevitable, and could not help regretting the loſs of ſo many brave fellows. "As for me," ſaid he, "I have determined to remain in the ſhip, and ſhall endeavour to make my preſence uſeful as long as there is any occaſion for it."

He was intreated, and even ſupplicated, to give up this fatal reſolution, and try for ſafety in the boats. It was even hinted to him how highly criminal it was to perſevere in ſuch a determination; but he was not to be moved by any intreaties.

He was, notwithſtanding, as active in providing for the ſafety of the boats, as if he intended to take the opportunity of ſecuring his own eſcape. He was throughout as calm and collected as in the happier moments of his life.

At ſeven o'clock ſhe had ſettled conſiderably abaft, and the water was coming in at the rudder-caſe in great quantities. At half paſt ſeven, the water in the hold obliged the people below to come upon deck; the ſhip appeared to be in a ſinking ſtate, and ſettling bodily down, it was therefore almoſt immediately agreed to have recourſe to the boats. While engaged in conſultation on this melancholy buſineſs, Mr. Riou wrote a letter to the Admiralty, which he delivered to Mr. Clements. It was as follows:

"*H. M. S. Guardian*,
Dec. 25, 1789.

"If any part of the officers or crew of the Guardian ſhould ever ſurvive to get home, I have only to ſay, their conduct after the fatal ſtroke againſt an iſland of ice was admirable and wonderful in every thing that relates to their duty, conſidered either as private men, or in his majeſty's ſervice.

"As there ſeems to be no poſſibility of my remaining many hours in this world, I beg leave to recommend to the conſideration of the Admiralty a ſiſter, who, if my conduct or ſervice ſhould be found deſerving any memory, their favour might be ſhewn to, together with a widowed mother.

> "I am, Sir,
> "Remaining with great reſpect,
> "Your ever obedient ſervant,
> (Signed) "E. Riou."
> "*Phil. Stephens, eſq.*"

He then ordered the boats to be hoiſted out, in order to afford a chance of ſafety to as many as he could with propriety. The people who were able were accordingly collected together, and the cutter hoiſted out on the lee-ſide, and afterwards the other boats on the booms. They were fortunately all got into the water with very little damage; but, the ſea running immenſely high, it was with difficulty they were kept from being ſtove along-ſide. The launch being forced to drop on the quarter, to make room for the two cutters, was nearly drawn under the quarter and ſunk, and at laſt obliged to caſt adrift from the ſhip, with only ſeven or eight men on board, and without any proviſion or water. A coil of rope was then handed from the quarter-gallery, and paſſed over to Mr. Somerville, the gunner, in the jolly-boat which hung over the ſtern. This boat, on being lowered down, was drawn under and ſunk. As ſoon as the launch had again rowed a little nearer to the ſhip, one of the people in her caught hold of a rope, until the cutters brought them proviſions, &c. and veered to a good diſtance aſtern. A ſmall quantity of biſcuit, and an eighteen gallon caſk of water, was then let down between the main and mizen chains into the ſmall cutter, which was the laſt thing taken in. The purſer then got into the main-chains, and from thence leaped into her; Mr. Wadman and Mr. Tremlett likewiſe fortunately got into the boat from the mizen-chains. It was with great difficulty rowed clear of the ſhip, and ſteered for the launch.

The agitation of mind on this melancholy occaſion may be better imagined than deſcribed. Mr. Riou was at this moment walking the quarter-deck, and ſeemed happy the boat had got ſafe from along-ſide. The ſhip was drifting aſtern, and gradually ſinking in the water. Mr. Clements began to be afraid ſhe would drive upon the launch; he therefore called to the crew, to cut the tow-rope, and row out of the ſhip's wake.

Mr. Somerville, the gunner, who was looking over the ſhip's ſtern, hearing the order, prayed them to hold faſt a moment, and he would jump overboard, and ſwim to them: he did ſo, and was followed by John Spearman, ſeaman, who were both received ſafe, and the boat then cut, and rowed out of the ſhip's track. About three quarters paſt eight we got along-ſide the cutter, and Mr. Clements, Mr. Wadman, Mr. Tremlett, and the purſer, with one or two more of the men, went on board, and took two bags of biſcuit and a caſk of water. The crew were ordered back to the ſhip, for further ſupplies, and to receive as many of the people as could with ſafety be taken on board.

They were not, however, to be prevailed on to return, but rowed off to ſome diſtance, and lay-by to obſerve our motions. The Rev. Mr. Crowther left the ſhip in the cutter, and got an opportunity of joining the launch, while making the exchange. There were then left on board the cutter, Mr. Brady, midſhipman, Mr. Fletcher, captain's clerk, and five ſeamen.

By this time the jolly-boat had nearly come within hail, and we lay-by till informed of her ſituation: ſhe brought with her neither proviſion, water, compaſs, or quadrant. Hence we were reduced to the ſad medium of conſulting our ſafety alone; and perhaps never did the human mind ſtruggle under greater difficulties than we experienced in being obliged to leave ſo many behind, in all probability to periſh: but it was evident that more people could not, with propriety, be received on board the launch, from our quantity of proviſions, viz. two bags of buiſcuit of about 100lb. each, two mutton hams of five pounds each, a gooſe, two fowls, about twelve pounds of butter, a cheeſe, a ſmall keg of rum containing about four gallons, and a ſmall rum caſk of water, marked on the head twenty gallons. This was a very inadequate ſuſtenance for fifteen ſouls already in the boat, who had to traverſe the vaſt diſtance of 411 leagues in a boiſterous ocean, without any means of relief.

There being yet a ſpare compaſs and quadrant in the launch, they were, by Mr. Clements's direction, handed into the jolly-boat. At this time one of the convicts attempted to get on board us, but was oppoſed by all, and puſhed into the ſea. The fellow in the ſtruggle caught hold of Mr. Clements, who was with difficulty ſaved from being pulled out of the boat along with him. The people in the jolly-boat picked the man up again, and then took to their oars, and rowed cloſe upon our quarter, as if determined to board us by force. To prevent therefore any ſcuffle, it was immediately agreed to make ſail; and we took our final departure from this ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs, at about nine o'clock. The ſhip at this time appeared ſunk down to her upper-deck ports. The large cutter, which was watching our motions, immediately made ſail after us, but in a ſhort time fell much to leeward: Mr. Clements thought they intended making for Prince Edward's, or Marien's and Crozet's iſland. The ſmall cutter remained hanging on at a diſtance from the ſhip. They alſo ſtepped their maſt in the jolly-boat, and made ſail after us; but, diſappearing almoſt at the ſame moment, we think the boat filled and went down.

At ten o'clock we had a hard ſquall of wind, with a heavy fall of rain; at half paſt eleven loſt ſight of the ſhip and ſmall cutter. At noon obſerved the latitude to be 44 deg. 7 min. S.; the boat was kept as much to the northward as the ſea would allow. The wind at this time was about N. W.

Dec. 26. Strong gales, ſqually and cloudy weather, with remarkably high ſeas. We were this night very much numbed and chilled with cold, and could get no ſleep. In the morning the weather became more moderate. At four o'clock ſhifted the fore-maſt to its proper place, ſtepped the main-maſt, and ſet the fore and main-ſails; at eight the people were employed to make a main-top-ſail out of ſome ſheets, and a yard out of one of the boat's thwarts; the hand of a broken oar was converted into a top-maſt. A ſmall tobacco canniſter was cut up to make a meaſure for the diſtribution of the water, rather leſs than a jill, two of which it was agreed to allow each man a day.

Dec. 27. Firſt part, moderate breezes and cloudy weather.—At one P.M. having boiled all our poultry, and cut up the gooſe, which was but ſmall, into fifteen equal parts; one of the men forward was then blind-folded, and directed to call each perſon by name, and another was appointed to ſerve out the morſel by lots. Notwithſtanding we had now faſted above thirty hours, all were perfectly ſatisfied with the ſmall morſel; and ſome had ſo little appetite, that they reſerved a part of it for a future occaſion. But the very ſcanty meaſure of water received afterwards by no means allayed the univerſal craving for drink, evidently occaſioned by the exceſſive heat and feveriſh ſtate of our bodies. We did not dare, however, to take one drop more than the preſcribed allowance. We therefore through neceſſity became philoſophers, and ſubmitted with becoming reſolution to the exigences of the moment. At ſeven we received our ſecond meaſure of water, which being ſucceeded by the coldneſs of the night, adminiſtered greatly to our relief. At midnight it blew a freſh gale, with dark, cloudy, and remarkably cold weather. The launch was at this time brought under her main-ſail only, and the weather continuing much the ſame, no alteration was made throughout the day.

Dec. 28. The firſt part freſh gales and cloudy weather, middle more moderate. About noon we had one of the fowls cut up, and divided amongſt us, as on the preceding day, and then received our jill of water. The heat and fever of our bodies increaſed, and our lips began to break out in watery and ulcerous bliſters. This day one of the crew, being afraid of famiſhing, requeſted his whole quantity of water for the day at one ſerving, which Mr. Clements oppoſed. He therefore had recourſe to ſalt-water, of which he drank freely. At five in the morning got the topmaſt up, and ſet the top-ſail; at ten freſh gales, lowered and took in the top-ſail. In theſe ſeas are conſtantly vaſt numbers of ſea-fowl flying about; and had we been fortunate enough to have had a fowling-piece, we could not have been much at a loſs for proviſions. Powder and ſhot we had in ſtore, and two brace of piſtols, but were unable to do any execution with them.

Dec. 29. This day cut up and divided our laſt fowl, and ſhared our water as before. At day-break ſtrong gales, with flying ſhowers of rain, from which we endeavoured to benefit as much as poſſible, by facing the weather with our mouths open and handkerchiefs ſpread out; but the drifting moiſture was ſo thin and light, that we were barely able to catch ſufficient to wet our lips. This morning we received a ſmall thimble-full of rum each, which was occaſionally allowed.

Dec. 30. We were this day reduced to a very low ebb indeed, and could not eat the ſmalleſt crumb, till ſupplied with an additional meaſure of water to moiſten our lips, which were almoſt held together by a tough viſcid phlegm, that could not be expectorated but with the greateſt difficulty. On this occaſion we dipped our bit of biſcuit in the water, and afterwards ſupped a little of it with each mouthful, to force it down.—The butter, cheeſe, and hams, were left free for the uſe of every one; for they were found to occaſion greater thirſt, and therefore remained almoſt untouched. Several of the crew had again recourſe to the ſalt-water, which appeared not to have any bad effects.

Dec. 31. We again ſuffered greatly this day from the burning heat of the ſun, and the parched ſtate of our bodies, and were allowed an additional meaſure of water, with a larger portion of rum than uſual; in which we ſoaked our bit of biſcuit, and made our meal of it.—About four in the afternoon the clouds began to ſhew for rain, and we made preparations accordingly; but were ſo unfortunate as to ſee it fall in heavy ſhowers all around us, and had barely as much over the boat as would wet our handkerchiefs.

The people this day appeared to be in a more hopeleſs ſtate than ever, and diſcovered ſigns of diſreſpect to their officers; which was, however, happily checked in time by the ſpirited conduct of the gunner, who chaſtiſed the leader in the face of the whole crew, and reſtored diſcipline. Many of the people this day drank their own urine, and others tried the ſalt-water. The weather was this day more warm and ſultry, than at any time ſince our misfortunes.

Jan. 1. We dined this day as on the preceding, and in general appeared in better ſpirits; which we conſidered on account of its being the firſt day of the new year,—a happy preſage of our ſafety!

Jan. 2. Clear weather, till about four in the afternoon, when it became overcaſt, and blew a freſh gale. We had before this dined on our uſual fare of biſcuit and water, with half a meaſure of rum, and were all in tolerable ſpirits; but the gale increaſing during the night, and the ſea running immenſely high, brought us again into great danger, which, with the diſappointment of not ſeeing land in the morning, as expected, reduced us to our former miſerable ſtate of deſpondency. At eight in the evening the fore-ſail was ſhifted to the main-maſt, and the boat ſailed under it reefed till about ſix in the morning, when the mizen was ſet on the fore-maſt, to give her greater ſteerage-way. At noon the latitude was by obſervation 33 deg. 19 min. and ſuppoſed longitude E. of Greenwich 34 deg. 15 min.

Jan. 3. About ſeven in the evening the clouds put on the appearance of a very heavy rain, but unfortunately broke over in a moſt dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, attended with guſts of wind, and very little rain, ſucceeded by a violent gale of ſeveral hours from the S. W. in which we were near periſhing. On this occaſion the maſter and the gunner ſucceeded each other at the helm, and, by their experience and judgment in the management of the boat, we were this night enabled to traverſe in ſafety an ocean of ſuch fierce and tremendous ſeas, in different directions, as we could ſcarcely allow ourſelves the hope of eſcaping.

At day-break the gunner, who was then at the helm, diſcovered a ſhip at a little diſtance from us, laying under her bare poles. Our joy at this ſight was great beyond expreſſion, and, anxious to ſecure ſo favourable an occaſion, we immediately made more ſail, and between five and ſix o'clock paſſed cloſe under her, and informed her people of our diſtreſſes. We then veered about, and put along-ſide her on the other tack.

The people on board her crowded immediately to our aſſiſtance, and re-

received us in the moſt friendly manner. As ſoon as were along-ſide, ſeveral of them jumped in, and aſſiſted in keeping the boat from being ſtove.

This ſhip was named the Viſcounteſs of Britannie, a French merchantman, Martin Doree, maſter, with part of Walſh's or 95th regiment, from the iſle of France, to touch at the Cape of Good Hope for a ſupply of water and proviſions, on her way to Europe. The officers of this corps were unbounded in their friendſhip and attention towards us, affording us every poſſible comfort, and even giving up their beds for our uſe.

Jan. 18. At noon anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope.

But to return to the ſhip.—She continued ſome days in the ſame ſtate as at the departure of the boats, at the mercy of the winds and waves, without a rudder, and every inſtant, in danger of being ſwallowed up in the abyſs. Attempts, however, were made by the crew, occaſionally, to reduce the water, when their ſtrength permitted, and thus, by wonderful exertions, was the Guardian kept afloat, till a Dutch packet-boat from the Spice iſlands and Batavia, providentially ſteering a high ſoutherly latitude, fell in with her, afforded her aid of men and materials, and enabled her to make good her way back to the Cape of Good Hope, and kept her company during her courſe. The Guardian was full 400 leagues from the Cape, when ſhe fell in with the iſland of ice.

Authentic Account of the Loſs of the Vanſittart *Indiaman.*

SUNDAY the 23d of Auguſt, ſtanding acroſs the channel towards the Banca ſhore, at a quarter paſt four P.M. ſent the cutter to ſound to windward of the ſhip, there being an appearance of ſhoal-water, and brought to with the main top-ſail aback, to wait for her. At a quarter paſt five ſhe returned, and informed us that the appearance aroſe from a large quantity of the ſpawn of fiſh on the ſurface of the water; at which time ſhoaled, ſuddenly from 17 to 10 fathoms, and then to ſeven, in a ſingle caſt of the hand lead.

Anchored immediately with the ſmall bower, and clewed all up as faſt as poſſible; but, in ſwinging to her anchor, the ſhip took the ground abreaſt of the mizen chains. Sounding around her, we found ſix fathoms at her bows, five at the gangways, in the mizen chains one-fourth leſs three; but under her ſtern four one-half fathoms.—Immediately furled all the ſails, and brought-to upon the ſmall bower, to endeavour to heave the ſhip a-head; but the anchor coming home very faſt, deſiſted. The cutter ſounding around the ſhip, found deep water every where to leeward of her. Set the head-ſails, and dowſed the cable, upon which ſhe ſwang off to her anchor, and no where along-ſide found leſs than five fathoms, though abreaſt the larboard mizen chains; in throwing the lead a little way farther out from the ſhip, found only four fathoms upon a rock, from which the lead tumbling, it fell into five fathoms. The ſhip making water, turned the people to the pumps.

By the cutter's ſoundings, it appeared that there was deeper water two or three ſhips' lengths right aſtern. Veered away the whole cable, and riding a-head to wind, which was at E.S.E. found no where leſs than ſix fathoms about her, and in ſome ſeven; but ſome little diſtance aſtern there was only ſix fathoms, from that deepening to 10 and 12 fathoms. All around from the S. E. to the ſouthward, and as far as weſt, was a clear channel and deep water. Set a ſpring upon the cable to inſure her caſting to ſtarboard; ſent the cutter to anchor in deep water, and to ſhew lights; ſet the head-ſails, and cut the cable; ran about a quarter of a mile to the W. S. W. and anchored with the beſt bower in 18 fathoms water, ſand and mud. About half paſt nine, the pumps ſucked; found ſhe made upwards of four feet an hour; but were able to keep her free during the night with all the pumps going. At day-light, hearing a ruſtling of water in the bread-room, cleared away by hoiſting up 13 cheſts of treaſure and the bread, and found the water ruſhing in through the cieling, about three feet above the keelſon on the ſtarboard ſide, and about 18 inches abaft the bulk-head of the bread-room: cut out a piece of the cieling, when we could plainly perceive that the outſide plank was ſtove in, day-light appearing through her bottom. Endeavoured to fill the room betwixt the timbers up with oakum, but found it impoſſible. We then prepared a piece of fir, about four feet long, and nearly the ſize of the chamber, fothering it round with oakum, to fill up. Put one end of it betwixt the cieling and outſide plank, and endeavoured to ſecure the other end down, but found the force of water ſo great we could derive no benefit from this. Swifted the ſhip, and prepared a ſheep's ſkin; and a ſeaman (John Bartlett) undertook for a reward to dive, and endeavour to place the ſkin over the lead, and which he aſſerted he had done. No good, however, was derived from it; on the contrary, the water began to gain on the pumps conſiderably. It was then agreed in conſultation to cut the cable, and run as faſt as poſſible, hoping to be able to keep her afloat till we could reach the flat ſhore of Sumatra, where we ſhould be in the tract of ſhips, and perhaps be able to ſave the treaſure at leaſt. This was put in execution about three P. M. the water having gained 18 inches upon the pumps in the laſt two hours, ſteered at firſt N. N.W. then N. W. but the water gaining very faſt, hauled in W. for the land of Banca. At five P. M. notwithſtanding the moſt vigorous exertions at the pumps, the water had gained in greater proportion for the laſt half hour than before, having now 5 feet 6 inches in the hold. Saw an iſland from the maſt-head, bearing W. S. W. and hauled up for it, but could not fetch it. What hands could be ſpared from the pumps were employed in hoiſting up water and proviſions out of the fore hold, getting the long-boat out, and rigging her. During the hours of ſix, ſeven, and eight, the ſhip ſettled faſt, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions at the pumps, the water having gained to eight feet. At about a quarter before nine, ran her on ſhore upon an iſland in the lat. of 8 deg. 9 min. S. and about ſeven miles from the coaſt of Banca, there being now 9 feet 10 inches of water in the hold. She grounded upon a bank of ſand, juſt without a reef of rocks, and about three quarters of a mile from the iſland from which the reef extended. At day-light in the morning, ſent an officer on ſhore to endeavour to find water, who, after the moſt diligent ſearch, in which he was unſucceſsful, returned on board. We had been able to hoiſt out of the hold but one butt, four gang caſks, and five ſmall caſks, before the water flowed over, which, with eight caſks of porter, was all the liquor we could get at, except ſpirits. In conſultation it was unanimouſly agreed to embark the people in the boats, with what water and proviſions they could carry, and proceed to the iſland.

Accordingly on Tueſday at four o'clock P. M. we embarked in our boats, leaving behind what porter and proviſions we were unable to carry; having previouſly thrown overboard 13 cheſts of treaſure, ſpiked up the quarter-deck guns, and thrown overboard what powder and ammunition remained after ſupplying the boats.

The order in which we embarked was as follows:

	Number of Hands.
The captain and chief mate in the cutter, in all -	14
The ſecond and fourth ditto, in the long-boat -	59
The third and fifth ditto, in the pinnace -	14
The ſixth and gunner in the yawl - -	14
In the jolly-boat -	8
The boatſwain and four more in the gigg - -	5
In all	114

The long-boat very narrowly eſcaped being loſt, having ſtruck on the reef of the iſland; and with all our exertions we found it impoſſible to get her without it before dark. Accordingly brought her to anchor, and the ſmall boats returned and lay under the lee of the ſhip for the night. In the morning (Wedneſday 26th Auguſt 1789), took our final departure, and ſtood along ſhore, having all the people embarked, except George Scott, ſeaman, who was drowned in the gun-room.

The boats kept very well together, till Friday morning, when it was diſcovered that the boatſwain, with four hands, were miſſing. At one P. M. diſcovered two ſhips at anchor, near the Banca ſhore, and at half paſt four P. M. got on board the Nonſuch, capt. Canning, and the General Elliot, capt. Lloyd, Engliſh country ſhips, who received us with all imaginable kindneſs; as ſoon as the people were a little refreſhed, the cutter was ſent in ſearch of the gigg, but returned without ſucceſs at three o'clock in the morning.

Trial at the Old Bailey *of* Renwick Williams, *commonly called* The Monſter.

RENWICK WILLIAMS was indicted upon the ſtatute of 1ſt George I. for aſſaulting Miſs Ann Porter on the king's highway, and feloniouſly and maliciouſly intending to cut and deſtroy her cloaths.

There was another count for cutting and tearing her clothes.

Mr. Pigott, leading counſel for the proſecution, ſtated the caſe with great preciſion.

Miſs Ann Porter, the proſecutrix, was the firſt witneſs. She ſaid, that on the 18th of January laſt ſhe left the ball-room at St. James's, at a quarter paſt eleven o'clock at night, and went towards her father's houſe, accompanied by her ſiſters, and a Mrs. Meale. As ſhe was paſſing the rails of the houſe, ſhe received a violent blow on her hip, and, turning round, ſaw the priſoner ſtoop down; ſhe knew it was him, having ſeen his perſon before, and having been previouſly inſulted by him with language too ſhocking to repeat. Theſe previous inſults ſhe had received from him in the day-time three or four times, and therefore ſhe took particular notice of him. After having aſſaulted her, he came by the rails of the door, ſtood cloſe to her, and ſtared her full in the face. Her upper and under garment were cut, and ſhe was terribly wounded by ſome extremely ſharp inſtrument. She ſaw the priſoner afterwards in St. James's Park, on the 13th of June, when ſhe pointed him out to Mr. Coleman. She was then deſired to look at the priſoner at the bar, which ſhe did, and poſitively declared he was the man who had aſſaulted her; ſhe had ſuffered ſo much from him, that ſhe could not be miſtaken in his perſon, which had left a ſtrong impreſſion on her mind.

Miſs Sarah Porter was then called, and deſired to look at the priſoner. She ſaid, ſhe had ſeen him previous to the 18th of January, he having followed cloſe behind her while ſhe was walking, and, leaning his head towards her ſhoulder, uttered the moſt horrid language. She ſaw him in St. James's-ſtreet about a quarter paſt eleven o'clock, while in company with her ſiſter Ann; he was ſtanding with his back towards them as they paſſed, but ſome chairmen coming by, ſaid, "By your leave, ladies;" upon hearing which the priſoner inſtantly turned round, and, perceiving the witneſs, exclaimed, "Oh! oh!" and gave her a violent blow on the back of her head. The witneſs then deſired her ſiſter to run away, ſaying, "Don't you ſee *the wretch* is behind us?" the name by which they had diſtinguiſhed him. This witneſs confirmed the teſtimony of her ſiſter as to the aſſault in queſtion, and ſwore poſitively to the identity of the priſoner's perſon, from her having frequently been followed and inſulted by him.

Miſſes Rebecca and Martha Porter alſo confirmed the evidence of their ſiſter, the proſecutrix, and proved the identity of the priſoner, they having both ſeen him ſeveral times before the queen's birth-day, and come in for a ſhare of his obſcene language.

Mr. John Coleman was then examined. He ſaid, that being in company with the Miſs Porters, in St. James's Park, on the 13th of June laſt, and being told that the man who had aſſaulted the proſecutrix had juſt paſſed them, he immediately followed the priſoner, who, ſuſpecting he was followed, walked on very faſt. He purſued him through different ſtreets, looking full in his face, and doing every thing to affront him, in order that he might provoke him to an altercation; but the priſoner would not take any affront, bearing patiently every inſult offered. The witneſs felt himſelf in ſome agitation, and was at a loſs to know what means he ſhould adopt, as he did not think it prudent to charge him directly with being *the Monſter*. He was, however, determined to purſue him; and upon the priſoner's at laſt going into the houſe of a Mr. Smith (after knocking at two or three doors), he followed him, and aſked Mr. Smith in the preſence of the priſoner, who he was; and immediately apologizing for this queſtion, ſaid he muſt beg the priſoner to give him his addreſs. Mr. Smith and the priſoner wiſhed to have ſome reaſon aſſigned for this queſtion; upon which the witneſs anſwered, he was told that the priſoner had inſulted ſome ladies. The priſoner replied, he had never inſulted any lady, and, after ſome little converſation, gave the witneſs his addreſs, which was, "Mr. Williams, No. 52, Jermyn-ſtreet,"—the houſe where the priſoner's mother lived, and almoſt cloſe to his own lodgings. The witneſs, upon ſeeing the name Williams, ſaid, "Good God! I think I know you." To which the priſoner anſwered, "I think I know you." The witneſs then expreſſed his ſurprize, that he had not recollected him while he was following him, although he looked in his face ſo often; to which the priſoner ſaid, "And it is ſurpriſing that I ſhould not have known you." The witneſs informed the court, that he had ſeen him ſeveral times at ſome aſſembly-room.

After exchanging addreſſes, they went out together from Mr. Smith's houſe, and the witneſs took leave of the priſoner; but in a few minutes afterwards he thought he had acted wrong in leaving him; he therefore purſued and overtook him, ſaying, he ſhould not be ſatiſfied, unleſs he would accompany him to the ladies. The priſoner, after expreſſing his wiſh to meet the witneſs at ſome coffee-houſe, was at length prevailed upon to go with him to the Miſs Porters; and upon his entering the parlour, two of the young ladies inſtantly fainted away, ſaying, *That is the wretch.* The priſoner ſaid, the ladies behaviour was very ſtrange, and he hoped they were not ſo prejudiced againſt him as to take him for the man that had been advertiſed. He did not appear to be the leaſt agitated.

The proſecutrix's clothes were produced in court. They were cut quite through, from the bottom up to the waiſt.

M'Manus ſearched the priſoner's lodging, which was at the George public-houſe, Bury-ſtreet. It was a garret, in which were two beds in the front room, and two in the back, but only one door into both apartments. He found a white coat, a pair of boots, and an old hat.

Mr. Tomkins, a ſurgeon, proved the wound the proſecutrix had received, which was inflicted with an extremely ſharp inſtrument. It was three or four inches deep, and about nine or ten in length.

DEFENCE.

The priſoner lamented the hardſhip of his caſe. He ſaid, he had no ſatisfaction, under the load of reproach and calumny that had been thrown upon him by popular prejudice, proceeding from a fatal miſtake made by his proſecutors, but conſcious innocence. He had been already prematurely convicted; but he truſted the evidence he ſhould adduce would make his innocence manifeſt.

Many witneſſes were then called to prove an *alibi.*

Mr. Michelle, a flower-maker, depoſed, that the priſoner had worked for him for about eight or nine months paſt; that he was at work with him on the queen's birthday from ſix o'clock in the evening till half paſt twelve at night. The reaſon of his ſtaying ſo late was the preſs of buſineſs. He was ſure it was half paſt twelve when he went away, as a ſervant looked at the clock, and heard the watchman call the hour, which agreed with it. This witneſs being a foreigner, his evidence was communicated by an interpreter.

Several other witneſſes, who worked for Michelle, three of whom were females, alſo poſitively ſupported this *alibi*, and declared that the priſoner was a very good-natured man, and extremely kind and affable to the female ſex; but they had not known him but for a ſhort time.

There were ſome circumſtances ſtated by theſe witneſſes in which they contradicted each other, eſpecially as to the time Michelle was at home in the afternoon, and the looking at the clock when the priſoner went home on the queen's birth-night; but they all ſwore that he did not go away before half paſt twelve o'clock.

Seventeen witneſſes were called to the priſoner's character, ſome of whom were very handſome women. They all gave him a moſt excellent character for good-nature, humanity, and kindneſs to the fair-ſex in particular.

Mr. Juſtice Buller ſummed up the whole of the evidence with his uſual abilities, accompanied by numberleſs appoſite obſervations. He ſaid, if the jury ſhould pronounce the priſoner guilty, he ſhould reſerve the queſtion of law, as it was a new caſe, for the opinion of the twelve judges.

The jury pronounced the priſoner *Guilty*.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 15, 1789, to DECEMBER 14, 1790.

Christened { Males 9766 / Females 9214 } Buried { Males 9192 / Females 8846 } Decreaſed in the Burials this Year 2711.

Total Males and Females Chriſtened 18980.—Total Males and Females Buried 18038.

Died under Two Years	5877	—Forty and Fifty	1785	A Hundred and Two	1
Between Two and Five	1948	—Fifty and Sixty	1548	A Hundred and Three	1
—Five and Ten	748	—Sixty and Seventy	1233	A Hundred and Five	1
—Ten and Twenty	640	—Seventy and Eighty	818	A Hundred and Seven	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1277	—Eighty and Ninety	376		
—Thirty and Forty	1733	—Ninety and a Hundred	51		

DISEASES.	
ABortive and Stilborn	806
Abſceſs	17
Aged	1000
Ague	3
Apoplexy and Sudden	198
Aſthma and Phthiſic	311
Bed-ridden	13
Bleeding	7
Bloody Flux	1
Burſten and Rupture	13
Cancer	53
Canker	2
Chicken Pox	2
Childbed	150
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	6
Cold	3
Conſumption	4852
Convulſions	4003
Cough and Hooping-Cough	391
Diabetes	1
Dropſy	767
Evil	6
Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2185
Fiſtula	5
Flux	4
French Pox	27
Gout	83
Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	41
Grief	4
Head-Ach	0
Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	48
Jaundice	33
Impoſthume	2
Inflammation	142
Itch	0
Leproſy	3
Lethargy	3
Livergrown	1
Lunatick	52
Meaſles	119
Miſcarriage	1
Mortification	183
Palſy	80
Pleuriſy	7
Quinſy	2
Raſh	2
Rheumatiſm	7
Rickets	2
Riſing of the Lights	0
Scald Head	0
Scurvy	5
Small Pox	1617
Sore Throat	5
Sores and Ulcers	7
St. Anthony's Fire	0
Stoppage in the Stomach	7
Surfeit	2
Swelling	0
Teeth	410
Thruſh	45
Tympany	0
Vomiting and Looſeneſs	0
Worms	8

CASUALTIES.	
BRoken Limbs	4
Bruiſed	3
Burnt	16
Choaked	2
Drowned	119
Exceſſive Drinking	5
Executed *	14
Found Dead	6
Fractured	2
Frighted	2
Frozen	0
Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	64
Killed themſelves	31
Licked by a mad dog	0
Murdered	3
Overlaid	1
Poiſoned	4
Scalded	8
Smothered	1
Starved	4
Suffocated	2
Total	291

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* There have been executed in Middleſex and Surry 38; of which number 14 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January, 1791.

EXPORTED.

1790. ENGLAND.	BRITISH. Quarters.	FOREIGN. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
Wheat - - - - -	11	742	£. s. d.
		cwt. qrs. lbs.	
D° Flour - - - -	23,503	12,434 0 18	
Rye - - - - -	47		
Barley - - - - -	18,829	55	
Malt - - - - -	31,695		10,173 15 2 Bo.
Oats - - - - -	11,233	1,368	
Oatmeal - - - -	1,033	8	Drawbacks Nil.
Beans - - - - -	8,820	1,259	
Peaſe - - - - -	7,116		
Indian Corn - -	- -	5,496	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -	1,296		
D° Flour - - - -	1,094		
Barley - - - - -	18		
D°, hulled - - -	198		
Malt - - - - -	369	- - - -	464 13 10$\frac{3}{4}$ Bo.
Oats - - - - -	387		
Oatmeal - - - -	246		
Groats - - - -	10		
Peaſe and Beans - -	382		

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat - - -	174,534	£. s. d.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
D° Flour - -	65,862 0 12	
	qrs.	
Rye - - - -	21,683	
Barley - - -	24,267	10,856 17 3
Oats - - - -	614,768	
Oatmeal - - -	7,798	
Beans - - - -	39,446	
Peaſe - - - -	3,548	
Indian Corn - -	10,546	

IMPORTED.

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.		
		£.	s.	d.
Wheat	25,041	1,630	6	2½
Dº Flour	333			
Barley	5,850			
Oats	87,996			
Oatmeal	24,611			
Beans and Peaſe	192			

The following is an account of the average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1790.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
6	7¾	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	10

N.B. The price of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1790.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices which each Stock bore during the Courſe of any Month, are put down oppoſite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc	3 pr Ct. Conſol.	4 pr Ct. Conſol.	5pr. Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bon.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January —	187½	79½	80⅜	100⅝	120⅝	$23\frac{9}{16}$	$13\frac{11}{16}$	175	73⅞	113	88¾	79⅛	78	½	44	15 19 6
	183⅛	77¾	78⅜	99	117⅜	23⅛	13⅜	170½	72¼	105	87¼	77⅜	77		48	15 14 0
February —	187½	79¾	79	100¾	118	$23\frac{9}{16}$	13¾	172	74	118	87¾	79¼	78½	½	45	16 11 0
	184⅞	78½	77½	100	117⅞	23⅜	13½	170	73⅜	110	87½	78	77⅛		42	15 17 6
March —	187½	79⅝	79¼	101⅜	118½	$23\frac{9}{16}$	13¾	173¾	74½	112	88	79	78⅛	½	50	
	184⅞	78⅛	77⅜	99⅞	117	23⅜	13⅝	171¼	73⅞	93	86⅞	78⅛	76⅞		42	
April —	188⅞	79⅞	80¾	100⅞	120⅝	$23\frac{11}{16}$	13¾	171¼	75¼	117	91¾	79¾	80⅜	½	43	
	184½	78¾	78⅞	99⅞	118¾	$23\frac{7}{16}$	$13\frac{5}{16}$	176	73⅞	108	88¾	78⅝	79		40	
May —	183¾	78⅝	79⅜	99½	119⅛	23⅛	$13\frac{5}{16}$	172¾	73¾	118		74¾	78½	3½	41	
	164½	79¾	70½	90	108	20⅜	11½	173¼	66	30		69½	71⅜	½	Par.	
June —	175¼	75¾	76¼	96⅝	115½	22¼	$12\frac{9}{16}$	148	68½	57	84½	75	73¾	3½	2prm	15 11 0
	168	71¾	72¼	93¼	111	$21\frac{7}{16}$	12⅛	162	66	38		72⅝		3	1 diſc	15 7 0
July —	175¾	75¾	75	97¾	114	22½	12¾	159¾	67¾	57	82	75	74⅝	3¼	2prm	15 10 6
	169¾	72⅝	72¾	94⅛	110⅜	$21\frac{9}{16}$	$12\frac{3}{16}$	155¼	67½	39		72⅞	73¼	2⅞	3 diſc	15 8 0
Auguſt —	185¼	79¼	78¾	100½	117¾	23¼	$13\frac{5}{16}$	167½	72½	93	89¾	78¾	77⅞	2⅞	1 0	15 17 0
	174½	74½	73⅞	96⅛	113⅜	22¼	12¾	158½	70½	53	89½	74¾	74⅝	1¾		15 10 0
September —	185½	77¼	78⅝	99½	117	$22\frac{15}{16}$	13¼	166½	71¼	88	88½	78½	78⅛	2½		15 16 0
	179¾	74⅛	76⅛	98½	113¾	22¾	13⅛	162	70¾	77	87¾	77⅛	77¼	2⅛		15 12 6
Cctober —	180¾	73¼	76¾	94½	114¾	22¾	12⅛	162¾	67	75	86¼	73⅞	75⅜	6		15 13 0
	169	78⅝	73¼	93⅝	107	21½	$11\frac{15}{16}$	152½	66¼	16	85	73⅝	74⅛	2½		15 8 0
November —	184¼	72⅞	80	99⅞	119¾	$23\frac{1}{16}$	13¼	170½	74	100	89¼	78½	78½	3⅝	2prm	16 7 6
	171¾	80¾	73¾	93¼	110⅞	$22\frac{5}{16}$	12	156	67¼	86	86	72⅞	73¾	⅞		15 11 6
December —	187¼	78¼	81⅛	101¾	120⅜	$23\frac{11}{16}$	13⅛	171½	76	100	88¼	80⅛	80⅞	1⅛	15prm	16 10 0
	183⅝	77⅛	79¼	99⅜	119⅜	22⅞	$12\frac{5}{16}$	167½	73¾	92	88	78⅜	79	¾		16 6 6

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER, for the Year 1790.

N. B. *The higheſt and loweſt Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer ſtood in each Month is ſet down.*

	Days.	Barometer.	Days.	Thermometer.
January	8	30—45.	9	33.
	29	29—26.	13	52.
February	6	30—63.	7	37.
	26	29—90.	25	51.
March	16	30—62.	13	53.
	24	29—80.	21	39.
April	3	30—25.	11	35.
	8	29—18.	23	55.
May	2	29—45.	6	51.
	12	30—15.	28	63.
June	1	30—99.	2	55.
	9	29—52.	22	78.
July	5	29—32.	1	66.
	27	30—14.	20	54.
Auguſt	3	29—69.	21	72.
	18	30—11.	27	57.
September	3	29—36.	7	50.
	25	30—37.	15	62.
October	16	30—33.	3	59.
	28	29—64.	18	36.
November	15	30—28.	16	36.
	21	28—96.	26	51.
December	6	30—32.	11	50.
	18	28—72.	29	28.

Public Acts paſſed in the ſeventh Seſſion of the ſeventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

AN act for indemnifying all perſons who have been concerned in adviſing or carrying into execution certain orders of council reſpecting the exportation of corn and grain, and alſo certain orders iſſued by the governor general of his Majeſty's colonies in America.

Act for the better ſupport of the dignity of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and for diſabling the ſpeaker for the time being from holding any office or place of profit, during pleaſure, under the crown.

The America intercourſe act.

An act to indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices and employments, &c.

An act for continuing ſo much of an act as relates to the rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in North Britain.

An act for taking off the duties on unwrought tin exported beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

Act to continue ſeveral laws relative to the manufacture of leather, &c.

Act to continue the encouragement and reward of perſons diſcovering the longitude, &c.

Act for allowing time for the enrollment of deeds and wills made by papiſts.

Act for relief of the American loyaliſts and Eaſt Florida ſufferers.

Act to ſettle an annuity on the heirs and deſcendants of William Penn, eſq. the original proprietor of the province of Pennſylvania.

Act to ſettle an annuity on the Rev. Francis Willis, M. D.

Act for amending an act 27 Geo. III. for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods in the ports of Jamaica, Grenada, Dominica, New Providence, &c.

Act to exempt goods imported from the ſettlement of Yucatan, from the duties impoſed on the ſales of them by auction, &c.

Act for permitting the importation of Caſhew gum, &c.

Act for encouraging new ſettlers in his majeſty's American colonies.

Act for regulating the ſlave trade.

Act to enable the governors of certain places beyond the ſeas to remit the ſentence of tranſported felons.

Act to change the puniſhment of burning of women.

Act to empower juſtices, &c. to viſit pariſh workhouſes.

Two acts reſp cting the duties on low wines and ſpirits in North Britain.

Act to continue the farming of the poſt-horſe duties.

Act to alter an act 12 Geo. II. to prevent frauds in gold and ſilver wares, and to alter an act 24 Geo. III. granting a duty on gold and ſilver plate.

Act for granting new duties on wine licences.

Act for laying a duty on the importation of rape ſeed, &c. and for the importation of rape cakes duty-free.

Act for converting certain annuities by tontine, eſtabliſhed by an act of laſt ſeſſion, into certain annuities for an abſolute term of years.

Act for granting new duties on tobacco, &c.

Act to continue for a limited time, the indemnity act paſſed Feb. 25, of the preſent ſeſſion.

Act to continue the act 26 G. III. for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of the crown lands.

Act to explain an act 20 Geo. III. concerning county elections.

Act to amend the act limiting the number of outſide paſſengers of ſtage coaches, &c.

Act to authorize the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms to defray charges of ſeizures out of his majeſty's ſhare of ſeizures in general.

An Abſtract of an Act for limiting the Number of Perſons to be carried on the Outſide of Stage-Coaches, and other Carriages. 28 Geo. III. c. 57, 1788.

FROM the 1ſt day of November, 1788, if the driver of any coach, or other ſuch carriage, travelling for hire, ſhall permit more than ſix perſons at one time to ride upon the roof, or more than two perſons to ride upon the box, of any ſuch coach or carriage, on conviction, either by his own confeſſion, the view of a Juſtice, or by oath of a credible witneſs before a Juſtice of the place where the offence may be committed, to forfeit forty ſhillings for every perſon riding as outſide paſſenger above the number mentioned; and if the offender be owner of the coach, then four pounds: and, in default of payment of either penalty, the offender may be committed for a month.

If the driver of any coach, &c. travelling with a greater number of outſide-paſſengers than allowed, cannot be found, or ſhall not appear in conſequence of the Juſtice's ſummons on ſuch complaint, then the owner of ſuch coach, &c. is liable to the penalty of forty ſhillings.

If a Conſtable neglect to execute the warrant purſuant to this act, on conviction before a Juſtice, on his own confeſſion, or by oath of a credible witneſs, to forfeit forty ſhillings; and, if not forthwith paid, may be committed to gaol for a month.

The forms of the proceedings relative hereto are expreſſed in the Schedule to the act.

The former Act altered, explained, and amended; and for regulating the Conduct of the Drivers and Guards of Stage-Coaches, or other Carriages. 30 Geo. III. c. 36, 1790.

FROM the 29th day of September, 1790, if the driver of any coach, or other ſuch carriage, drawn by three or more horſes, and going for hire, permit more than one perſon on the coach-box beſides himſelf, and four on the roof; and, if ſuch carriage ſhall be drawn by leſs than three horſes, more than one perſon on the coach-box and three perſons on the roof (except the driver of a carriage drawn by leſs than three horſes, which ſhall not go a greater diſtance than twenty-five miles from the Poſt-Office in London, nor carry more than one perſon on the coach-box and four perſons on the roof), to be conveyed thereby, he ſhall pay to the collector of the tolls, at every turnpike-gate thro' which the carriage ſhall paſs, five ſhillings for each perſon above the limited number: and if any paſſenger, above the limited number, be ſet down, or taken up, whereby the payment of five ſhillings may be evaded, the driver, on conviction, by his own confeſſion, the view of a Juſtice, or oath of a credible witneſs, to be committed to gaol, or the houſe of correction, for not more than one month, and not leſs than fourteen days. The five ſhillings *per* head beyond the limited number to be levied in the ſame manner as the tolls.

After the ſame day, to be painted on the outſide of each door of every ſtage-coach (except mail-coaches) in legible characters, the proprietor's name, and, when different ones, the name of that which ſhall live within the Bills of Mortality to be uſed. If the coachman ſuffer any other perſon to drive his coach, without conſent of paſſengers, or quit the box without reaſonable occaſion, or by miſconduct overturn the carriage, or endanger the perſon or property of paſſengers, to forfeit not more than five pounds, nor leſs than forty ſhillings. If the guard to any coach fire off the arms he is entruſted with, either while the coach is going on the road, or in any town, otherwiſe than for defence of ſuch coach, to forfeit twenty ſhillings. The penalties by the former act on peace-officers, for neglecting to execute warrants, to extend to this act, and to be levied and applied in the ſame manner.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1790.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 1.			
FOR 20,000 men, including 3,860 marines, at 4l. per man per month	1,040,000	0	0
MARCH 2.			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay of the marines	703,276	17	11
For the extraordinaries of the navy, for building and repairing veſſels, over and above the allowance for wear and tear	490,360	0	0
APRIL 27.			
For diſcharging ſo much of the navy debt	200,000	0	0
Total of the navy	2,433,636	17	11

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 9.			
For 17,448 men, including 1,620 invalids, as guards and garriſons in Great Britain	578,562	14	1
For forces and garriſons in the plantations and Gibraltar	317,549	16	0
For making good the deficiency in the difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment for 1789	8,245	10	1
For advance of pay to the forces in the Eaſt Indies	11,435	12	10½
For the charge of full pay to ſupernumerary officers for 1790	10,808	7	1¼
For the pay of general and general ſtaff-officers in Great Britain	6,409	8	0
For allowances to the paymaſter general, ſecretary at war, &c.	63,276	5	8
For reduced officers of the land forces and marines	162,797	18	4
For the reduced officers and private gentlemen of the troop ſof horſe and grenadier guards	202	1	8
For the officers late in the Dutch ſervice	3,392	14	2

For

	£.	s.	d.
For the reduced officers of Britiſh American forces —	55,092	10	9
For allowances to ſeveral of the ſame — —	4,907	10	0
MARCH 29.			
For pay of a corps of foot to ſerve in New South Wales — — — —	3,411	14	4
For officers widows, and expences attending the ſame	9,991	9	3
For the Heſſian ſubſidy — — —	36,093	15	0
For the Chelſea penſioners — — —	180,938	19	6
For the army extraordinaries for 1789 — —	356,458	12	4
Total of the army —	1,809,574	19	5¾

ORDNANCE.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 9.			
For the charges of the office of ordnance for the land ſervice for 1790 — — — —	418,207	4	3
For land ſervice, not provided for in 1788 —	13,869	0	6
For ſea ſervice, ditto — — —	23,795	16	7
Total of ordnance —	455,872	14	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.
MARCH 29.			
For Scotch roads and bridges — — —	4,859	1	8
FEBRUARY 2.			
To pay off the exchequer bills of the laſt ſeſſions —	5,500,000	0	0
To the commiſſioners of American claims —	3,162	5	6
For American ſufferers — — —	35,185	15	6
To diſcharge bills drawn by the governors of Nova Scotia, the Bahama Iſlands, and New Brunſwick --	1,632	6	3¾
Proviſions &c. ſent to New South Wales — —	49,479	17	0
For American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers —	238,279	9	2½
For money iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes —	48,424	15	3
For the convicts at Plymouth and on the Thames —	41,117	3	0
To the clerk to the commiſſioners of fees and offices — — — —	761	8	0
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners for regulating the ſhipping of ſlaves — — —	500	0	0
Expences of carrying into execution the act for enquiring into the emoluments of officers of the cuſtoms — — — —	1,000	0	0
Extra expences of the mint for 1788 — —	30,520	17	1

	£.	s.	d.
For printing reports concerning the African trade	910	0	0
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of the Eaſt Florida claims	200	0	0
To ditto of American loyaliſts	1,900	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia	6,376	17	6
The like of New Brunſwick	4,400	0	0
The like of St. John's Iſland	1,840	0	0
The like of Cape Breton	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland	1,182	10	0
The like of the Bahama Iſlands	4,080	0	0
The like of New South Wales	4,558	7	8
To the chief juſtice of Dominica	600	0	0
To ditto of the Bermuda Iſlands	580	0	0
For the African forts	13,000	0	0
For proſecution of Warren Haſtings, eſq.	2,951	1	10
Total of miſcellaneous ſervices	6,000,598	17	5¼

DEFICIENCIES.

April 15.			
Deficiency of laſt year's grants	231,517	12	2¼
May 11.			
Vote of credit for the Spaniſh armament	1,000,000	0	0

Recapitulation of the Supplies.

Navy	2,433,636	17	11
Army	1,809,574	19	5¾
Ordnance	455,872	14	6
Miſcellaneous ſervices	6,000,598	17	5¼
Deficiencies	231,517	12	2¼
Vote of credit	1,000,000	0	0
Total of ſupplies for 1790	11,931,201	1	5¾

WAYS and MEANS for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty for the Year 1790.

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 4.			
By land-tax, at 4 s. in the pound — —	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty — — —	750,000	0	0
MARCH 25.			
By annuities for 18¾ years, from April 5, 1789 —	187,000	0	0
Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at 15 l. 16 s. 4½ d. -	290,937	10	0
Exchequer bills — — — —	5,500,000	0	0
Surplus of conſolidated fund — — —	2,300,000	0	0
Farther ſurplus — — —	621,151	1	3½
Foreign ſecret ſervice money repaid — —	34,000	0	0
MAY 11.			
Exchequer bills — — — —	1,000,000	0	0
Total ways and means —	12,496,088	11	3½
Total ſupplies —	11,931,201	1	5¼
Exceſs of ways and means — £.	568,887	9	10¼

An Account of the Net Produce of the Duties of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Incidents, between the 5th day of April, 1788, to the 5th day of April, 1789; and between the 5th day of April, 1789, to the 5th day of April, 1790.

	1789.			1790.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs — — — —	3,711,126	3	9	3,777,152	1	7½
Excise — — — —	6,068,295	8	2	6,707,555	16	9
Stamps — — — —	1,244,109	11	3	1,259,124	3	10
Incidents.						
Conſolidated letter money, 1787 —	156,000	0	0	156,000	0	0
ſalt — — —	350,268	15	1	397,104	15	3½
Seizures ſince 25th October, 1760 —	20,421	9	10½	19,828	12	1
Proffers, Dº — — —	533	15	7½	648	1	3
Fines of leaſes, Dº — —						
Letter money, Dº — — —	156,000	0	0	201,000	0	0
Alum mines, Dº — —	960	0	0	960	0	0
Compoſitions, Dº — — —	7	13	4	5	0	0
Fines and Forfeitures, Dº — —	1,891	11	7½			
Alienation duty, Dº — —	3,091	12	0	2,023	2	0
Rent of a light-houſe, Dº — —	6	13	4	6	13	4
6 *d.* per lib. on penſions, 24th June, 1721	45,585	0	0	44,760	0	0
1 *s.* deduction on ſalaries, &c. 5th April, 1758 — — —	51,285	15	7¼	35,357	17	10
Houſes and Windows, 1766 — —	383,234	10	10	429,257	8	1¼
Inhabited houſes, 1779 — —	128,809	0	8¼	155,015	6	3¼
Hawkers and Pedlars, 24th June, 1710 —	2,220	0	0	3,536	11	5
Ditto, 1785 — — —						
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1ſt Aug. 1711 — — —	11,100	4	4	12,200	0	0
Ditto, 1784 — — —	14,052	4	4	14,000	0	0
Male ſervants, — 1785 — —	91,876	13	3¾	99,803	1	1
Female Dº — Dº — —	31,431	4	6½	36,881	17	0¼
4-wheel carriages, Dº — —	126,965	8	11¼	148,692	0	5½
2-wheel Dº — Dº — —	27,644	13	0¼	33,934	18	3
Waggons, — Dº — —	19,420	17	9½	22,530	17	3¾
Carts, — Dº — —	11,513	8	11¾	11,305	10	11
Horſes, — Dº — —	99,985	17	7¼	109,287	8	3¼
Shops, — Dº — —	50,195	16	11¼	52,929	11	10
Firſt fruits of the Clergy — —	4,380	16	11	3,937	5	0
Tenths — — — —	19,786	2	9¼	9,667	14	6
Men Servants, 1777 — —	6	0	0			
Houſes and Windows, 1726 — —	—	—		229	1	10
Total of Incidents —	1,808,675	7	5¾	2,001,592	14	0¾
Total of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents —	12,832,206	10	7¾	13,745,424	16	3¼

Exchequer,
12th of April, 1790.

ROBERT JENNINGS.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the ſeventh Seſſion of the ſixteenth Parliament, January 21ſt, 1790.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE I laſt met you in parliament, the continuance of the war on the continent, and the internal ſituation of different parts of Europe, have been productive of events which have engaged my moſt ſerious attention.

While I ſee, with a juſt concern, the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries, I have at the ſame time great ſatisfaction in being able to acquaint you, that I receive continued aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of all foreign powers towards theſe kingdoms; and I am perſuaded that you will entertain with me a deep and grateful ſenſe of the favour of Providence in continuing to my ſubjects the increaſing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of thoſe invaluable bleſſings which they have ſo long derived from our excellent conſtitution.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have given directions that the eſtimates for the preſent year ſhould be laid before you; and I rely on your readineſs to grant ſuch ſupplies as the circumſtances of the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice may be found to require.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The regulations preſcribed by the act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament relative to the corn trade, not having been duly carried into effect in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, there appeared reaſon to apprehend that ſuch an exportation of corn might take place, and ſuch difficulties occur in the importation of foreign corn, as would have been productive of the moſt ſerious inconvenience to my ſubjects. Under theſe circumſtances, it appeared indiſpenſably neceſſary to take immediate meaſures for preventing the exportation and facilitating the importation of certain ſorts of corn; and I therefore, by the advice of my privy council, iſſued an order for that purpoſe, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I have only further to deſire, that you will continue to apply yourſelves to thoſe objects which may require your attention, with the ſame zeal for the public ſervice which has hitherto appeared in all your proceedings, and of which the effects have been ſo happily manifeſted in the increaſe of the public revenue, the extenſion of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general proſperity of my people.

The humble Addreſs of the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, Friday, 22d January, 1790.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We are ſenſible of the importance of the events produced by the continuance of the war on the continent, and the internal ſituation of different parts of Europe, which have naturally attracted your majeſty's moſt ſerious attention.

We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that, while we ſee with a juſt concern the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries, we feel the trueſt ſatisfaction from the aſſurances your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give us of the good diſpoſition manifeſted by all foreign powers towards theſe kingdoms; and that we entertain, with your majeſty, a deep and grateful ſenſe of the favour of Providence, in continuing to theſe kingdoms the increaſing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of thoſe invaluable bleſſings which your majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects have ſo long derived from our excellent conſtitution.

We return your majeſty our dutiful thanks for the communication which your majeſty has been pleaſed to make to us of the reaſons which induced your majeſty to take ſuch immediate meaſures as appeared indiſpenſably neceſſary for preventing the exportation and facilitating the importation of corn; and for your majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion, in directing to be laid before this houſe a copy of the order, which your majeſty, by the advice of your privy council, thought proper to iſſue for that purpoſe.

Permit us, ſir, to offer to your majeſty our humble acknowledgements for the gracious approbation which your majeſty is pleaſed to declare of our former conduct; and to give your majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that, animated by the ſame zeal for the public ſervice which has hitherto directed our proceedings, and gratefully acknowledging the happineſs and ſecurity which we experience under your majeſty's auſpicious government, we will diligently continue to apply ourſelves to thoſe objects which may require our attention, and may beſt contribute to the maintenance of the public revenue, the extenſion of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general proſperity of theſe kingdoms.

To this His Majeſty returned the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I receive with great pleaſure your dutiful and loyal addreſs.

The firſt object of my wiſhes being the proſperity of my people, I cannot but expreſs my ſatisfaction at receiving ſuch ſtrong aſſurances of your diſpoſition to apply your attention to thoſe important objects which I have recommended to your conſideration.

The

The humble Addreſs of the Commons of Great Britain, *in Parliament aſſembled, 22d January* 1790.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

While we participate in the juſt concern with which your majeſty obſerves the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries, we feel, at the ſame time, the greateſt ſatisfaction in being informed that your majeſty continues to receive aſſurances of the friendly diſpoſition of foreign powers: and we entertain a deep and grateful ſenſe of the favour of Providence towards theſe kingdoms, in continuing to us the increaſing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of thoſe invaluable bleſſings which we have ſo long derived from our excellent conſtitution, and which we ſo happily experience under your majeſty's mild and auſpicious government.

Your majeſty may be aſſured that we ſhall proceed with cheerfulneſs to make ſuch proviſion as may appear to be requiſite for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

We are duly ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal regard for the welfare of your people, which has been manifeſted in your anxiety to prevent the further exportation of corn, and to facilitate the importation under the circumſtances which your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to us; and we deſire humbly to return our thanks to your majeſty, for having been pleaſed to direct a copy of the order, iſſued by your majeſty, by the advice of your privy council, to be laid before us.

We aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall uniformly continue to apply ourſelves, with unremitting aſſiduity and zeal, to thoſe objects of public concern which may require our attention; and ſhall be, at all times, deſirous of adopting every proper meaſure for maintaining the public revenue, and encouraging the commerce and manufactures of the country, as being eſſentially connected with the general proſperity of your majeſty's dominions.

To this His Majeſty returned the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for your very loyal and dutiful addreſs. It is with great ſatisfaction that I receive the repeated expreſſions of your affectionate attachment, and the aſſurances of your continued attention to thoſe objects which are connected with the happineſs and proſperity of my people.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, at the Cloſe of the ſeventh Seſſion, Thurſday, 10th June, 1790.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE neceſſary public buſineſs being now concluded, I think it right to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament.

I have not hitherto received the anſwer of the court of Spain to the repreſentation which I have directed to be made at that court, in ſupport of the dignity of my crown, and of the intereſts of my people. I continue to entertain the ſtrongeſt deſire for the maintenance of peace on juſt and honourable grounds; but, under the preſent circumſtances, I feel it indiſpenſably neceſſary to proceed with expedition and vigour in thoſe preparations, the objects of which have already received your unanimous concurrence.

The aſſurances and conduct of my allies, on this intereſting occaſion, have manifeſted, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, their determination to fulfil the engagements of the exiſting treaties; and I truſt, that our mutual good underſtanding and concert will be productive of the happieſt effects in the preſent conjuncture of affairs in Europe.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the readineſs with which you granted the ſupplies for the current ſervice, and for your unanimity and diſpatch in enabling me to take thoſe meaſures which the preſent criſis has rendered neceſſary.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I think it may be of material convenience that the election of a new parliament ſhould take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for diſſolving the preſent, and for calling a new parliament. But, in ſignifying to you this intention, I cannot omit to aſſure you of the deep and grateful ſenſe which I muſt ever entertain of that affectionate and unſhaken loyalty, that uniform and zealous regard for the true principles of our invaluable conſtitution, and that unremitting attention to the happineſs and proſperity of my people, which have invariably directed all your proceedings.

The rapid increaſe of our manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the additional protection and ſecurity afforded to the diſtant poſſeſſions of the empire, the proviſions for the good government of India, the improvement of the public revenue, and the eſtabliſhment of a permanent ſyſtem for the gradual reduction of the national debt, have furniſhed the beſt proofs of your reſolution in encountering the difficulties with which you had to contend, and of your ſteadineſs and perſeverance in thoſe meaſures which were beſt adapted to promote the eſſential and laſting intereſts of my dominions.

The loyalty and public ſpirit, the induſtry and enterprize of my ſubjects, have ſeconded your exertions. On their ſenſe of the advantages which they at preſent experience, as well as on their uniform and affectionate attachment to my perſon and government, I rely for a continuance of that harmony and confidence, the happy effects of which have ſo manifeſtly appeared during the preſent parliament, and which muſt at all times afford the ſureſt means of meeting the exigencies of war, or of cultivating with increaſing benefit the bleſſings of peace.

Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, on preſenting certain bills to his Majeſty, June 10, 1790.

SIRE,

YOUR faithful commons have completed the ſupplies requiſite for the ſervice of the current year; they have manifeſted their loyalty and their attachment to your majeſty's perſon and government, by their uniform attention and diligent exertions in the paſſing of ſuch bills as were moſt likely to conduce to the honour and dignity of your majeſty's crown, and they have endeavoured, in all their proceedings, ſhewn the ſpirit of a great, a loyal, and a free people.

Your majeſty's commons cannot but contemplate, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the growing produce of the revenue, the rapid progreſs of our manufactures, and the general increaſe of commerce and trade; circumſtances affording the moſt flattering proofs of the proſperous ſtate of the country, in which they have no doubt of your majeſty participating with them, and in the ſatisfaction afforded by the contemplation of theſe great and important objects.

Your majeſty's commons are well aware, that the principal cauſe, among many others, to which theſe great national benefits are to be aſcribed, is the continuance of peace; but, ſenſible as they are of theſe bleſſings, and anxiouſly deſirous of rendering them permanent, they have lately afforded your majeſty a ſubſtantial proof, that it was their unanimous opinion that peace ought not to be maintained but on ſuch terms as ſhould be ſtrictly conſiſtent with the honour of your majeſty's crown, and the intereſts and welfare of your majeſty's ſubjects.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes of Parliament, May 25, 1790; relative to the capture of certain Veſſels, by the Spaniards, *in* Nootka Sound.

GEORGE R.

HIS majeſty has received information, that two veſſels belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, and navigated under the Britiſh flag, and two others, of which the deſcription is not hitherto ſufficiently aſcertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-weſtern coaſt of America, by an officer commanding two Spaniſh ſhips of war; that the cargoes of the Britiſh veſſels have been ſeized, and that their officers and crews have been ſent as priſoners to a Spaniſh port.

The capture of one of theſe veſſels had before been notified by the ambaſſador of his Catholic majeſty, by order of his court, who, at the ſame time, deſired that meaſures might be taken for preventing his majeſty's ſubjects from frequenting thoſe coaſts, which were alledged to have been previouſly occupied and frequented by the ſubjects of Spain. Complaints were alſo made of the fiſheries carried on by his majeſty's ſubjects in the ſeas adjoining to the Spaniſh continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain. In conſequence of this communication, a demand was immediately made, by his majeſty's order, for adequate ſatisfaction, and for the reſtitution of the veſſel, previous to any other diſcuſſion.

By the anſwer from the court of Spain it appears, that this veſſel and her crew had been ſet at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico; but this is repreſented to have been done by him on the ſuppoſition that nothing but the ignorance of the rights of Spain, encouraged the individuals of other nations to come to thoſe coaſts for the purpoſe of making eſtabliſhments, or carrying on trade, and in conformity to his previous inſtructions, requiring him to ſhew all poſſible regard to the Britiſh nation.

No ſatisfaction is made, or offered, and a direct claim is aſſerted by the court of Spain to the excluſive rights of ſovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coaſts, and ſeas, in that part of the world.

His majeſty has now directed his miniſter at Madrid to make a freſh repreſentation on this ſubject, and to claim ſuch full and adequate ſatiſfaction as the nature of the caſe evidently requires. And, under theſe circumſtances, his majeſty, having alſo received information that conſiderable armaments are carrying on in the ports of Spain, has judged it indiſpenſably neceſſary to give orders for making ſuch preparations as may put it in his majeſty's power to act with vigour and effect in ſupport of the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his people. And his majeſty recommends it to his faithful commons, on whoſe zeal and public ſpirit he has the moſt perfect reliance, to enable him to take ſuch meaſures, and to make ſuch augmentation of his forces, as may be eventually neceſſary for this purpoſe.

It is his majeſty's earneſt wiſh, that the juſtice of his majeſty's demands may enſure, from the wiſdom and equity of his Catholic majeſty, the ſatisfaction which is ſo unqueſtionably due; and that this affair may be terminated in ſuch a manner as to prevent any grounds of miſunderſtanding in future, and to continue and confirm that harmony and friendſhip which has ſo happily ſubſiſted between the two courts, and which his majeſty will always endeavour to maintain and improve, by all ſuch means as are conſiſtent with the dignity of his majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of his ſubjects.

G. R.

The humble Addreſs of the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, May 26th; in conſequence of the foregoing Meſſage.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your gracious meſſage, acquainting this houſe of thoſe circumſtances relative to the capture of Britiſh veſſels on the north-weſtern coaſt of America, and to the conduct of the court of Spain on this occaſion, which have induced your majeſty to give orders for making ſuch preparations as may put it in your majeſty's power to act with vigour and effect in ſupport of the honour of your majeſty's crown, and of the intereſts of his people; and to aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall readily proceed to enable your majeſty to take ſuch meaſures, and to make ſuch augmentation of your majeſty's forces, as may eventually be neceſſary on this occaſion.

We truſt that the juſtice of your majeſty's demands will enſure, from the wiſdom and equity of his Catholic majeſty, the ſatisfaction which is ſo unqueſtionably due to your majeſty; and we ſhall ſincerely rejoice in ſuch a termination of the diſcuſſions now depending, as may prevent any grounds of miſunderſtanding in future, and may continue and confirm that harmony and friendſhip which has happily ſubſiſted between Great Britain and Spain; but we, at the ſame time, feel it our indiſpenſable duty to aſſure your majeſty of the determination of this houſe to afford your majeſty the moſt zealous and effectual ſupport in ſuch meaſures as may become requiſite for maintaining the dignity of your majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of your majeſty's dominions.

Subſtance of the Memorial preſented by Lieutenant Mears *to the Right Honourable* W. Wyndham Grenville, *one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State. With Explanations.*

THIS memorial explains, in general, the grounds that gave riſe to the preſent conteſt with Spain; but the preciſe point, to be determined before peace can be finally ſettled, is ſtill involved in ſome obſcurity. That ſome of the ſhips were ſeized, and others ſuffered to proceed to trade unmoleſted, is not eaſily to be accounted for on the principles of the treaties that now ſubſiſt between the two nations. By the laſt treaty of peace with Spain, A FREE TRADE, AND NO SEARCH, was the *ſine quâ non* on which it was concluded. The Spaniſh court, in her preſent ſituation, would not then have ventured to inveſt any of her officers with powers to interrupt Britiſh ſhips navigating the open ſeas, and wantonly to inſult the flag of Great Britain, as repreſented by the memorialiſt at Nootka Sound, if they had not ſtill ſome latent claim to urge which has not yet been unequivocally decided.—But to proceed with the memorial.

About the beginning of the year 1786, certain merchants, under the immediate protection of the Eaſt India company, deſirous of opening a trade with the N. W. coaſt of America, for ſupplying the Chineſe market with furs * and ginſeng, communicated their deſign to ſir John Macpherſon, the governor general of India, who joined in the ſubſcription for carrying it into execution; and two veſſels were purchaſed, and placed under the direction of Mr. Mears, the memorialiſt who had been a lieutenant in the ſervice of government.

In March, the ſame year, one of the veſſels, named the Sea Otter, captain Tippin, was diſpatched to Prince William's Sound, and was ſoon followed by the other, named the Nootka, commanded by Mr. Mears himſelf, who, on his arrival in Prince William's Sound in September, learned that the Sea Otter had left that place ſome days before, and by future intelligence was aſſured, that ſhe had been loſt on the coaſt of Kamſchatka.

In Prince William's Sound the Nootka wintered, and in the mean time her commander opened *an extenſive trade* with the natives; and, having collected a cargo of furs, repaired to China in autumn 1787.

In January, 1788, having diſpoſed of the Nootka, he, in conjunction

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* This trade was pointed out to merchants by captain King, in his concluding volume to the Voyages of captain Cook.

junction with other Britiſh merchants, purchaſed two other veſſels, named the Felice and Iphigenia. The former he commanded himſelf; the latter he put under the direction of captain Douglas. With the Felice he reached Nootka Sound in May; and in June the Iphigenia arrived in Cook's river. His firſt buſineſs at Nootka Sound was to purchaſe from Maquila, the chief of the diſtrict, a ſpot of ground, on which he BUILT A HOUSE, and on it hoiſted a *Britiſh flag*, ſurrounding it with a breaſt-work, and fortifying it with a three-pounder. This being compleated, he proceeded to trade; the Felice taking her route to the ſouthward, and the Iphigenia to the northward, both ſhips confining themſelves within the latitudes of 60 and 45 deg. 30 min. north.

In September the Felice returned to Nootka Sound, where the people the memorialiſt had left behind had nearly compleated a veſſel, which was ſoon after launched, and called the North-Weſt America, meaſuring about forty tons, which was equipped with all expedition, to aſſiſt him in his enterprizes.

During his abſence from Nootka Sound, he had, by preſents, obtained from Wickananiſh, the chief of the diſtrict ſurrounding Port Cox and Port Effingham, in lat. 45 and 49 deg. the promiſe of a free and excluſive trade, with leave to build whatever he ſhould find neceſſary for his convenience; and alſo the ſame privileges from Tatouche, chief of the country bordering on the ſtraits of Juan de Fuca. Beſides theſe, he had purchaſed from Tatouche a tract of land within thoſe ſtraits, of which one of his officers had taken poſſeſſion in the king's name, calling the ſame Tatouche, in honour of the chief.

The Iphigenia, in her progreſs to the ſouthward, had been no leſs ſucceſsful than the Felice in obtaining grants of the native chiefs, no European veſſel having ever been there before.

Matters being thus ſettled with the natives, and having collected a cargo of furs, on Sept. 23, the memorialiſt proceeded to China in the Felice; where, having ſold both ſhip and cargo, he entered into partnerſhip with Meſſrs. John and Cadman Etches, and Co. owners of the Prince of Wales and Princeſs Royal, from London, trading under licences and from the Eaſt-India South-Sea companies, which would not expire till 1790, making a joint ſtock of all the veſſels and property employed in that trade; and under that FIRM they purchaſed a ſhip, built at Calcutta, called the Argonaut.

The Prince of Wales, being chartered to load teas for the Eaſt-India company, returned to England; and the Princeſs Royal and Argonaut were ordered by the memorialiſt to ſail for America, under the command of Mr. J. Colnette, to whom the charge of all the company's concerns on that coaſt had been committed.

Mr. Colnette was directed to erect a ſubſtantial houſe on the ſpot purchaſed by the memorialiſt in the preceding year; and the two ſhips he carried out with him were loaded with articles eſtimated ſufficient for the trade of three years, beſides a veſſel in frame of about thirty tons.

With theſe he ſet ſail from China in the months of April and May, 1789, having, over and above the crews, ſeveral artificers of different profeſſions, and about ſeventy Chineſe, who intended to become ſettlers in the country, under the protection of the aſſociated company.

On the 24th of April, 1789, the Iphigenia, which had wintered at the Sandwich iſlands, returned to Nootka Sound, as did the North-weſt America, which had alſo wintered there, a few days after, where they found two American veſſels, the Columba and Waſhington, that had wintered in Nootka harbour.

On the 29th of the ſame month, the North-weſt America was ſent to trade to the northward, and alſo to explore the archipelago of St. Lazarus.

On the 6th of May, the Iphigenia being then at anchor in Nootka Sound, a Spaniſh ſhip of war of 26 guns, named the Princeſſa, Don Eſtuan Joſeph Martinez, commander, from San Blas in Mexico, anchored in the ſame harbour, and was ſoon joined by a Spaniſh ſnow of 16 guns, called the San Carlos, from the ſame place, loaded with cannon, and other warlike ſtores.

For ſome time mutual civilities paſſed between captain Douglas and the Spaniſh officers, and even ſupplies were obtained from the Spaniſh captain; but, on the 14th of May, the former was ordered on board the Princeſſa, and, to his great ſurprize, informed by Martinez, that he had the king's orders to ſeize all ſhips that he might find upon that coaſt, and that he, the commander of the Iphigenia, was his priſoner; and, moreover, inſtructed his officers to take poſſeſſion of the Iphigenia, which they accordingly did in the name of his Catholic Majeſty, and conveyed the officers and men, as priſoners, on board the Spaniſh ſhips, where they were put in irons, and otherwiſe ill-treated. This done, Don Martinez took poſſeſſion of the lands which the memorialiſt had purchaſed and built a temporary habitation upon, *pulling down the Britiſh flag, and hoiſting the ſtandard of Spain* thereon, with ſuch other ceremonies as are uſual upon ſuch occaſions; declaring, at the ſame time, *that all the lands comprized between Cape Horn and the 60th degree of north latitude did belong to his Catholic Majeſty*; and accordingly proceeded to build batteries, ſtore-houſes, &c. in the execution of which he forcibly employed ſome of the crew of the Iphigenia, and ſeveral who attempted to reſiſt were ſeverely puniſhed.

And here it muſt not be forgotten, that while he (captain Douglas) was detained priſoner, he was frequently urged to ſign an inſtrument, purporting, as he was informed (not underſtanding Spaniſh himſelf), that Don Martinez had found him in Nootka Sound in great diſtreſs; that he had ſupplied him with every thing neceſſary for his paſſage to the Sandwich iſlands; and that his navigation had, in no reſpect, been interrupted; but which paper having been diſcovered to contain an obligation from him and Mr. Vinanea (ſecond captain), on the part of their owners, to pay on demand the valuation of the Iphigenia, her cargo, &c. in caſe the viceroy of New Spain ſhould adjudge her to be a lawful prize for entering the port of Nootka without licence from his Catholic Majeſty, he had peremptorily reſiſted, conceiving that the port of Nootka did not belong to his Catholic Majeſty; notwithſtanding which, Don Martinez, partly by threats, and partly by promiſes to reſtore him, captain Douglas, to the command of the Iphigenia, had ultimately gained his point; and having ſo done, he, captain Douglas, was reſtored to his ſhip, but ſtripped, during the time ſhe had been in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, of all her merchandize, ſtores, proviſions, &c. &c. (even to the extent of the maſter's watch and cloathing), twelve bars of iron only excepted, which they could not conveniently take away.

In this diſtreſs, captain Douglas finding himſelf utterly unable to proceed, applied to Don Martinez to ſupplicate relief, and obtained a trifling ſupply, for which he was called upon for bills on his owners at a moſt exorbitant rate; but even then was reſtrained from proceeding to ſea till the return of the North-weſt America, which Don Martinez ſaid he could diſpoſe of for 400 dollars, the value ſet upon her by one of the American captains.

The North-weſt America, however, not arriving ſo ſoon as expected, captain Douglas was told he might depart, on leaving orders for the maſter to deliver up the veſſel, on his arrival, for the uſe of his Catholic Majeſty. Accordingly, on the 15th of June, he wrote to the maſter; but, availing himſelf of Don Martinez's ignorance of the Engliſh language, cautiouſly forbore to give any directions to the effect required, and inſtantly ſailed from Nootka Sound, though very unfit to proceed on ſuch a voyage, leaving behind him the two American veſſels (Columba and Waſhington), which had been ſuffered to continue there all the winter unmoleſted. The Iphigenia fortunately arrived ſafe at the Sandwich iſlands, where, by means of the iron on board, being ſupplied with neceſſaries, ſhe proceeded to China, and anchored there in October, 1789.

[Here Mr. Mears, by way of illuſtration, introduces a tranſaction, no otherwiſe connected with his narrative, but as it proves the merchandize, &c. of which the Britiſh ſhips were plundered, to have been Britiſh property.]

Soon after the departure of the Iphigenia from Nootka Sound, Don Martinez became acquainted with the purport of the before-mentioned letter, and on the arrival of the North-weſt America, on the 9th of June, ſhe was ſeized, and towed into Nootka harbour, where ſhe was formally taken poſſeſſion of as a lawful prize, her cargo, conſiſting of 215 ſkins of the beſt quality, her ſtores, and furniture, confiſcated, and her crew made priſoners, ſome of whom were afterwards put in irons.

The Princeſs Royal (one of the ſhips fitted up at London), on her arrival ſoon after the ſeizure of the North-weſt America, was not only ſuffered to depart, but the ſkins taken from on board the North-weſt America (twelve only of the beſt quality, detained by Don Martinez, excepted) were ſhipped on board her for the benefit of the owners; and that ſhip put to ſea (as appears by her journal) on the 2d of July, to purſue the trade upon the coaſt.

But what adds to the atrocity of this extraordinary tranſaction is, that, after ſeizing the North-weſt America, and impriſoning her men, Don Martinez ſhould employ her on a trading voyage, from which ſhe returned in twenty days with ſeventy-five ſkins, obtained by Britiſh merchandize taken either from that veſſel at the time of her capture, or from the Iphigenia. The value of ſuch furs cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 7,500 dollars, all which Don Martinez applied to his own uſe.

About the 3d of July, 1789, the Argonaut appeared in the offing, when Don Martinez boarded her in his launch, and, with expreſſions of civility, invited Mr. Colnette into the Sound; but next day (notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances) ſent his firſt lieutenant with a military force, to take poſſeſſion of the Argonaut; and that ſhip was accordingly, in like manner, ſeized in the name of his Catholic majeſty, the Britiſh flag hauled down, and the Spaniſh flag hoiſted in its ſtead, her officers and men made priſoners, and Mr. Colnette threatened to be hanged at the yard-arm in caſe of non-compliance with the orders that ſhould be given him.

On the 13th of July, the Princeſs Royal again appeared (as is ſtated in her journal) off the port of Nootka; but her commander approaching the Sound in his boat, in expectation of finding there the commander of the expedition, was ſeized and made priſoner, under the threats of immediate execution if he refuſed to deliver up his ſhip without conteſt. A Spaniſh officer was accordingly ſent to take poſſeſſion of her, who brought her into port, made priſoners of her men, and prize of her cargo, conſiſting of 473 ſkins (including thoſe put on board her from the North-weſt America), as appears by the receipt in poſſeſſion of the proper officer. From this circumſtance Mr. Colnette became ſo deranged in his mind, that he had frequently attempted to deſtroy himſelf; that, notwithſtanding this melancholy misfortune, Don Martinez endeavoured to avail himſelf of the copper (being the principal part of the cargo of which the Princeſs Royal was compoſed); in which attempt he would have ſucceeded, had not the other officers prevented it.

The memorialiſt farther repreſents, that the American ſhip Columba intending to ſail for China (the principal part of her crew and proviſions being previouſly put on board the Waſhington, to enable that ſhip to continue to trade upon the coaſt), the crew of the North-weſt America was ordered by Don Martinez on board the Columba, and her ſupplies (reduced by furniſhing her conſort) to be made up from the Argonaut; that, previous to the departure of the Columba, ninety-ſix ſkins were alſo put on board her, to defray the wages of the officers and crew of the North-weſt America, under a ſuppoſition that their late employers would be unable to liquidate their demands; firſt deducting, however, 30 *per cent.* from the ſales, which Don Martinez had agreed ſhould be paid, for the freight of the ſaid ſkins, to the American commanders.

The Columba, being thus amply provided, left Nootka Sound, and a few days after entered Port Cox, where ſhe joined her conſort, from whom ſhe received a conſiderable number of ſkins, conceived to be the whole (excepting the ninety-ſix before mentioned) which had been collected by the Americans and Spaniards, beſides thoſe taken from the Britiſh; with which ſhe proceeded to China, where ſhe arrived November 2d, and landed the crew of the North-weſt America, who,

previous

previous to their leaving Nootka Sound, had ſeen the Argonaut proceed prize to San Blas, with her officers and men priſoners; and that the Princeſs Royal was ſoon to follow in the ſame manner.

The Waſhington, on joining the Columba in Port Cox, confirmed this intelligence of the Princeſs Royal.

To add to theſe outrages againſt the Britiſh, Don Martinez had thought fit to detain the Chineſe, and had compelled them to work in the mines which had juſt been opened on the lands which the memorialiſt had before purchaſed.

To this memorial Mr. Mears has added the depoſitions of the officers and crew of the North-weſt America, extracts from the journal of the Iphigenia, and other authentic documents; which, added to the internal evidence of the memorial itſelf, leaves no room to doubt its authenticity.

Declaration of his Catholic Majeſty, June 4, tranſmitted to all the European Courts.

THE king being apprized of the particulars laid before his miniſters on the 16th of May, by Mr. Merry, his Britannic majeſty's miniſter, relative to the unexpected diſpute between this court and Great Britain, as to the veſſels captured in Port St. Laurence, or Nootka Sound, on the coaſt of California, in the South Sea, has commanded the underſigned, his majeſty's firſt ſecretary of ſtate, to anſwer to the ſaid miniſter of England, that he had the honour to make known perſonally, and in writing, to the ſaid miniſter, upon the 18th of the ſame month, that his majeſty at no time pretended to any rights in any ports, ſeas, or places, other than what belongs to his crown by the moſt ſolemn treaties, recognized by all nations, and more particularly with Great Britain, by a right founded on particular treaties, the uniform conſent of both nations, and by an immemorial, regular, and eſtabliſhed poſſeſſion: that his majeſty is ready to enter upon every examination and diſcuſſion moſt likely to terminate the diſpute, in an amicable way; and is willing to enter into immediate conference with the new ambaſſador; and if juſtice requires it, will certainly diſapprove of the conduct, and puniſh his ſubjects if they have gone beyond their powers. This offer and ſatisfaction will, it is hoped, ſerve as an example to the court of London to do as much on its part.

As the two courts of London and Madrid have not yet received proper and authenticated accounts and proofs of all that has really paſſed in theſe diſtant latitudes, a contradiction in the developement of facts has by this means been occaſioned. Even at this moment the papers and minutes made up by the viceroy of New Spain on this matter are not arrived. Poſterior letters indeed ſay, that the Engliſh veſſel, the Argonaut, had not been ſeized and confiſcated till legally condemned; and that the ſmall veſſel called the Princeſs Royal, which had afterwards arrived, was not ſeized or confiſcated, but that, on the contrary, full reſtitution was made by the viceroy, and an obligation only taken from the captain to pay the price of the veſſel, if ſhe was declared a lawful prize; and on the preciſe ſame terms he had liberated a Portugueſe veſſel belonging to Macao, and two American veſſels. Theſe particulars will be more explicitly proved and elucidated on the arrival of the neceſſary papers.

The firſt time that our ambaſſador made a public notification of this matter to the miniſtry at London, on the 10th of February laſt many of the circumſtances that are now certain were then doubtful. The rights and immemorial poſſeſſion of Spain to that coaſt and ports, as well as ſeveral other titles proper to be taken into view in a pacific negociation, were not quite certain. And if the court of London had made an amicable return to the complaints made by his majeſty relative to thoſe merchants whom Spain regards as uſurpers and the violaters of treaties, and had ſhewed any deſire to terminate the affair by an amicable accommodation, a great deal of unneceſſary expence might have been ſaved. The high and menacing tone and manner in which the anſwer of the Britiſh miniſter was couched, at a time when no certain information of the particulars had arrived, made the Spaniſh cabinet entertain ſome ſuſpicions that it was made, not ſo much for the purpoſe of the diſpute in queſtion, as a pretext to break entirely with our court; for which reaſon it was thought neceſſary to take ſome precautions relative to the ſubject.

On a late occaſion a complaint was made to the court of Ruſſia as to ſome ſimilar points relative to the navigation of the South Sea. A candid anſwer being returned by that court, the affair was terminated without the leaſt diſagreement. Indeed it may be aſſerted with truth, that the manner, much more than the ſubſtance, has produced the diſputes that have taken place on this head with Great Britain.

Nevertheleſs, the king does deny what the enemies to peace have induſtriouſly circulated, that Spain extends pretenſions and rights of ſovereignty over the whole of the South Sea, as far as China. When the words are made uſe of, "In the name of the king, his ſovereignty, navigation, and excluſive commerce to the continent and iſlands of the South Sea," it is the manner in which Spain, in ſpeaking of the Indies, has always uſed theſe words—that is to ſay, to the continent, iſlands and ſeas which belong to his majeſty, ſo far as diſcoveries have been made and ſecured to him by treaties and immemorial poſſeſſion, and uniformly acquieſced in, notwithſtanding ſome infringements by individuals who have been puniſhed upon knowledge of their offences. And the king ſets up no pretenſions to any poſſeſſions, the right to which he cannot prove by irrefragable titles.

Although Spain may not have eſtabliſhments or colonies planted upon the coaſts or in the ports in diſpute, it does not follow that ſuch coaſt or port does not belong to her. If this rule were to be followed, one nation might eſtabliſh colonies on the coaſts of another nation, in America, Aſia, Africa, and Europe, by which means there would be no fixed boundaries—a circumſtance evidently abſurd.

But whatever may be the iſſue of the queſtion of right, upon a mature conſideration of the claims of both parties, the reſult of the queſtion of fact is, that the capture of the Engliſh veſſels is repaired by the reſtitution that has been made, and the conduct of the viceroy; for as to the qualification of ſuch reſtitution, and whether the prize was lawful or not, that reſpects the queſtion of right yet to be inveſtigated; that is to ſay, if it has been agreeably to, or in contradiction to the treaties relative to the rights and poſſeſſions of Spain. Laſtly, the king will readily enter into any plan by which future diſputes on this ſubject may be obviated, that no reproach may be upon him as having refuſed any means of reconciliation; and for the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and permanent peace, not only between Spain and Great Britain, but alſo between all nations; for the accompliſhment of which object his majeſty has made the greateſt efforts in all the courts of Europe; which he certainly would not have done if he had any deſign to involve England and the other European powers in a calamitous and deſtructive war.

El Conde de Florida Blanca.
Aranjuez, June 4.

Memorial of the Court of Spain, *delivered June* 13, *to* Mr. Fitzherbert, *the* Britiſh *Ambaſſador at Madrid.*

BY every treaty upon record betwixt Spain and the other nations of Europe, for upwards of two centuries, an excluſive right of property, navigation, and commerce to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, has been uniformly ſecured to Spain, England having always ſtood forth in a particular manner in ſupport of ſuch right.

By article 8th of the treaty of Utrecht (a treaty in which all the European nations may be ſaid to have taken a part) Spain and England profeſs to eſtabliſh it as a fundamental principle of agreement, that the navigation and commerce of the Weſt-Indies, under the dominion of Spain, ſhall remain in the preciſe ſituation in which they ſtood in the reign of his Catholic majeſty, Charles II. and that that rule ſhall be inviolably adhered to, and be incapable of infringement.

After this maxim, the two powers ſtipulated—That Spain ſhould never grant liberty or permiſſion to any nation to trade to or introduce their merchandizes into the Spaniſh American dominions, nor to ſell, cede, or give up, to any other nation, its lands, dominions or territories, or any part thereof. On the contrary, and in order that its territories ſhould be preſerved whole and entire, England offers to aid and aſſiſt the Spaniards in re-eſtabliſhing the limits of their American dominions, and placing them in the exact ſituation they ſtood in at the time of his ſaid Catholic majeſty, Charles II. if by accident it ſhall be diſcovered that they have undergone any alteration to the prejudice of Spain, in whatever manner or pretext ſuch alteration may have been brought about.

The vaſt extent of the Spaniſh territories, navigation, and dominion on the continent of America, iſles and ſeas contiguous to the South Sea, are clearly laid down, and authenticated by a variety of documents, laws, and formal acts of poſſeſſion in the reign of King Charles II. It is alſo clearly aſcertained, that notwithſtanding the repeated attempts made by adventurers and pirates on the Spaniſh coaſts of the South Sea and adjacent iſlands, Spain has ſtill preſerved her poſſeſſions entire, and oppoſed with ſucceſs thoſe uſurpations, by conſtantly ſending her ſhips and veſſels to take poſſeſſion of ſuch ſettlements. By theſe meaſures, and reiterated acts of poſſeſſion,

ſion, Spain has preſerved her dominion, which ſhe has extended to the borders of the Ruſſian eſtabliſhments, in that part of the world.

The viceroys of Peru and New Spain having been informed, that theſe ſeas had been for ſome years paſt more frequented than formerly; that ſmuggling had increaſed; that ſeveral uſurpations prejudicial to Spain and the general tranquillity had been ſuffered to be made; they gave orders that the weſtern coaſts of Spaniſh America, and iſlands and ſeas adjacent, ſhould be more frequently navigated and explored.

They were alſo informed, that ſeveral Ruſſian veſſels were upon the point of making commercial eſtabliſhments upon that coaſt. At the time that Spain demonſtrated to Ruſſia the inconveniences attendant upon ſuch incroachments, ſhe entered upon the negociation with Ruſſia, upon the ſuppoſition that the Ruſſian navigators of the Pacific Ocean had no orders to make eſtabliſhments within the limits of Spaniſh America, of which the Spaniards were the firſt poſſeſſors, (limits ſituated within Prince William's Strait) purpoſely to avoid all diſſentions, and in order to maintain the harmony and amity which Spain wiſhed to preſerve.

The court of Ruſſia replied, it had already given orders, that its ſubjects ſhould make no ſettlements in places belonging to other powers; and that if thoſe orders had been violated, and any had been made in Spaniſh America, they deſired the king would put a ſtop to them in a friendly manner. To this pacific language on the part of Ruſſia, Spain obſerved, that ſhe could not be anſwerable for what her officers might do at that diſtance, whoſe general orders and inſtructions were not to permit any ſettlements to be made by other nations on the continent of Spaniſh America.

Though treſpaſſes had been made by the Engliſh on ſome of the iſlands of thoſe coaſts, which had given riſe to ſimilar complaints having been made to the court of London, Spain did not know that the Engliſh had endeavoured to make any ſettlements on the northern part of the Southern Ocean, till the commanding officer of a Spaniſh ſhip, in the uſual tour of the coaſts of California, found two American veſſels in St. Laurence, or Nootka harbour, where he was going for proviſions and ſtores. Theſe veſſels he permitted to proceed on their voyage, it appearing from their papers, that they were driven there by diſtreſs, and only came in to refit.

He alſo found there the Iphigenia from Macao, under Portugueſe colours, which had a paſſport from the governor; and though he came manifeſtly with a view to trade there, yet the Spaniſh admiral, when he ſaw his inſtructions, gave him leave to depart upon his ſigning an engagement to pay the value of the veſſel, ſhould the government of Mexico declare it a lawful prize.

With this veſſel there came a ſecond, which the admiral detained; and a few days after a third, named the Argonaut, from the above-mentioned place. The captain of this latter was an Engliſhman. He came not only to trade, but brought every thing with him proper to form a ſetlement there, and to fortify it. This, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Spaniſh admiral, he perſevered in, and was detained, together with his veſſel.

After him came a fourth Engliſh veſſel, named the Princeſs Royal, and evidently for the ſame purpoſes.

She likewiſe was detained, and ſent to Port St. Blas, where the pilot of the Argonaut made away with himſelf.

The viceroy, on being informed of theſe particulars, gave orders that the captain and the veſſels ſhould be releaſed, and that they ſhould have leave to refit, without declaring them a lawful prize; and this he did, on account of the ignorance of the proprietors, and the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between the two courts of London and Madrid.

He alſo gave them leave to return to Macao with their cargo, after capitulating with them in the ſame manner as with the Portugueſe captain, and leaving the affair to be finally determined by the count de Revillagigedo, his ſucceſſor, who alſo gave them their liberty.

As ſoon as the court of Madrid had received an account of the detention of the firſt Engliſh veſſel at Nootka Sound, and before that of the ſecond arrived, it ordered its ambaſſador at London to make a report thereof to the Engliſh miniſter, which he did, on the 10th of February laſt, and to require that the parties who had planned theſe expeditions ſhould be puniſhed, in order to deter others from making ſettlements on territories occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for a number of years.

In the ambaſſador's memorial, mention was only made of the Spaniſh admiral that commanded the preſent armament, having viſited Nootka Sound in 1774, though that harbour had been frequently viſited both before and ſince, with the uſual forms of taking poſſeſſion. Theſe forms were repeated more particularly in the years 1755 and 1779, all along the coaſts as far as Prince William's Sound, and it was theſe acts that gave occaſion to the memorial made by the court of Ruſſia, as has been already noticed.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador at London did not repreſent in this memorial at that time, that the right of Spain to theſe coaſts was conformable to ancient boundaries, which had been guaranteed by England at the treaty of Utrecht, in the reign of Charles II. deeming it to be unneceſſary; as orders had been given, and veſſels had actually been ſeized on thoſe coaſts, ſo far back as 1692.

The anſwer that the Engliſh miniſtry gave, on the 26th of February, was, that they had not as yet been informed of the facts ſtated by the ambaſſador, and that the act of *violence*, mentioned in his memorial, neceſſarily ſuſpended any diſcuſſion of the claims therein, till an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding ſo injurious to Great Britain.

In addition to this haughty language of the Britiſh miniſter, he farther added, that the ſhip muſt in the firſt place be reſtored; and that with reſpect to any future ſtipulations, it would be neceſſary to wait for a more full detail of all the circumſtances of this affair.

The harſh and laconic ſtile in which this anſwer was given, made the court of Madrid ſuſpect that the king of Great Britain's miniſters were forming other plans; and they were the more induced to think ſo, as there were reports that they were going to fit out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean and the other for the Baltic. This of courſe obliged Spain to increaſe the ſmall ſquadron ſhe was getting ready to exerciſe her marine.

The court of Spain then ordered her ambaſſador at London to preſent a memorial a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, ſetting forth, that though the crown of Spain had an indubitable right to the continent, iſlands, harbours, and coaſts of that part of the world, founded on treaties and immemorial poſſeſſion, yet as the viceroy of Mexico had releaſed the veſſels that were detained, the king looked upon the affair as concluded, without entering into any diſputes or diſcuſſions on the undoubted rights of Spain; and, deſiring to give a proof of his friendſhip for Great Britain, he ſhould reſt ſatisfied if ſhe ordered that her ſubjects, in future, reſpected thoſe rights.

As if Spain, in this anſwer, had laid claim to the empire of that ocean, though ſhe only ſpoke of what belonged to her by treaties, and as if it had been ſo grievous an offence to terminate this affair by reſtitution of the only veſſel which was then known to have been taken, it excited ſuch clamour and agitation in the parliament of England, that the moſt vigorous preparations for war have been commenced; and thoſe powers diſinclined to peace charge Spain with deſigns contrary to her known principles of honour and probity, as well as to the tranquillity of Europe, which the Spaniſh monarch and his miniſters have always had in view.

While England was employed in making the greateſt armaments and preparations, that court made anſwer to the Spaniſh ambaſſador (upon the 5th of May) that the acts of violence committed againſt the Britiſh flag "rendered it neceſſary for the ſovereign to charge his miniſter at Madrid, to renew the remonſtrances (being the anſwer of England already mentioned) and to require that ſatisfaction, which his majeſty thought he had an indiſputable right to demand."

To this was added a declaration not to enter formally into the matter until a ſatisfactory anſwer was obtained; "and at the ſame time the memorial of Spain ſhould not include in it the queſtion of right;" which formed a moſt eſſential part of the diſcuſſion.

The Britiſh adminiſtration offer, in the ſame anſwer, to take the moſt effectual and pacific meaſures, that the Engliſh ſubjects ſhall not act "againſt the juſt and acknowledged rights of Spain, but that they cannot at preſent accede to the pretenſions of abſolute ſovereignty, commerce and navigation, which appeared to be the principal object of the memorials of the ambaſſador; and that the king of England conſiders it as a duty incumbent upon him to protect his ſubjects in the enjoyment of the right of continuing their fiſhery in the Pacific Ocean."

If this pretenſion is found to treſpaſs upon the ancient boundaries laid down in the reign of king Charles II. and guaranteed by England in the treaty of Utrecht, as Spain believes, it appears that that court will have good reaſon for diſputing and oppoſing this claim; and it is to be hoped that the equity of the Britiſh adminiſtration will ſuſpend and reſtrict it accordingly.

In conſequence of the foregoing anſwer, the charge d'affaires from the court of London at Madrid inſiſted, in a memorial of the 16th of May, on reſtitution of the veſſel detained at Nootka, and the property therein contained; of an indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained, and on a reparation proportioned to the injury done to the Engliſh ſubjects trading under the Britiſh flag, and that they have an indiſputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fiſhery; and to the poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtabliſhments as they ſhould form with the conſent of the natives of the country, not previouſly occupied by any of the European nations.

An explicit and prompt anſwer was deſired upon this head, in ſuch terms as might tend to calm the anxieties, and to maintain the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two courts.

The charge d'affaires having obſerved, that a ſuſpenſion of the Spaniſh armaments would contribute to tranquillity, upon the terms to be communicated by the Britiſh adminiſtration, an anſwer was made by the Spaniſh adminiſtration, that the king was ſincerely inclined to diſarm upon the principles of reciprocity, and proportioned to the circumſtances of the two courts; adding, that the court of Spain was actuated by the moſt pacific intentions, and a deſire to give every ſatisfaction and indemnification, if juſtice was not on their ſide, provided England did as much if ſhe was found to be in the wrong.

This anſwer muſt convince all the courts of Europe that the conduct of the king and his adminiſtration is conſonant to the invariable principles of juſtice, truth, and peace.

EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

Mr. Fitzherbert's *Anſwer to the foregoing Memorial.*

Sir,

IN compliance with your excellency's deſire, I have now the honour to communicate to you, in writing, what I obſerved to you in the converſation we had the day before yeſterday.

The ſubſtance of theſe obſervations are briefly theſe:

The court of London is animated with the moſt ſincere deſire of terminating the difference that at preſent ſubſiſts between it and the court of Madrid, relative to the port of Nootka, and the adjacent latitudes, by a friendly negociation; but as it is evident, upon the cleareſt principles of juſtice and reaſon, that an equal negociation cannot be opened, till matters are put in their original ſtate, and as certain acts have been committed in the latitudes in queſtion by veſſels belonging to the royal marine of Spain, againſt ſeveral Britiſh veſſels, without any repriſals having been made, of any ſort, on the part of Britain, that power is perfectly in the right to inſiſt, as a preliminary condition, upon a prompt and ſuitable reparation for theſe acts of violence; and in conſequence of this principle, the practice of nations has limited ſuch right of reparation to three articles, viz. the reſtitution of the veſſels—a full indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained by the parties injured—and finally, ſatisfaction to the ſovereign for the inſult offered to his flag. So that it is evident that the actual demands of my court, far from containing any thing to prejudice the rights or the dignity of his catholic majeſty, amount to no more in fact than what is conſtantly done by Great Britain herſelf, as well as every other maritime power, in ſimilar circumſtances.—Finally, as to the nature of the ſatisfaction which the court of London exacts on this occaſion, and on which your excellency appears to deſire ſome explanation, I am authoriſed, Sir, to aſſure

ſure you, that if his Catholic majeſty conſents to make a declaration in his name, bearing in ſubſtance, that he had determined to offer to his Britannic majeſty a juſt and ſuitable ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to his flag—ſuch offer, joined to a promiſe of making reſtitution of the veſſels captured, and to indemnify the proprietors, under the conditions ſpecified in the official letter of Mr. Merry on the 16th of May, will be regarded by his Britannic majeſty as conſtituting in itſelf the ſatisfaction demanded: and his ſaid majeſty will accept of it as ſuch by a counter-declaration on his part. I have to add, that as it appears uncertain if the veſſels the North Weſt, an American veſſel, and the Iphigenia, had truly a right to enjoy the protection of the Britiſh flag, the king will with pleaſure conſent that an examination of this queſtion, as well as that relative to the juſt amount of the loſſes ſuſtained by his ſubjects, may be left to the determination of commiſſioners to be named by the two courts.

Having thus recapitulated to your excellency the heads of what I obſerved to you in converſation, I flatter myſelf you will weigh the whole in your mind, with that ſpirit of equity and moderation which characteriſes you, that I may be in a condition of ſending to my court, as ſoon as poſſible, a ſatisfactory anſwer as to the point contained in the official paper ſent to Mr. Merry on the 4th of the month, and which, for the reaſons I have mentioned, cannot be regarded by his Britannic majeſty as fulfilling his juſt expectations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

The Count de Florida Blanca's *Reply, June* 18.

YOU will pardon me, ſir, that I cannot give my aſſent to the principles laid down in your laſt letter; as Spain maintains, on the moſt ſolid grounds, that the detention of the veſſels was made in a port, upon a coaſt, or in a bay of Spaniſh America, the commerce and navigation of which belonged excluſively to Spain, by treaties with all nations, even England herſelf.

The principles laid down cannot be adapted to the caſe. The veſſels detained attempted to make an eſtabliſhment at a port where they found a nation actually ſettled, the Spaniſh commander at Nootka having, previous to their detention, made the moſt amicable repreſentations to the aggreſſors to deſiſt from their purpoſe.

Your excellency will alſo permit me to lay before you, that it is not at all certain that the veſſels detained navigated under the Britiſh flag, although they were Engliſh veſſels; there having been reaſon to believe that they navigated under the protection of Portugueſe paſſports, furniſhed them by the governor of Macao as commercial veſſels, and not belonging to the royal marine. Your excellency will add to theſe reaſons, that by the reſtitution of theſe veſſels, their furniture and cargoes, or their value, in conſequence of the reſolution adopted by the viceroy of Mexico, which has been approved of by the king, for the ſake of peace, every thing is placed in its original ſtate, the object your excellency aims at—nothing remaining unſettled but the indemnification of loſſes, and ſatisfaction for the inſult, which ſhall alſo be regulated when evidence ſhall be given what inſult has been committed, which hitherto has not been ſufficiently explained.

However, that a quarrel may not ariſe about words, and that two nations friendly to each other may not be expoſed to the calamities of war, I have to inform you, ſir, by order of the king, that his majeſty conſents to make the declaration which your excellency propoſes in your letter, and will offer to his Britannic majeſty a juſt and ſuitable ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the honour of his flag, provided that to theſe are added either of the following explanations:

1. That in offering ſuch ſatisfaction, the inſult and the ſatisfaction ſhall be fully ſettled both in form and ſubſtance by a judgment to be pronounced by one of the kings of Europe, whom the king my maſter leaves wholly to the choice of his Britannic majeſty; for it is ſufficient to the Spaniſh monarch that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, ſhall decide as he thinks juſt.

2. That in offering a juſt and ſuitable ſatisfaction, care ſhall be taken that in the progreſs of the negociation to be opened, no facts be admitted as true but ſuch as can be fully eſtabliſhed by Great Britain with regard to the inſult offered to her flag.

3. That the ſaid ſatisfaction ſhall be given on condition that no inference be drawn therefrom to affect the rights of Spain, nor of the right of exacting from Great Britain an equivalent ſatisfaction, if it ſhall be found, in the courſe of negociation, that the king has a right to demand ſatisfaction, for the aggreſſion and uſurpation made on the Spaniſh territory, contrary to ſubſiſting treaties.

Your excellency will be pleaſed to make choice of either of theſe three explanations to the declaration your excellency propoſes, or all the three together,—and to point out any difficulty that occurs to you, that it may be obviated;—or any other mode that may tend to promote the peace which we deſire to eſtabliſh.

I have the honour to be, &c.
El Conde de Florida Blanca.

Declaration and Counter Declaration, exchanged at Madrid, *the 24th July*, 1790.

DECLARATION.

HIS Britannic majeſty having complained of the capture of certain veſſels belonging to his ſubjects in the port of Nootka, ſituated on the north-weſt coaſt of America, by an officer in the ſervice of the king; the under-ſigned counſellor and principal ſecretary of ſtate to his majeſty, being thereto duly authoriſed, declares, in the name and by the order of his ſaid majeſty, that he is willing to give ſatisfaction to his Britannic majeſty for the injury of which he has complained; fully perſuaded that his ſaid Britannic majeſty would act in the ſame manner towards the king, under ſimilar circumſtances; and his majeſty further engages to make full reſtitution of all the Britiſh veſſels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties intereſted in thoſe veſſels, for the loſſes which they ſhall have ſuſtained, as ſoon as the amount thereof ſhall have been aſcertained.

It being underſtood that this declaration is not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior diſcuſſion of any right which his majeſty may claim to form an excluſive eſtabliſhment at the port of Nootka.

In witneſs whereof I have ſigned this declaration, and ſealed it with the ſeal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

(L. S.) Signed

LE COMTE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

HIS Catholic majeſty having declared that he was willing to give ſatisfaction for the injury done to the king, by the capture of certain veſſels belonging to his ſubjects, in the bay of Nootka; and the count de Florida Blanca having ſigned, in the name and by the order of his Catholic majeſty, a declaration to this effect; and by which his ſaid majeſty likewiſe engages to make full reſtitution of the veſſels ſo captured, and to indemnify the parties intereſted in thoſe veſſels for the loſſes they ſhall have ſuſtained; the underſigned ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his majeſty to the Catholic king, being thereto duly and expreſsly authoriſed, accepts the ſaid declaration in the name of the king; and declares that his majeſty will conſider this declaration, together with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire ſatisfaction for the injury of which his majeſty has complained.

The underſigned declares, at the ſame time, that it is to be underſtood, that neither the ſaid declaration ſigned by count Florida Blanca, nor the acceptance thereof by the underſigned, in the name of the king, is to preclude or prejudice, in any reſpect, the right which his majeſty may claim to any eſtabliſhment which his ſubjects may have formed, or ſhould be deſirous of forming in future, at the ſaid bay of Nootka.

In witneſs whereof I have ſigned this counter-declaration, and ſealed it with the ſeal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

(L. S.) Signed

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

Letter from Count de Fernan Nunez *to M.* de Montmorin, *Secretary of the Foreign Department of* France.

Sir, *Paris, June* 16, 1790.

I HAVE the honour to addreſs you with this, a faithful extract of all the tranſactions which have hitherto paſſed between my court and that of London, on the ſubject of the detention of two Engliſh veſſels, which were ſeized in the bay of St. Lawrence, or Nootka, ſituated in the 50th degree to the north of California, and which were afterwards taken to the port of St. Blas.

You will obſerve by this relation,

1. That by the treaties, demarcations, takings of poſſeſſion, and the moſt decided acts of ſovereignty exerciſed by the Spaniards in theſe ſtations, from the reign of Charles II. and authoriſed by that monarch in 1692, the original vouchers for which ſhall be brought forward in the courſe of the negotiation, all the coaſt to the north of the Weſtern America, on the ſide of the South Sea, as far as beyond what is called Prince William's Sound, which is in the ſixty-firſt degree, is acknowledged to belong excluſively to Spain.

2. That the court of Ruſſia having

ing been informed of this extent of our boundary, aſſured the king, my maſter, without the leaſt delay, of the purity of its intentions in this reſpect, and added, "That it was extremely ſorry that the repeated orders iſſued to prevent the ſubjects of Ruſſia from violating, in the ſmalleſt degree, the territory belonging to another power, ſhould have been diſobeyed."

3. That the ſtate of the poſſeſſions and excluſive commerce on the ſea coaſt of the Southern Ocean, as it exiſted in the time of Charles II. had been acknowledged and defined anew by all the nations of Europe, and more particularly by England, in the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

4. That notwithſtanding the juſt title he has to a preſervation of his ancient rights, the king my maſter has approved of the conduct of the viceroy of Mexico, who, in conſequence of his general orders and inſtructions for the preſervation of peace with every power, took upon himſelf to releaſe the veſſels ſeized in the port of Nootka, upon a ſuppoſition that the conduct of their captains was a conſequence of their total ignorance with reſpect to the legitimacy of the rights of Spain on thoſe coaſts.

It is in conſequence of the deſire of his Catholic majeſty to preſerve peace to himſelf, and to eſtabliſh the general tranquillity of Europe, that he has taken the ſteps you will obſerve in the ſaid extract, and that he has commenced an amicable and direct negotiation with England, which he will finiſh with Mr. Fitzherbert, the new ambaſſador ſent from that court to the court of Madrid. We are in hopes that the conſequences of this negotiation will be favourable; but, at the ſame time, we muſt employ all the neceſſary means to make it ſo.

An immediate and exact accompliſhment of the treaty ſigned at Paris, the 15th of Auguſt 1761, under the title of the Family Compact, becomes an indiſpenſable preliminary to a ſucceſsful negotiation. It is in conſequence of the abſolute neceſſity which Spain finds of having recourſe to the ſuccour of France, that the king, my maſter, orders me to demand expreſsly what France can do in the preſent circumſtances to aſſiſt Spain, according to the mutual engagements ſtipulated by the treaties. His Catholic majeſty deſires that the armaments, as well as other proper meaſures to fulfil and realize theſe ſacred engagements, be immediately put in execution. He charges me to add farther, that the preſent ſtate of this unforeſeen buſineſs requires a very ſpeedy determination, and that the meaſures which the court of France ſhall take for his aſſiſtance, ſhall be ſo active, ſo clear, and ſo poſitive, as to prevent even the ſmalleſt ground for ſuſpicion. Otherwiſe his moſt Chriſtian majeſty muſt not be ſurpriſed that Spain ſhould ſeek other friends and different allies among all the powers of Europe, without excepting any one, upon whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe can rely in caſe of need. The ties of blood and perſonal friendſhip which unite our two ſovereigns, and particularly the reciprocal intereſt which exiſts between two nations united by nature, ſhall be reſpected in all new arrangements, as far as circumſtances will permit.

This, ſir, is the poſitive demand which I am obliged to make, and in conſequence of which I hope his moſt Chriſtian majeſty will immediately take ſuch meaſures as ſhall ſeem moſt ſuitable, in the preſent circumſtances, to ſatisfy my maſter, in an object ſo intereſting and important to the preſervation of his legal rights, and the honour of his nation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EL CONDE DE FERNAN NUNEZ.

Decree of the National Aſſembly of France, *on the Family Compact.*

THE national aſſembly deliberating on the formal propoſition of the king, contained in the letter of the miniſter, dated the 1ſt of Auguſt,

Decree, That the king be ſupplicated to make known to his Catholic majeſty, that the French nation, in taking all proper meaſures to maintain peace, will obſerve the defenſive and commercial engagements which the French government have previouſly contracted with Spain.

They further decree, that his majeſty ſhall be requeſted immediately to charge his ambaſſador in Spain to negotiate with the miniſter of his Catholic majeſty to the effect of perpetuating and renewing, by a national treaty, the ties ſo uſeful to the two nations, and to fix with preciſion and clearneſs every ſtipulation which ſhall be ſtrictly conformable to the views of general peace, and to the principles of juſtice, which will be for ever the policy of the French.

The national aſſembly farther taking into conſideration the armaments of the different nations of Europe—their progreſſive increaſe, and the ſafety of the French colonies and commerce, decree, that the king ſhall be prayed to give orders, that the French marine force in commiſſion ſhall be increaſed to forty-five ſhips of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, and other veſſels.

Convention between his Britannic *Majeſty and the king of* Spain; *ſigned at the* Eſcurial, *the 28th of October,* 1790.

THEIR Britannic and Catholic majeſties being deſirous of terminating, by a ſpeedy and ſolid agreement, the differences which have lately ariſen between the two crowns, have adjudged that the beſt way of attaining this ſalutary object would be that of an amicable arrangement, which, ſetting aſide all retroſpective diſcuſſion of the rights and pretenſions of the two parties, ſhould fix their reſpective ſituation for the future on a baſis conformable to their true intereſts, as well as to the mutual deſire with which their ſaid majeſties are animated, of eſtabliſhing with each other, in every thing and in all places, the moſt perfect friendſhip, harmony, and good correſpondence. In this view, they have named and conſtituted for their plenipotentiaries; to wit, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, Alleyne Fitzherbert, eſq. one of his ſaid majeſty's privy council in Great Britain and Ireland, and his ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic majeſty; and, on the part of his Catholic majeſty, Don Joſeph Monino, count of Florida Blanca, knight grand croſs of the royal Spaniſh order of Charles III. councellor of ſtate to his ſaid majeſty, and his principal ſecretary of ſtate, and of the diſpatches; who, after having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. It is agreed that the buildings and tracts of land, ſituated on the north-weſt coaſt of the continent of North America, or on iſlands adjacent to that continent, of which the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty were diſpoſſeſſed, about the month of April 1789, by a Spaniſh officer, ſhall be reſtored to the ſaid Britiſh ſubjects.

Art. II. And further, that a juſt reparation ſhall be made, according to the nature of the caſe, for all acts of violence or hoſtility, which may have been committed ſubſequent to the month of April 1789, by the ſubjects of either of the contracting parties againſt the ſubjects of the other; and that, in caſe any of the ſaid reſpective ſubjects ſhall, ſince the ſame period, have been forcibly diſpoſſeſſed of their lands, buildings, veſſels, merchandiſe, and other property whatever, on the ſaid continent, or on the ſeas or iſlands adjacent, they ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion thereof, or a juſt compenſation ſhall be made to them for the loſſes which they have ſuſtained.

Art. III. And in order to ſtrengthen the bonds of friendſhip, and to preſerve in future a perfect harmony and good underſtanding between the two contracting parties, it is agreed, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhall not be diſturbed or moleſted, either in navigating or carrying on their fiſheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coaſts of thoſe ſeas, in places not already occupied, for the purpoſe of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making ſettlements there; the whole ſubject, nevertheleſs, to the reſtrictions and proviſions ſpecified in the three following articles:

Art. IV. His Britannic majeſty engages to take the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent the navigation and fiſhery of his ſubjects in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements; and, with this view, it is moreover expreſsly ſtipulated, that Britiſh ſubjects ſhall not navigate, or carry on their fiſhery in the ſaid ſeas, within the ſpace of ten ſea leagues from any part of the coaſts already occupied by Spain.

Art. V. It is agreed, that as well in the places which are to be reſtored to the Britiſh ſubjects, by virtue of the firſt article, as in all other parts of the north-weſtern coaſts of North America, or of the iſlands adjacent, ſituate to the north of the parts of the ſaid coaſt already occupied by Spain, wherever the ſubjects of either of the two powers ſhall have made ſettlements ſince the month of April 1789, or ſhall hereafter make any, the ſubjects of the other ſhall have free acceſs, and ſhall carry on their trade without any diſturbance or moleſtation.

Art. VI. It is further agreed, with reſpect to the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of South America, and to the iſlands adjacent, that no ſettlement ſhall be formed hereafter, by the reſpective ſubjects, in ſuch part of thoſe coaſts as are ſituated to the ſouth of thoſe parts of the ſame coaſts, and of the iſlands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain; provided that the ſaid reſpective ſubjects ſhall retain the liberty of landing on the coaſts and iſlands ſo ſituated, for the purpoſes of their fiſhery, and of erecting thereon huts, and other temporary buildings, ſerving only for thoſe purpoſes.

Art. VII. In all caſes of complaint, or infraction of the articles of the preſent convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themſelves previouſly to commit any violence or act of force, ſhall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumſtances, to their reſpective courts, who will terminate ſuch differences in an amicable manner.

Art. VIII. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified and confirmed in the ſpace of ſix weeks, to be computed from the day of its ſignature, or ſooner, if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underſigned plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, have, in their names, and in virtue of our reſpective full powers, ſigned the preſent convention, and ſet thereto the ſeals of our arms.

Done at the palace of St. Laurence, the 28th of October, 1790.

(L.S.) ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.
(L.S.) EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, *on the Convention with* Spain; *preſented Nov.* 24.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The humble Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, approach your majeſty with hearts full of gratitude, upon the agreeable proſpect of a continuance of eſtabliſhed peace by the convention with Spain.

Deeply affected with the injuries ſuſtained by our fellow-ſubjects from that nation, we concurred in the general ſentiments of the whole kingdom, expreſſed by the two houſes of parliament, on receiving your majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage in the laſt ſeſſion; and we beheld with confidence the vigorous meaſures which were adopted to gain full ſatisfaction for the injuries done, and to maintain the honour and dignity of the Britiſh empire; to which meaſures, and to your majeſty's paternal regard for the intereſts of your people, next to Divine Providence, we thankfully aſcribe the happy iſſue of the late diſagreements.

Your majeſty's faithful citizens of London are too well convinced of the ſalutary conſequences of continued peace, to delay their congratulations upon the reconciliation with Spain; for, notwithſtanding they have ever manifeſted their readineſs to bear a proportion of burthens created by the proſecution of a juſt war, they cannot but moſt ardently rejoice at the termination of pending hoſtilities; at a time when the reduction of the national debt is an object of importance to your people.

Deign, ſire, to accept our moſt cordial wiſhes, that your majeſty's reign may long continue in peace and proſperity over a grateful and affectionate people.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

I RECEIVE with great pleaſure

the dutiful and loyal addreſs of the city of London: the protection of the navigation and commerce of my ſubjects is a principal object of my attention; and I am confident that I may always expect their unanimous ſupport in ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for that purpoſe. It affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction to reflect, that on the preſent occaſion, this object has been obtained without diſturbing the public tranquillity, which is productive of ſuch great and increaſing advantages to my people.

Treaty of Peace concluded between the King of Sweden *and the Empreſs of all the* Ruſſias, *Auguſt* 11.

In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity!

HIS majeſty the king of Sweden, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, equally deſirous of putting an end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-eſtabliſh the friendſhip, harmony, and good neighbourhood, which have long ſubſiſted between their reſpective ſtates and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions, and with a view to realize them, they have appointed and authorized, viz. his majeſty the king of Sweden, the ſieur Guſtavus d'Armfelt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. &c. and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, the ſieur Otho Henry d'Igelſtrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authoriſed, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. There ſhall be henceforward between his majeſty the king of Sweden, and his eſtates, countries, and nations on one part, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and her eſtates, countries and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by ſea and land; and conſequently, the moſt ſpeedy orders for the ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhall be given by each party. Whatever is paſt ſhall be forgotten: attention will only be paid to the re-eſtabliſhment of that harmony and mutual good-will, which has been interrupted by the preſent war.

Art. II. The limits and frontiers ſhall, on each ſide, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the preſent war.

Art. III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, ſhall be evacuated as ſpeedily as poſſible, or 14 days after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

Art. IV. All priſoners of war, or others, who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent parties during the courſe of hoſtilities, ſhall be ſet at liberty by each party without ranſom; and they ſhall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance, but they ſhall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each reſpective ſtate.

Art. V. And, in order to prevent the giving the leaſt occaſion for a miſunderſtanding at ſea between the contracting parties, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more Swediſh men of war, whether ſmall or great, ſhall paſs by the forts of her Imperial majeſty, they ſhall be obliged to give a ſalute in the Swediſh manner; which ſhall be immediately anſwered by a ſalute in the Ruſſian mode. The ſame ſhall be obſerved by Ruſſian men of war, whether one or more; they ſhall be obliged to ſalute before the forts of his Swediſh majeſty, and they ſhall be anſwered by a Swediſh ſalute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties ſhall order, as ſpeedily as poſſible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of ſaluting between Swediſh and Ruſſian ſhips ſhall be eſtabliſhed, whether at ſea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent miſtakes in the above caſe, ſhips of war belonging to either party ſhall not ſalute each other.

Art. VI. Her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias has alſo agreed, that his Swediſh majeſty ſhall be at liberty to buy every year, corn to the amount of 50,000 roubles, in the ports of the Gulph of Finland and of the Baltic ſea, provided it be proved, that it is for the uſe of his Swediſh majeſty, or for the uſe of ſome of his ſubjects duly authorized by his majeſty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years ſhall not be included, nor ſuch years in which, for ſome important reaſons, her Imperial majeſty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

Art. VII. As the eagerneſs of the high contracting parties for the ſpeedy termination of thoſe evils with which their reſpective ſubjects have been afflicted in conſequence of war does not allow them time for the regulation of many points and objects tending to eſtabliſh firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promiſe to pay attention to thoſe points and objects; and to diſcuſs and regulate them amicably by means of ambaſſadors, or plenipotentiary miniſters, whom they ſhall appoint immediately after the concluſion of the preſent treaty of peace.

Art. VIII. The ratifications of the preſent treaty of peace ſhall be exchanged within the ſpace of ſix days, or ſooner if poſſible.

In teſtimony whereof, we have ſigned the preſent treaty of peace, and ſealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Vercle, near the river Kymene, between the advanced poſts of each camp, the 11th of Auguſt, 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON D'ARMFELT.
OTHO, BARON D'IGELSTROM.

Speech of John *Earl of* Weſtmorland, *Lord Lieutenant* of Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, Jan.* 21.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE king having been graciouſly pleaſed to place me in the government of this kingdom, I have his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament; and it affords me peculiar ſatisfaction that I enter upon the diſcharge of this moſt important truſt, at a period, when this country, in common with the reſt of his majeſty's dominions, is in the ſecure enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, and of the ineſtimable advantages ariſing from our free conſtitution.

This happy ſituation will undoubtedly encourage you to perſevere in the maintenance of good government, and to adhere to that wiſe ſyſtem of policy which has eſtabliſhed the credit, the induſtry, and the proſperity of your country upon a firm and ſteady foundation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, and I truſt you will make ſuch proviſions as ſhall be neceſſary for the exigencies of the ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your zeal for the intereſts of this country will naturally direct your attention to whatever can increaſe the wealth and extend the induſtry of Ireland; her agriculture and linen manufacture will claim your eſpecial care; and the inſtitutions of the charter and other proteſtant ſchools, will, I am perſuaded, receive from you that conſideration which the intereſts of religion and the good education of youth peculiarly demand. I earneſtly recommend to your attention the improving and continuing ſuch laws as experience hath ſhewn to be of national benefit, and I have the king's commands to aſſure you that ſuch meaſures as may contribute to that end will meet with his majeſty's moſt gracious concurrence.

Impreſſed with the deep ſenſe of the diſtinguiſhed honour which his majeſty has conferred upon me by my appointment to this arduous ſituation, I ſhall endeavour with the utmoſt zeal and attention to promote the happineſs and welfare of Ireland; fully ſenſible that I cannot otherwiſe hope, either to render my ſervices acceptable to my ſovereign, or to enſure your favourable opinion and confidence.

On the Addreſs to his Majeſty being preſented to the Lords, Lord Portarlington *moved the following Amendment: "To lay before his "Majeſty the apprehenſions this Houſe "entertains of Miniſterial Influence; "and its hope, that his Majeſty will "remove them, by aboliſhing Eſta- "bliſhments ſo unneceſſary, burthen- "ſome, and alarming, &c."—which being rejected, the following Proteſt was entered:*

DISSENTIENT.

BECAUSE we conceive it to be the peculiar duty of the peers of this realm, as hereditary guardians of the conſtitution, and counſellors of the crown, diligently and unremittingly to watch over the proceedings of adminiſtration, and to ſeize on the earlieſt opportunity of informing their ſovereign, by humble addreſs, of every attempt which ſhall appear to them of a tendency to injure his ſubjects of Ireland in their liberties, privileges, or properties, either by acts of ſtate, dangerous to freedom, or by an inordinate expenditure of the public treaſure, eſpecially when ſuch profuſion is manifeſtly meant for the attainment of the worſt of purpoſes, an undue and unconſtitutional influence in parliament; a duty which is rendered in us ſtill more indiſpenſable, inaſmuch as we are, from our ſituation, denied the honour, happineſs, and high advantage of his majeſty's royal preſence, and conſequent paternal inſpection.

Becauſe we conceive that the preſent occaſion peculiarly and indiſpenſably demands our performance of the above-mentioned duty from the following cauſes:

1ſt, That we cannot doubt of the purpoſes to which the new meaſures referred to in the amendment were adapted, inaſmuch as they took place at a critical time, when the miniſters of the crown in Ireland were making extraordinary, public, and indecent efforts to procure a majority in parliament; and inaſmuch as the new charges on the eſtabliſhment have been diſtributed to members of parliament, or to their immediate connexions, and this too at a critical conjuncture, when the idea of combating an oppoſition to the will of the miniſter, by increaſe of national expence, was publicly avowed; neither have ſuch of thoſe meaſures as have proceeded to the deprivation of office or penſion been attended with any charge of official or judicial neglect, nor with any change in the condition of the perſons ſo deprived, nor has any cauſe whatſoever been advanced or preſumed, excepting only their parliamentary conduct; and we are the rather inclined to believe ſuch conduct to have been the ſole cauſe, as the principle of making members of parliament victims of their vote has not only been adopted, but expreſſed.

2dly, That though the diſmiſſal of perſons from place or penſion for their parliamentary conduct, and the multiplication of offices or rather of ſalaries with the name of office, for unconſtitutional purpoſes, are meaſures not new to this country, having ever been the ſad and only expedient of corrupt miniſters, yet muſt we obſerve that we cannot recollect any period when, in ſo ſhort a time, ſo many of theſe grievances have been crowded together, and inflicted upon the nation.

3dly, That a policy ſo venal and deſtructive, eſtabliſhed on principles both of coercion and corruption, muſt in this country, if ſuffered to take root, by the worſt means, render any miniſter completely abſolute, inaſmuch as by creating on every occaſion, ſuch as his own folly and preſumption may ſuggeſt, places and penſions, and annual gratifications with names annexed, he muſt in the end totally deſtroy the balance of the conſtitution, and make the two houſes of parliament his repreſentatives only, not the repreſentatives of their own honour, or of the people; to which important conſideration may be added, that a policy of this nature is the more dangerous in Ireland, becauſe we have not as yet been able, from the oppoſition of miniſters, to obtain thoſe prudent acts which in England exiſt, and check its operation, ſuch as a place and penſion bill, in conſequence whereof we are expoſed to many dangers, againſt which the wiſdom of England has fortified her conſtitution. The miniſters in Ireland may make not only their public errors, but even their private paſſions and corrupt affections the ignominious cauſe of loading the Iriſh eſtabliſhment.

4thly, That whereas we were, by the general declarations of our late viceroy, confirmed in a belief that the expences of this country were exceſſive, and by thoſe ſame declarations taught to expect a reduction; thus having his own authority, if that were neceſſary, not only againſt the expences which he found, but againſt the corruptions which he ſuperadded, we ſhould think ourſelves deficient indeed in our public duty, if we did not declare our cordial diſapprobation of thoſe enormous charges which miniſters themſelves

ſelves have not heſitated to condemn, even while they encreaſed them.

5thly, That as we ſhall ever be ready to check licentiouſneſs in whatever quarter it may make its appearance, ſo ſhall we more eſpecially be ardent in our endeavours to check the licentiouſneſs of miniſters in the application of the national treaſure; an offence, which, in its effect, is not of ſhort duration, but entails upon us permanent and prodigal annual charges with all their attendant baneful influence, and ultimately tends to bring about a diſſolution of public virtue as well as of conſtitutional freedom, ſetting up in the place of both, maxims of government falſe and frivolous, inſolent and diſſolute; and we cannot avoid expreſſing our opinion that the preſent miniſters of the crown, having ſhewn themſelves particularly indignant at the idea of popular exceſſes, are, when they commit miniſterial exceſſes, expoſed to more than ordinary obſervation and animadverſion.

6thly, That the attempts to extend venal influence beyond the limits and decency of former times, have been accompanied with attempts to advance principles and doctrines inconſiſtent with the tenour of the conſtitution.

From all theſe reaſons, we ſhould hold ourſelves inexcuſeable to our country, to our king, and to our own honour, if, under the conviction we now feel, the alarms we now entertain, we ſhould not ſeize the earlieſt opportunity of laying at the feet of our moſt gracious ſovereign, ſuch information as it is our bounden duty to afford him, and of expreſſing our humble determination, a determination which cannot fail of being approved by the benignant father of his people, to purſue ſuch loyal and conſtitutional ſteps as may relieve our country from the grievances which have been lately inflicted on her, and from the danger of a repetition of the ſame.

We have alſo thought it expedient, by the propoſed amendment, to obtain the ſenſe of miniſtry, under the preſent chief governor, on the ſubject of the redreſs of national grievances, to the end that we might either co-operate with them towards the attainment of ſuch redreſs, or by our own ſincere and humble, but perſiſting efforts, endeavour to adminiſter relief to the people of Ireland.

Cork and Orrery,
Moira,
Arran,
Charlemont,
Portarlington,
Lismore,
Leinster, by proxy,
Ross, by proxy.

Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, *on preſenting the Bills of Supply to the Lord Lieutenant.*

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

EVERY year's experience, ſince 1785, has ſhewn the wiſdom of the principle which the commons then eſtabliſhed, of preventing the further accumulation of national debt. Under the influence of that principle, public credit has riſen ſo high as to admit of an increaſe to the ſinking fund, by a conſiderable diminution in the intereſt of the public debt. Private credit too has felt its ſalutary effects; and the advanced ſtate of both has given vigour to induſtry, and a ſteady aid to mercantile exertion.

We now ſee our commerce extended to a degree unknown in any former time, our agriculture increaſed even beyond the moſt ſanguine ſpeculation, and our linen manufacture riſen largely in its value. Such is the preſent proſperous ſituation of this country, and we behold it with the more ſatisfaction, becauſe it has not ariſen from temporary or accidental circumſtances, but has proceeded in a ſteady and regular courſe, from a wiſe ſyſtem uniformly adhered to, and from a confidence of the nation in a continuance of that ſyſtem, from the ſecurity given to private property againſt the violence of outrage, and above all, from that content and peaceable ſubmiſſion to the laws, without which no kingdom, however bleſſed in conſtitution, climate, ſoil, or ſituation, can be rich, powerful, or happy.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland *to both Houſes of Parliament, April* 5.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

As the important objects that have engaged your attention during this ſeſſion of parliament are now accompliſhed, I have great pleaſure in ſignifying his majeſty's approbation of the zeal you have ſhewn for the public intereſt, and the diſpatch with which you have concluded the national buſineſs.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have the king's commands to return you his ſincere thanks for the chearfulneſs with which you have voted the ſupplies: you may depend upon their being faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am directed to teſtify his majeſty's ſatisfaction at the ſalutary proviſions which have been made during the preſent parliament, for the encouragement of agriculture, the extenſion of commerce, the ſecurity of property, and the due execution of the law: regulations which have encreaſed the wealth, advanced the trade, and raiſed the credit of your country to a degree unexampled in any former period.

While I return his majeſty's thanks for the many marks of your attachment to his perſon, family and government, I muſt expreſs his confidence that you will continue to inculcate in the minds of the people that ſpirit of loyalty, and that diſpoſition to promote the tranquillity and general welfare of the country, which have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed your conduct.

Urged by every principle of laudable ambition and public duty, I ſhall unremittingly endeavour to cultivate your true intereſt, in maintaining good order and government, and to contribute by every means in my power to advance the proſperity of this riſing country.

The Seventh Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom. Preſented to the Houſe of Commons 18*th June,* 1782.

THE act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for continuing and amending the act of the preceding ſeſſion, by which we were firſt appointed, having, by a particular clauſe, " authorized and impowered us to examine the ſeveral accounts of extraordinary ſervices incurred and not provided for by parliament, which have been laid before the houſe of commons ſince the 1ſt of January,

"nuary, 1776," we conſidered that clauſe not as imperative upon us, to ſtop ſhort in the purſuit we were at that time engaged in, under the authority of the former act, and to proceed immediately to the examination of theſe accounts; but rather as the deſignation of a ſubject, ſelected from among the numerous objects committed to us in general terms by the firſt act, as the next for our conſideration, after we ſhould have compleated the inquiries we were then purſuing. Thoſe inquiries being finiſhed, we have, in obedience to the intention of the legiſlature, thus ſignified to us, directed our attention to the accounts of the extraordinary ſervices incurred and not provided for by parliament, which have been laid before the houſe of commons ſince the 1ſt of January, 1776.

In this wide field, where the objects are ſo numerous, ſo various, and ſo complicated, we have, in our choice of the ſubject, been attentive to the public voice, as far as we have been able to collect it, and have ſelected for our inquiry, as much ſuſpected of abuſe, that part of the public money granted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army, which has been expended in North America; endeavouring to trace it from its iſſue out of the exchequer to the final diſpoſition of it in that country, with a view to diſcover whether any part of it has been, and by what means, intercepted in its paſſage or diverted in its application.

We entered upon this inquiry ſenſible of many obvious and diſcouraging difficulties in our way. This money is expended in a diſtant country: the evidence of the material circumſtances of every tranſaction of expenditure is in that country; except where, in a few inſtances, we have had it in our power to apply to an accountant himſelf, who has either paſſed his accounts in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, or brought in his hand his vouchers, fair and regular upon the face of them. By what means then are we to detect (if ſuch there has been) peculation, fraud, or miſapplication?

We admit no charge againſt perſons abroad, who have no opportunity of being heard in their own defence; and we are cautious that our examination does not lead to ſelf-accuſation. Thus deſtitute of the proper evidence, and with ſo unpromiſing a proſpect before us, we ſet out in ſearch of ſuch materials as we could find, and as the nature and circumſtances of the ſubject would afford.

We extracted from the Journals, and from the accounts preſented to the houſe of commons, the ſums granted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army every year, from the 1ſt of January, 1776, to the 31ſt of December laſt; the total of theſe ſums is 19,502,969*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

We obtained, by requiſition from the office of the paymaſter general of the forces, an account of the money iſſued to Meſſrs. Harley and Drummond, purſuant to his majeſty's warrants, for the extraordinary ſervices of his majeſty's forces ſerving in North America during the ſame period. This ſum amounts to 10,083,863*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

We proceeded, in the next place, to inquire by what means this money paſſed to North America: of this we received information from Thomas Neale, eſq. the agent in London to Meſſrs. Harley and

Drummond, who are engaged in a contract with government to make theſe remittances for a commiſſion of one and a half per cent. clear of all fees of office and expence of tranſportation. All this money paſſes from the exchequer, through the hands of the paymaſter general of the forces, to the remitters, and from them to their agents in North America; who pay it to the deputy paymaſter general of the forces reſiding in that country. It paſſes from the exchequer to the remitters in the following manner:

When the commander in chief in North America ſends to the agents a requiſition, ſpecifying a certain ſum to be wanted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army for the enſuing quarter, the agents, in conſequence of this requiſition, draw bills upon the remitters, and tranſmit to them the requiſition, with a liſt of the bills annexed; upon the receipt of which, the remitters apply by memorial to the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury for money to extinguiſh thoſe bills, and receive from them a warrant upon the paymaſter general of the forces for the payment of a ſum upon account, for the uſe of his majeſty's forces in North America: this warrant being ſatisfied by the iſſue from the exchequer to the paymaſter general, in conſequence of a treaſury letter and order of the auditor, the paymaſter general gives to the remitters his draft for it upon the bank. If the commander in chief makes no requiſition, the agents themſelves ſend to the remitters an account of what money will be wanted, and they apply for it to the treaſury, and receive it in like manner from the paymaſter general of the forces.

There are two ways by which this money goes from the remitters into the hands of their agents: the one is by bills thus drawn by them upon the remitters; which bills they receive the value for there, and the remitters diſcharge when preſented to them in London; the other is by ſending out to them actual caſh; this is done according to ſpecial directions given for that purpoſe by the lords of the treaſury to the remitters, whenever it becomes neceſſary to ſupport the exchange by increaſing the quantity of current caſh in the hands of the agents.

Having thus traced this money into the hands of the deputy paymaſter general abroad, our next ſtep was to ſee by what means, and for what purpoſes, it was taken out of his hands: lieutenant general ſir William Howe, late commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in North America, and lieutenant general earl Cornwallis, ſupplied us with this information.

This money cannot be iſſued by the deputy paymaſter general, without the authority of the commander in chief, exerciſed either by himſelf or by ſome general officer to whom he has from neceſſity delegated that authority. There are certain departments in the army, to the preſiding officers of which is entruſted the expenditure of ſo much of the public money as the ſervice of thoſe ſeveral departments requires, and who are accountable to the public for all they receive; theſe officers are, the ſecretary to the commander in chief, the paymaſter of the provincial forces, the quarter maſter general, the barrack maſter general, the commiſſary general, the chief engineer, the ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, the bridge maſter, the purveyor,

purveyor of the hoſpital, and the commiſſary of priſoners.

The commander in chief directs money into the hands of theſe accountants, by his warrant to the deputy paymaſter general, requiring him to pay to the officer named a certain ſum for the purpoſe therein ſpecified. Theſe warrants are of two kinds; temporary, and final: the temporary warrant is for money upon account, and granted upon the application of the officer, to enable him to carry on the ſervice: the final warrant is for money to reimburſe the officer expences actually incurred, and mentions that the vouchers are lodged with that officer.

Every quarter, or as ſoon after as the ſervice will admit, theſe officers make an abſtract of all the ſums they have expended in their ſeveral departments during that quarter, digeſted under different heads of expence. Every officer carries his abſtract to the commander in chief for his inſpection, and for the purpoſe of being reimburſed the amount of that abſtract. If, upon examination, no objection ariſes to any of the articles, he grants to the officer a final warrant upon the deputy paymaſter general, for the total ſum contained in the abſtract: upon production of this warrant, with the abſtract annexed, at the pay office of the army, the officer takes up and cancels, as being of no uſe, the temporary warrants he has received in that quarter; and, deducting from the ſum in the abſtract the ſums contained in the temporary warrants, he receives the balance, leaving both the final warrant and abſtract with the deputy paymaſter general; who ſends them every quarter to the pay-office of the army in England, as vouchers for the paymaſter general of the forces, upon paſſing his account before the auditors of the impreſt.

Through theſe channels is the money, granted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army, conveyed into the hands of certain officers intruſted with and reſponſible for the expenditure of that money: how this expenditure has been conducted, was the next, and the material ſubject of our inquiry.

The quarter maſter general, the barrack maſter general, the commiſſary general, and the chief engineer, are the officers to whoſe management the greateſt ſhare of this money is committed; and therefore to them we principally directed our attention: we examined ſuch of them as we could find, who either were then, or had been employed in theſe departments; and collected what information we could from the vouchers in their poſſeſſion, or from thoſe they had delivered into the office of the auditors of the impreſt; all of which were, in conſequence of our requiſition, ſubmitted to our inſpection.

Having had reaſon to believe, before the paſſing of the laſt act, that it was the intention of parliament to refer to us the conſideration of the extraordinaries of the army; and having been informed that brigadier general William Dalrymple, quarter maſter general; Peter Paumier, eſq. a deputy commiſſary general; and Mr. Abijah Willard, commiſſary of live cattle to his majeſty's forces in North America, were then in London, and about to return to America—though engaged at that time upon other ſubjects, under the directions of the former act, we availed ourſelves of that opportunity to receive from them the information they were able to give us, relative to their reſpective departments.

We obtained from the treaſury the liſts of warrants granted by the commanders in chief in North America upon the deputy paymaſters general there, and tranſmitted to the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, from the 1ſt of January 1776 to the 31ſt of December laſt. The total ſum contained in theſe liſts is 7,725,828 *l.* 12 *s.* 1½ *d.* Of which there appears to have been iſſued during that period, by the commander in chief at New York, to the officers or deputies in theſe four departments, the ſums following: to the quarter maſters general, 1,688,379 *l.* 15 *s.* 3¼ *d.*; to the barrack maſters general, 662,419 *l.* 0 *s.* 5½ *d.*; to the commiſſaries general, 1,521,076 *l.* 9 *s.* 8 *d.*; to the chief engineers, 322,308 *l.* 10 *s.* 2¼ *d.*; amounting together to the ſum of 4,194,183 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.*: and to have been iſſued by the commanders in chief of his majeſty's forces in Canada, for the extraordinary ſervices of the army in general in that province, from the 1ſt of June 1776 to the 23d of October 1781, the ſum of 2,236,029 *l.* 11 *s.* 7 *d.*

As the deputy paymaſters general of the forces abroad tranſmit, from time to time, to the pay-office of the army in England, the warrants of the commanders in chief which have been paid by them—that we might omit no means of information of the ſums iſſued, we procured from the pay office of the army a liſt of theſe warrants; in which we find other ſums, iſſued during the ſame period, to officers in the department of the commiſſary general, not included in the quarterly liſts received from the treaſury, amounting together to the ſum of 193,000 *l.*; which, being added to the ſum of 1,521,076 *l.* 9 *s.* 8 *d.* make the total ſum, iſſued to the commiſſaries at New York, 1,714,076 *l.* 9 *s.* 8 *d.*; and the total ſum iſſued to theſe four departments there, 4,387,183 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.*

We required from the office of the auditors of the impreſt a liſt of all thoſe perſons who have been employed in the expenditure of the public money for the army ſervices in North America, and who had either paſſed or delivered in their accounts to that office ſince the 1ſt of January 1776. We examined the officers whoſe names we found inſerted in theſe liſts, and who were within the reach of our application; (that is to ſay) Robert Mackenzie, eſquire, ſecretary and paymaſter to lieutenant general ſir William Howe; major general ſir William Erſkine, and William lord Cathcart, quarter maſters general; lieutenant colonel William Shirreff, and major Richard England, deputy quarter maſters general. We examined lieutenant colonel George Clerk, barrack maſter general; and John Montreſor, eſquire, chief engineer, whoſe names are not in this liſt, their accounts not being as yet delivered in. Daniel Chamier and Daniel Wier, eſquires, the two commiſſaries general during that period, are both dead: none of the accounts of either, and a few only of the vouchers of the latter, are in the auditors office; and therefore the article of proviſions, though a very important and expenſive branch of this expenditure, and many other articles of expence in that department, were not within our reach in this inquiry. We examined alſo capt. David Laird, the agent for victuallers ſtore ſhips and ſmall craft; and Mr. William Butler, an aſſiſtant commiſſary.

From the information given by theſe ſeveral officers, and from the vouchers and papers they have ſupplied us with, we have been able to acquire ſome knowledge of the rules by which theſe departments have been governed; and to trace, in ſome meaſure, the manner in which theſe branches of the public expenditure have been conducted in North America.

The ſubjects of expence, which theſe officers are employed about, may be diſtinguiſhed under two general heads; the purchaſe of articles wanted for the uſe of the army, and the payment for ſervices performed.

The preſiding officers in theſe departments, though they are the perſons who muſt render the account, yet, from the extent and multiplicity of their buſineſs, can very ſeldom themſelves attend either to the purchaſe or the payment: they have their deputies, aſſiſtants, ſuperintendants, agents, inſpectors, conductors, clerks, and other officers under them, who are the acting perſons entruſted with the conduct of different parts of the tranſaction, and upon whoſe knowledge and fidelity they rely for the due execution of that truſt. Some of theſe inferior officers make the bargains, ſome attend to and certify the execution, others are employed in the payments, and take the receipts: each department has its office where the payments are made. The perſon who receives, muſt be either the perſon himſelf who is entitled, or his aſſignee or agent; and he muſt produce an order, ticket, or certificate of the proper officer, either directing the payment, or authenticating the material circumſtances of the purchaſe, or ſervice. The receipts are generally taken in the name of the principal, whoever the officer may be that pays them; becauſe, the warrants of the commander in chief being made payable to the principal, he, by receiving the ſums, becomes the only perſon accountable; and he cannot diſcharge himſelf but by vouchers, which upon the face of them appear to be for payments made by him: but there are inſtances, where the auditors of the impreſt have, in particular caſes, allowed receipts, taken in the name of the deputy, to be vouchers for the principal.

The payments are, for the moſt part, made in dollars, at four ſhillings and eight-pence each ſterling, but computed in New York currency, which is to ſterling in the proportion of twelve to ſeven; the ſums we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter are all in ſterling.

The price paid for the purchaſe of the articles wanted varied according to the demands of the army, and the means of ſupply; but the price of many of the ſervices was regulated and fixed.

It was not practicable for us to examine into the circumſtances attending the purchaſe of the ſtores, materials, and variety of articles uſed in the ſeveral departments: we could form no judgment of the neceſſity there was for procuring them, or of the value, or of the price; the means of information were not within our reach; and therefore we directed our attention to the other branch of expence, the ſervices, as a ſubject that bore the appearance at leaſt of a more ſucceſsful inveſtigation.

The movements and various occaſions of the army rendered it neceſſary to employ a great number of veſſels of different kinds, with pilots and ſeamen, and many waggons, horſes, drivers, artificers, and labourers. Of the veſſels, waggons, and horſes, very few were purchaſed by government for the uſe of the army; by far the greateſt part of them were hired by the month, or the day, and very many of them kept in continual pay: the hire of all theſe, which conſtitutes a very conſiderable part of the expenditure, was, in ſome caſes, uncertain, and depended upon circumſtances; but in many it was regulated, and ſettled at a certain price. The hire of a veſſel under thirty tons was three pence halfpenny a day *per* ton; the wages of each ſeaman was two ſhillings and four-pence a day, with a ſoldier's ration, and one ſixth of a quart of rum. The hire of a veſſel of thirty tons and upwards was ten ſhillings a month *per* ton, until May 1777, when the rate of wages, and the price of proviſions, and of naval ſtores, being increaſed, it was raiſed to thirteen ſhillings; the owner was engaged to find the proportion of ſix men to every hundred tons, to victual them, and to keep the veſſel in repair. The hire, by the day, of a ſmall waggon, with one driver and two horſes, was ſeven ſhillings; of a large waggon, with one driver and four horſes, twelve ſhillings; of a ſingle horſe, one ſhilling and nine-pence; of a driver alone, from ſeven-pence to one ſhilling and nine-pence; of a common labourer, from ſeven-pence to two ſhillings and four-pence.

All the veſſels and ſmall craft (except thoſe in the engineer's department) were at firſt procured by and under the inſpection and management of the quarter maſter general; but, the buſineſs of that office increaſing, the commander in chief, by warrant, dated 1ſt of January 1777, created an officer to be agent for victuallers ſtore ſhips and ſmall craft: he was called the ſuperintendant of veſſels; and to his charge were committed all the veſſels and ſmall craft, with their appendages, employed in the ſervice of the army (except thoſe attached to the chief engineer, which were left ſtill to remain under his care:) he was enjoined to ſee that they were properly manned and equipped, and juſtly rated as to their tonnage; he was authorized to charter or hire veſſels for inland navigation, when neceſſary, and to appropriate to the ſeveral departments the number they wanted, and ſuch as were beſt conſtructed for the reſpective ſervices. Though the quarter maſter general was thus relieved from the trouble of providing and ſuperintending the veſſels, pilots, and ſeamen, yet the payment of the hire of them was ſtill left to his office, and continued there until the beginning of the year 1778; when the commander in chief iſſued orders, that the hire ſhould be paid in the office of that department where they were employed. The mode of payment was this: the ſuperintendant granted, ſometimes upon his own knowledge, ſometimes upon the information of perſons under him, to the perſon entitled, a ticket of pay, ſigned by himſelf or his deputy, and directed to the proper officer, ſpecifying the ſervice, the time, and the ſum. This ticket was, upon payment, left at the office; and at the end of every quarter the ſuperintendant took up all theſe tickets from the ſeveral offices, and, after examination with his check-book, gave to each principal officer one general voucher, ſigned by himſelf, for the total ſum contained in all thoſe tickets, and paid by him during that quarter.

Much the greateſt number of the waggons, horſes, and drivers, employed in the ſervice of the army, were procured by the quarter maſter general. The commander in chief ordered the eſtabliſhment, that is, the number which he judged to be neceſſary for the occaſions of the army, and in what proportion they ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the ſeveral corps, and for the different ſervices. This eſtabliſhment was permanent, and kept conſtantly, as far as it could be, compleat. The quarter maſter general made a return of them every quarter to the commander in chief; which return was called the diſtribution, and contained an account of all the waggons, horſes, and drivers at that time under his direction, and in what ſervice employed: for all theſe he was reſponſible, and paid the hire and contingent expences. The other departments had likewiſe waggons, horſes, and drivers in their ſervice; which were procured by themſelves, and paid by their reſpective principal officers. All theſe departments had artificers and labourers, procured by the overſeers in the ſeveral branches, hired by the day, and paid in each reſpective office.

The receipts given for theſe ſervices were of two kinds; either ſeparate receipts, given by individuals in the common form; or one receipt, prefixed to a liſt comprehending the ſignatures of many perſons; of the latter kind, one uniform mode was adopted in all theſe offices; two ſpecimens of which, the one taken from the inſtance of waggons, horſes, and drivers, and the other from that of labourers, in the office of the quarter maſter general, are inſerted in the appendix. The firſt column contains the names of the perſons entitled, or ſuppoſed to be entitled; the ſum he is entitled to receive is wrote in the laſt column but one; and in the laſt are the ſignatures of the ſame perſons, wrote or made either by themſelves or by perſons deputed by them.

In purſuing this inquiry into the methods and forms by which this expenditure has been carried on, we have had in view two principal objects; one is, to diſcover whether any fraud has in fact been committed upon the public in the courſe of theſe money tranſactions; the other is, to obſerve whether the public has been ſufficiently guarded againſt fraud and impoſition, in the modes adopted for carrying on this expenditure.

Could a ſingle inſtance of fraud be diſcovered in any of the accounts of theſe officers, ſuch a diſcovery would ſo corrupt and vitiate that account, as to ſubject the whole of it to a reviſion and unravelment, though adjuſted and paſſed with all the ſolemnities of the exchequer.

Theſe accountants are charged with all the ſums they have received of the paymaſter general of the forces, by the warrants of the commander in chief. They cannot diſcharge themſelves, but by the receipts of the perſons to whom they or their officers have paid theſe ſums. The receipts are fair upon the face of them; each contains all the eſſentials of a true voucher; a date, the ſubject matter, the ſum paid, the perſon of whom received, and the perſon receiving. If the tranſaction has not been a fair one, and government has been defrauded of any part of the money, the voucher, which is the evidence of that tranſaction, muſt, in ſome part of it, be falſe or fraudulent: to diſcover whether it be ſo or not, the perſon who appears to have ſigned it, is always a material, and, in ſome caſes, the only witneſs, who can tell whether the ſum ſpecified in the receipt to have been received, was in fact the ſum *bona fide* paid; but perſons under this deſcription are not amenable to us, ſitting in this kingdom; they are in North America. Numberleſs, and in a variety of ways, may have been the frauds and impoſitions committed upon government, without the knowledge even of the officer who paſſes the accounts, being himſelf not privy to the payments, but relying, for the truth of the vouchers he produces in his diſcharge, upon the integrity and fidelity of his inferior officers.

Rumours of impoſition, and of much wealth acquired during a ſhort ſervice upon ſlender appointments, may create a ſuſpicion of ſome concealed management, and be a ground for inquiry by proper authority; but they are not proofs upon which can be supported, againſt any perſon whatever, the heavy charge of defrauding the public.

Having therefore no hopes of purſuing this ſubject with effect, we turned our attention to the ſecond object we propoſed; that is, to thoſe openings for fraud, and that poſſibility of abuſe, which the modes of conducting theſe money tranſactions have left without fence or guard: and we are of opinion that the public have not been ſufficiently protected in two material points: firſt, the officers intruſted with the expenditure of the public money have been permitted to have an intereſt themſelves in the ſubject matter of expence: ſecondly, the vouchers by which the accountants diſcharge themſelves of the ſums intruſted to them, are allowed without having undergone ſufficient examination.

It is a branch of the buſineſs of the quarter maſter general to provide waggons and horſes, with their neceſſary attendants and appendages, for the uſe of the army, either when in quarters, or in motion; and, when there is occaſion to tranſport them, or to ſupply their wants by water, the ſuperintendant furniſhes them with veſſels, and whatever is neceſſary for carriage by water. It is the duty of theſe officers to make the contracts for the articles, and to ſee thoſe contracts honeſtly and ſubſtantially performed; to take care that each article is properly equipped, and adequate to the ſervice it is intended for; and that the ſervice, for which payment is claimed, has been, in fact, performed. Theſe officers are placed, on the part of government, as a check and control upon the contractors, to protect the public from loſs or impoſition. The barrack maſter general and chief engineer ſtand upon the ſame ground, in reſpect to the waggons and horſes made uſe of in their departments, and not provided by the quarter maſter general. But it has been the uſage, as far back as our inquiry has gone, for the officers in theſe departments to be themſelves the proprietors of, or to have ſhares or intereſts in, a great number of the veſſels and ſmall craft, and in almoſt all the waggons and horſes, employed in theſe ſervices: theſe officers have purchaſed or procured them upon their own account, and let them out to government at the fixed prices of hire; the ſame perſon, employed by and acting for the public, contracts, on the part of the public, with himſelf, for the hire of his own property, controls his own actions, and pays himſelf with the public money intruſted to his charge: his truſt and intereſt draw oppoſite ways: his truſt obliges him to be frugal for the public; to hire at the loweſt price (lower, if he can, than the price allowed by government); to take care that what he hires is compleat and fit for ſervice; to employ as few veſſels and carriages, and for as ſhort a time as poſſible: but his intereſt leads him not to ſpare the public purſe; to let to government, at the ſame fixed price, all the veſſels, carriages, and horſes, he can collect, by whatever means procured, or at however low a price he may have purchaſed them, and whatever may be their condition or difference in point of goodneſs; to keep them continually in pay, whether wanted, or employed, or not, and for as long a time as he can contrive; and his laſt advantage may be, the ſuffering them to be taken or deſtroyed by the enemy, to entitle him to the value from the public. In ſuch a conteſt between duty and intereſt, it is not uncharitable to ſuppoſe the public intereſt will frequently be ſacrificed to private emolument. But this is not the only miſchief: this practice has a manifeſt tendency to corrupt and endanger the ſervice of the army; it weakens the military diſcipline, it infuſes into the ſoldier the thirſt for gain, and diverts his attention from honour and his country's ſervice, to the purſuit of wealth, and that too by intrenching upon the treaſure of his country.

We do not mean to ſuggeſt theſe as impoſitions, that have all been actually committed upon the public, but as conſequences that will follow, whenever the temptation is powerful enough to overcome the ſenſe of duty, and where the opportunities of yielding to the temptation are ſo frequent and ſo obvious.

As theſe officers would hardly have engaged in buſineſs of this kind, without the expectation at leaſt of ſome advantage (for they had no additional pay for being employed in the expenditure) we were led to enquire into the expence incurred by the public for this article of hire, and from thence to endeavour to form ſome judgment upon the probable advantage to the officer.

We obtained from captain David Laird, a liſt of all the veſſels, under whatever denomination, employed in the ſervice of the army in North America, from the 1ſt of January 1777, when he was appointed ſuperintendant of the veſſels, until the end of December 1780, when he quitted the ſervice; with the name of each veſſel, and of the maſter or owner, the number of tons, the price *per* ton, the time when hired, the time when diſcharged, and in what department employed. From this liſt it appears, that the number of veſſels employed at different times, during the above period, in the department of the quarter maſter general, was three hundred and ſeventeen; and the number of tons, nineteen thouſand five hundred fifty-eight. In the department of the barrack maſter general, the number of veſſels was eighty-five, and of the tons ſeven thouſand eight hundred thirty-ſix. In the department of the commiſſary general, the number of veſſels was two hundred and nine, and of the tons ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred twenty-two. The total number of the veſſels was ſix hundred and eleven, and of the tons forty-four thouſand and ſixteen. Many of them were employed for a ſhort time only: the number of thoſe continued in the ſervice for one year and upwards, we have extracted from captain Laird's liſt, and inſerted in the appendix, with the number of tons, and their earnings during their ſervice; and of theſe, ſixty-two were left in the ſervice at the end of the year 1780. This liſt ſhews, that the number of veſſels employed each for a year or longer, during that period, in the department of the quarter maſter general, was ſixty-two, and the hire 91,444 *l.* 19 *s.* 4 *d.*; in the department of the barrack maſter general, the number twenty-five, and the hire 34,737 *l.* 19 *s.*; in the department of the commiſſary general, the number forty-four, and the hire 55,925 *l.* 14 *s.*: the total number one hundred thirty-one; the total hire 182,108 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.*

We find, from the vouchers for the payments of hire made by the quarter maſters general, and delivered by them into the office of the auditors of the impreſt, that the total expence of this hire in that department only, excluſive of pilotage, and various contingencies, from the 25th of December 1770 to the 31ſt of March 1780, amounted to 127,483 *l.* 18 *s.* 10$\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; what the expence of this hire was in the other departments, we have not had the means of informing ourſelves.

In this liſt appear the names of ſeveral officers in the departments of the quarter maſter, barrack maſter, and commiſſary general, as owners of theſe veſſels; but the names of all ſuch officers as were owners do not appear; the names of the maſters are inſerted in their ſtead. Where the principal officers were proprietors, or had ſhares, their names are not found, either in the contracts for the hire, or in the receipts for the payments.

A veſſel of one hundred tons, hired at 13 *s.* a month *per* ton, would produce to the owners 780 *l.* a year. Suppoſe him to have, during the whole year, his full complement of ſix men, at each 3 *l.* 15 *s.* a month wages, and to pay 2 *s.* a day for victualling each man, his men would coſt him 489 *l.* and leave him a profit of 291 *l.* a year; which profit would be increaſed in proportion as he could hire his men, or procure boys, at a leſs price, or diminiſh his number whilſt his veſſel lay at reſt during any part of the year, or employ them to his advantage in any other ſervice. The prime coſt, and expence of repairs, are diminutions of his profit, depending upon circumſtances, and not open to calculation.

As the quarterly returns, made to the commander in chief by the quarter maſter general, contain the number of the waggons, horſes, and drivers, furniſhed by him in each quarter, with their diſtribution, and expence to government for the hire, we have ſelected, and inſerted in the appendix, two of theſe returns: Sir

William Erſkine ſupplied us with the firſt regular diſtribution that was returned to the commander in chief, which is for the quarter ending 30th June 1777; the other is a return made by lord Cathcart, for the quarter ending 31ſt December 1779.

The diſtributions did not always contain the ſame numbers, and therefore we could not come at the expence of the hire of them to the public, but by collecting it from the vouchers allowed by the auditors of the impreſt to thoſe quarter maſters general who had paſſed their accounts in that office. By an abſtract compoſed from thoſe vouchers, we find that the ſum paid by the public, for the hire only of waggons, horſes, and drivers, employed under the management of the quarter maſter general, from the 25th of December 1776 to the 31ſt of March 1780, was 338,435 *l.* 8 *s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* excluſive of proviſions, forage, repairs, and other contingent expences.

The rate of the hire of a waggon, driver, and four horſes, being 12 *s.* a day, produces to the proprietor 219 *l.* a year; from whence the hire of the driver, at the mean price of 1 *s.* 2 *d.* a day, that is, 21 *l.* 5*s.* 10 *d.* a year, being deducted, leaves him a clear yearly profit of 197 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* the repairs of the waggon and harneſs, and the food of the driver and horſes, being found by the public. Computing the prime coſt of the waggons compleat, at the higheſt price, 20 *l.* and of each horſe at 15 *l.* he receives back 80 *l.* his purchaſe money, in leſs than five months; after which, if poſſeſſed of fifty large waggons and two hundred horſes, (and the waggons and horſes were in general the property of a few officers only) he will have, as long as he can continue them in the ſervice of government, a clear income of 9,885 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.* ſecure from all riſk.

The commander in chief, conſulting with the principal officers in the ſeveral departments, ſettled the eſtabliſhment, and ordered that it ſhould be permanent and kept compleat. As the army was not always in motion, the neceſſity for ſo numerous a permanent eſtabliſhment was not obvious. The reaſon given for retaining the ſame number for the whole year, is, the difficulty of procuring them again when wanted, in caſe they had been diſcharged at the end of the campaign; but this reaſon does not appear altogether concluſive; for, if they are in being, the arm of the commander in chief can reach them, wherever they are; he has power to ſeize, the inſtant he wants it, whatever is neceſſary for the ſervice, in his contemplation: from the enemy he ſeizes of right, from a friend he preſſes of neceſſity, paying him the value, or for the uſe.

The eſtabliſhment was hardly ever compleat, from the conſtant difficulty of procuring the number of waggons it required; as they were therefore ſo ſcarce in that country, and the cattle could have been employed to more advantage than upon the pay of government, it might have been advantageous to the inhabitants to have had the uſe of them for the time the army were in quarters; and the hire of them, for ſome months every year, would have been no inconſiderable ſaving to the public.

All orders and regulations of every kind proceed from the commander in chief: his power extends, without controul, over the whole army and all its connections. It is limited only by his diſcretion; conſequently every form of proceeding, every uſage and mode of practice, muſt reſt either upon his orders or his acquieſcence. That we might learn upon what authority this cuſtom, for the officers to be contractors of this deſcription, was grounded, we required from Sir William Howe and lord Cornwallis the orders and inſtructions iſſued by them in North America, relative to the ſeveral departments employed in the expenditure of the public money. The returns to theſe requiſitions contained the appointment of the ſuperintendant of veſſels, and the regulation of the payment of their hire, in the offices of the departments in which they were employed both above mentioned, together with other orders made from time to time for different purpoſes of regulation: but we found at one period only orders relative to the point immediately under our conſideration. Theſe orders were iſſued by lord Cornwallis, are dated the 23d December 1780, and contain matter very important to the ſubject before us. Lord Cornwallis had upon ſeveral occaſions found, that the waggons and horſes provided for the public ſervice by the quarter maſter general were in bad condition, and neither fit nor able to perform the ſervices required. To remedy theſe abuſes, he thought it neceſſary to direct, that the quarter maſter general ſhould have no property in either the waggons or horſes; and to that end he iſſued orders, enjoining him not to charge more for waggons and horſes than he had actually paid; not to charge the hire of waggons and horſes purchaſed; not to purchaſe them but upon goverment account; and, if he hired them, to pay the proprietors the full price for hire allowed by government. He ordered all the neceſſary craft to be purchaſed on government account; and ſome of the veſſels to be diſcharged, as ſoon as they came under the direction of his deputy quarter maſter general at Portſmouth in the Cheſapeak, upon his repreſentation that they were unneceſſary. He ordered likewiſe the commiſſary general not to charge government for the compleat ration, unleſs he ſupplied that ration from the ſtores from England; and to charge no more for freſh proviſions, flour, or Indian meal, than what they coſt him. The manner of conducting this laſt office it is not in our power to inquire into; the commiſſaries general are dead; and their accounts not in England.

Theſe orders are levelled at abuſes at that time exiſting; and theſe abuſes all tend to the defrauding of the public for private emolument.

By purſuing the rules of computation inſerted above, we are enabled to diſcover how much would have been ſaved to the public had the waggons and horſes been purchaſed at firſt on account of government. From the liſt inſerted in the appendix it appears, that the average number of waggons conſtantly employed in the ſervice, from the 25th of December 1776 to the 31ſt of March 1780, that is, three years and a quarter, was ſeven hundred thirty-nine; and the average number of horſes, one thouſand nine hundred fifty-eight; and the average number of drivers, ſeven hundred and ſixty: the average hire of all theſe amounts to 104,132 *l.* a year; from whence deducting 16,181 *l.* the hire of ſeven hundred and ſixty drivers, at 1 *s.* 2 *d.* each *per* day, there remains the ſum of 87,951 *l.* The prime coſt of the waggons and horſes, at the higheſt price, is 44,150 *l.*; this ſum being deducted from 87,951 *l.* leaves the clear profit of 43,801 *l.* for the firſt year: this being added to the ſum of 197,889 *l.* two years and one quarter's clear profits, after deducting the hire of the drivers, gives the ſum of 241,690 *l.* paid by the public, beyond what it would have coſt them had the property of theſe waggons and horſes belonged to government: and, if the ſame ſyſtem of management has been continued to the preſent time, the public have incurred a ſtill further expence of 175,902 *l.* for two years more, to the 31ſt of March laſt; that is, the public have paid 417,592 *l.* for the ſingle article of the hire of waggons and horſes; the whole of which might have been ſaved, had the mode contained in the orders of the 23d of December 1780 been at firſt adopted.

From the circumſtances thus diſcloſed, it can hardly be doubted that this practice, of letting out for hire to government, has been highly lucrative to the officers engaged in it. The officer is a truſtee for the public; as ſuch, he is bound to huſband the public money committed to his charge with as much frugality as if it were his own; what he ſaves or what he gains, he ſaves and gains not for himſelf but for the public. He ought not to be permitted, by any management or contrivance, to carve out for himſelf an intereſt in the execution of a public truſt: if that intereſt has been productive, how far ſuch profit belongs to the public, and whether, by bills of diſcovery filed by the proper officer of the crown, or by what other means, it may be diſcovered, and reclaimed for the public, are for the wiſdom of parliament to decide.

It is of public concern this evil ſhould be ſpeedily corrected: it flows from permitting a truſt to reſide, with an intereſt, in the ſame perſon. The remedy is, to take away the intereſt, and by that means to reſtore the truſt and control to its full force, that it may freely operate for the benefit of the public, uninfluenced by private conſiderations.

But the remedy may be extended ſtill farther: it ſhould ſeem as if it would be more beneficial to the ſervice, if the officers were relieved entirely from the trouble of making the payments. When their military duty calls them to the field, they muſt neglect their duty as paymaſters, and leave that branch to be conducted entirely by their inferior officers and clerks. It ſeems to be a hardſhip upon a quarter maſter general, to be ſubject to account for very large ſums, no part of which he paid himſelf, but merely becauſe they were paid in his name, and at his office, whilſt he himſelf was abſent upon other duty.

There is no neceſſary connection between the military duty of theſe officers and the expenditure of money for military ſervices: this latter belongs properly to a civil department, and may be executed by a civil officer. Major general William Roy, who, during the laſt war in Germany, was in the departments both of the quarter maſter general and chief engineer, informed us, that no public money was iſſued to him in either of theſe capacities: he was no accountant; but all the expences incurred in theſe departments were defrayed by the deputy paymaſter general of the forces, purſuant to the warrants of the commander in chief iſſued for that purpoſe. The quarter maſter general and chief engineer were conſidered in that army as checks upon the expenditure on behalf of the public: they were to ſee that the articles ſupplied were good of the kind, adequate to the ſervices they were intended for, and that there was no waſte.

We are therefore of opinion, that the orders of 23d December 1780 ſhould be put in force forthwith throughout the whole army; that no officer ſhould be permitted to have a property or intereſt in any article whatever, which the duty of his office obliges him to provide for the ſervice of the army: if purchaſed, it ſhould be purchaſed by and for the uſe of government; if hired, it ſhould be hired of perſons unconnected with military ſervice. We are likewiſe of opinion, that the payments ſhould be taken from the military officer, and thrown upon the deputy paymaſter general of the forces, who is the proper caſhier of the army, to be carried on by him, in purſuance of the warrants of the commander in chief.

The other point, in which we think the public have not been ſufficiently guarded, is the allowance of the vouchers without ſufficient examination: this defect pervades every branch of the expenditure under our conſideration. The principal officers in theſe departments are the perſons accountable: they make up, paſs, and ſwear to the accounts; but, having a variety of other material buſineſs to tranſact in their ſeveral ſtations, they have no leiſure to attend to the actual payments: a quarter maſter general, whoſe account amounted to above 600,000 *l.* was for five months together upon duty in the field, without having been able once to attend his office. He is likewiſe obliged to paſs the account of a ſum never received by him, but iſſued to and expended by an aſſiſtant deputy quarter maſter general, whom he neither appointed nor knew; and the warrant iſſued to this aſſiſtant ſtates, that the ſum therein directed is to be accounted for by the quarter maſter general. The chief engineer conſiders himſelf as liable to account for ſums, no part of which he either receives or pays, nor are the payments made in his name; for, though the ſum is made payable to him by the warrant, yet he never actually receives it; but he indorſes the warrant to the paymaſter of the works, who receives the whole, and with it diſcharges bills, either directed to him for payment by the chief engineer or the commander in chief, or at his own diſcretion without the intervention of either, and takes the receipts in his own name.

This important buſineſs of expenditure, that requires attention, circumſpection, accuracy, and fidelity, muſt be entruſted to inferior officers, clerks, and even to ſtrangers.

The making-up, and examination of the accounts is conducted in the following manner:—every quarter the accountant collects together from his deputies, aſſiſtants, and clerks, all the vouchers for the payments made by them during that quarter: they are abſtracted, digeſted under heads, and bundled up together. The abſtract is produced to the commander in chief for his inſpection and approbation, and in order to obtain a final warrant for the amount of the abſtract. The vouchers are ready for his inſpection if he requires it. This is the firſt check to which the account is ſubmitted. It is not to be imagined, that the many important objects, that muſt continually engroſs the attention of the general of an army, will afford him either leiſure or patience to examine voluminous bundles of vouchers: he may ſometimes, upon a tranſient view of the abſtract, find ſome article that excites his curioſity to call for an explanation; but he cannot poſſibly enter into the detail, or minutely examine into the circumſtances of a complicated receipt; and therefore, unleſs ſuch an inſtance occurs for inſpection, the vouchers are left unexamined in the hands of the accountant, and the commander in chief depends upon his honour that he has them in his poſſeſſion.

After the final warrant is obtained, this abſtract and the vouchers are ſent home to be examined, that the account may be paſſed in the office of the auditors of the impreſt. It is utterly impoſſible the vouchers can be ſufficiently ſcrutinized in this office, for want of evidence: the accountant is the proper perſon to give them information; and he, very poſſibly, is not privy to the payment, or to any one circumſtance ſtated in the voucher.

Charles Harris, eſq. one of the deputy auditors of the impreſt, tells us the grounds upon which a voucher, for a payment for the extraordinary ſervice abroad, is, and of neceſſity muſt be, allowed in that office: if it contains a certain number received, the ſignature of a perſon receiving, and a juſt computation, and agrees with the abſtract, it is deemed and admitted as a fair voucher: for the truth of it, they rely upon the oath taken by the accountant before the barons of the exchequer, when he paſſes his account. In fact, in thoſe accounts which have been already paſſed in this office, no inquiry ſeems to have been made into the truth of the vouchers, whatever queſtions might ariſe upon the face of them. By the form of this oath, which we obtained from the office of the auditors of the impreſt, the accountant ſwears that the account is juſt and true, according to the beſt of his knowledge and belief: theſe latter words muſt, as we conceive, be interpreted by him ſo to qualify the oath, as to enable him to ſwear with ſafety to thoſe items of his account, of the tranſacting of which he has no other knowledge than what the vouchers themſelves give him, and where he knows nothing of the perſons who tranſact them, except probably their general characters: no great reliance, then, can be had, for the truth of the voucher, upon the oath of the accountant; becauſe that oath, ſo worded, is no additional evidence of its truth.

From thus tracing the voucher, from the pay office of the department in North America to the office of its final examination in England, it appears that the public may be defrauded in a tranſaction, and yet the voucher of that tranſaction may paſs through all its ſtages of examination unſuſpected and unimpeached, and be ſworn to by the accountant without the violation of his oath. Various are the ways and means by which the fraud may be committed: the agreement or purchaſe

chaſe may be made by colluſion: the ſubject matter of the receipt may be falſe in quantity or quality: the ſervice over-rated, or not performed: the ſum inſerted may be more than the ſum *bona fide* paid: the receipt may be obtained by compulſion, or colluſion, upon falſe or forged certificates: it may have been ſigned in blank, and filled up afterwards with falſe ſums, or ſigned with a feigned name; and yet the voucher may be fair upon the face of it; and theſe groſs frauds will eſcape detection.

Theſe ſuggeſtions are not mere ſurmiſes; they reſt not on bare poſſibility or imagination: they are warranted by what we have obſerved in the accounts of the quarter maſters general which have been paſſed in the office of the auditors of the impreſt. Certain vouchers have been there admitted as evidence of payments, to perſons who never did in fact receive, nor could be ſuppoſed likely to be entruſted with the receipt of the ſums inſerted in theſe vouchers: the receipts for the hire of the drivers, waggons, and horſes (no inconſiderable ſum) are not in truth what they purport to be upon the face of them; they carry the appearance of, and are produced as the receipt of, a certain ſum by the perſon whoſe name or ſignature is ſet oppoſite to that ſum; the ſum is compounded of the hire of the driver, waggon, and horſes, for a certain time; but the man receiving, or ſigning, or ſetting his mark to the receipt, is uſually the driver only, frequently a negro, or ſome perſon in the loweſt capacity, to whom nothing would be entruſted: he is the oſtenſible receiver of the whole, whereas he in truth receives a very trifling part of it, his own wages only; the remainder, being the hire of the waggon and horſes, is paid or accounted for to the officer to whom they belong, but whoſe receipt does not appear as a voucher for the accountant. The artificers and labourers are paid by liſts, in like manner with the drivers; not individually in the office of the department, but by the overſeers, who receive the groſs amount of the liſt, and, after having paid it, bring it back to the office, with the names of the perſons receiving ſet oppoſite to the ſums they were to receive.

Since the drivers (and very numerous they are) are prevailed upon or induced by cuſtom to ſign receipts for ſums they never receive, there may be reaſons or inducements for the like practice in various other branches of the expenditure; and in every inſtance of this kind the voucher is not true.

Having been informed that ſome meaſures had been taken by the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury for the purpoſe of controlling the expenditure of this money in North America, we iſſued to them our precept for copies of the commiſſions and inſtructions given to the commiſſaries of accounts in North America, and extracts of their correſpondence relative thereto: In conſequence of this requiſition, we received the copy of a commiſſion, dated 15th of February 1779, appointing major Duncan Drummond commiſſary of accounts, to examine, audit, and certify all accounts whatſoever of money due for forage, bread and proviſions, furniſhed by contract or otherwiſe, and delivered for the uſe of the army and hoſpitals, and for all other extraordinary ſervices. The ſame power had been before delegated to Daniel Chamier, eſq; by commiſſion dated 1ſt of February 1777, but does not appear to have been ever executed. We find, by papers tranſmitted to us with this commiſſion (ſome of which we have inſerted in the appendix) that in purſuance of that commiſſion, and of directions and inſtructions relative thereto, tranſmitted from time to time from the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury to the commanders in chief and the commiſſary of accounts, ſome progreſs has been made in carrying the powers of that commiſſion into execution; but how far it has been effectual to the prevention or diminution of the evil, it has not been in our power to diſcover.

Of the ten millions and upwards that have been iſſued for theſe ſervices to North America within the laſt ſix years, accounts of a few officers only, amounting to about 1,100,000*l.*, have been as yet rendered in the proper office. The accounts of about 140,000*l.* more are ready: ſo that the expenditure of 8,760,000*l.* ſtill remain to be accounted for.

By an account of the yearly average number of his majeſty's forces ſerving at New York and its dependencies, from the 1ſt of January 1776 to the 31ſt of December 1780, extracted from returns of thoſe forces made to us from the war office, purſuant to our requiſition, it appears that the number of the forces decreaſed every year from 1778; but, from the account of the contractors for remitting, the iſſue for the extraordinary ſervices of that army greatly increaſed during the ſame period.

In the account of the iſſues to the officers in the four departments, we find that the warrants iſſued to the quarter maſters general ſince the 16th of July, 1780, and to the barrack maſters general ſince the 29th of June, 1780, and to the commiſſaries general ſince the 25th of May, 1778, have been all temporary, for ſums on account; that no final warrant has been granted ſince thoſe ſeveral periods: ſo that theſe ſums have been iſſued, without even the ceremony of a quarterly abſtract, and the confidential reliance on the officer that his vouchers are forthcoming.

Of theſe ten millions, there have been iſſued to Canada, between the 1ſt of June, 1776, and the 23d of October laſt, 2,236,029*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*; a province, whoſe military operations, ſince the year 1777, the public are not made acquainted with. This iſſue has been increaſing every year, and no apparent reaſon for it; and upon the expenditure in this province there exiſts no check or control, that we know of, whatever.

Theſe are circumſtances of ſuſpicion and alarm. The ordinary forms of examination and accounting are neither comprehenſive nor ſtrong enough to embrace the various circumſtances of this expenditure: they call for a minute, accurate, and rigid inveſtigation; but none ſuch can, as we apprehend, be obtained in this kingdom; the evidence eſſentially neceſſary for that purpoſe cannot be procured here. Should it be thought proper to ſubject theſe accounts to ſuch a ſcrutiny, we can deviſe or ſuggeſt no method of obtaining this end, unleſs the legiſlature ſhould think proper to refer all of them to an examination in North America, by perſons intelligent in the ſubject matter, and unconnected with the expenditure; who may inquire into every circumſtance of the tranſaction, and have recourſe to every perſon concerned in it; and who may be authorized and directed to examine into the whole expenditure, as well of the antecedent as ſubſequent iſſues. The commanders in chief may be enjoined to give them their countenance, protection, and ſupport, and not to grant warrants for the payment of any article of theſe expences without the teſtimony of their allowance. The diſallowance of the voucher comes too late, after payment. By a check and control thus eſtabliſhed upon the ſpot, and by an able and conſcientious execution of ſuch a truſt, the public might be enabled to obtain reſtitution where they have been defrauded, and ſecurity againſt impoſition and peculation for the future.

Office of Accounts,
Surrey-Street,
18th June, 1782.

T. Anguish, (L. S.)
A. Piggott, (L. S.)
Rich. Neave, (L. S.)
Sam. Beachcroft, (L. S.)
Geo. Drummond. (L. S.)

The Eighth Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom: Preſented to the Houſe of Commons 20th December, 1782.

IN all the acts by which we have been conſtituted, one of the expreſs purpoſes of our appointment, and, in the laſt act, the only one particularly mentioned, is "to examine, and ſtate, in what manner, and at what times, the receipts, iſſues, and expenditures of the public monies are now accounted for; and to conſider and report, by what means and methods the public accounts may in future be paſſed, and the accountants compelled to pay the balances due from them, in a more expeditious, more effectual, and leſs expenſive manner."

In our examination into the pay offices of the navy and army, we found the accounts very far in arrear; 75 millions, the iſſues of upwards of 24 years, to October 1780, for the navy ſervices; 47 millions, the iſſues of ſixteen years, to the ſame period (excluſive of the unſettled account of Lord Holland) for the army ſervices, were unaccounted for. So ſtriking a circumſtance would have led us, of courſe, to that office where the public accounts of the kingdom are audited, that we might endeavour to diſcover the cauſes of this delay; whether it ariſes from any want of power to compel perſons to come to account, or from any neglect in the exerciſe of that power; whether from any defect in the conſtitution, or in the execution of the office that audits the accounts; or whether it is occaſioned by any obſtructions thrown in the way by the accountable perſons themſelves.

We inquired, in the firſt place, whether there exiſts any compulſive power to bring in public accountants, and what ſteps are taken previous to their accounting. Upon theſe points, Mr. John Hughſon, clerk of the debentures, in the office of the auditor of the exchequer; Adam Martin, eſq. firſt clerk in the office of the king's remembrancer in the exchequer; and Mr. Alexander Bennet, one of the ſworn clerks in the ſame office, gave us the following information.

The power of compelling public accountants to come to account, is lodged in the court of exchequer;

it is exerciſed by either an ordinary or an extraordinary proceſs. The ordinary proceſs, is a writ of *diſtringas ad computandum*, iſſued by the king's remembrancer periodically, and of courſe, after every iſſuable term. The extraordinary proceſs, is a writ of *capias ad computandum*, which iſſues by ſpecial order of the court of exchequer, where the ſum to be accounted for is in danger, and upon particular application made to them for that purpoſe.

The proceedings upon the ordinary proceſs are in the following manner:

All money iſſued from the exchequer by the auditor of the receipt, is iſſued either upon account, or without account: it does not depend upon his diſcretion, which of theſe forms he ſhall make uſe of; he is governed by the authority that directs the iſſue; that is, either by an act of parliament, or by the king's warrant under the great or privy ſeal; and by no other authority than theſe can money be iſſued out of the exchequer.

Twice in every year, after each of the iſſuable terms, the auditor of the receipt makes out a roll, called the general impreſt roll, which contains all the ſums iſſued from the exchequer upon account, during the preceding half year, with the names of the perſons to whom, and for what ſervices, iſſued. This roll is recorded by the clerk of the pells, and tranſmitted to the office of the king's remembrancer; a mode of proceeding directed by the act for the better obſervation of the courſe anciently uſed in the receipt of the exchequer.

About the ſame time that this impreſt roll comes to the king's remembrancer, the auditors of the impreſt make out and ſend to him a certificate of the accounts depending in their office: by theſe means the king's remembrancer has every half year full information to regulate his proceedings; the general impreſt roll tells him what perſons are become accountable, and for what ſums; and the impreſt certificate ſhews him which of thoſe perſons are proceeding to paſs their accounts, and how far any of them have proceeded in paſſing them. This officer exerciſes a diſcretionary power, both as to the perſons againſt whom, and the time when, he ſhall iſſue the *diſtringas*: he pays little attention to the general impreſt roll, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe many of the ſums mentioned therein to have been iſſued on account, are nevertheleſs in their nature not ſubject, nor intended to be accounted for; as ſalaries, and payments for ſmall ſervices performed. And, ſecondly, becauſe thoſe ſums which are intended to be accounted for, having been iſſued ſo recently as within the laſt half year only, may not have been applied to the purpoſes for which they were intended, or, if they have, the accountants can hardly be ſuppoſed to be ready with, and to have prepared their accounts for examination, ſo ſoon after the application.

The impreſt certificate is the inſtrument by which the king's remembrancer, in conſultation with the deputy auditor of the impreſt, is governed as to the perſons againſt whom he ſhall iſſue this proceſs. Where the accounts therein ſtated appear to be of very ancient date, or depending and in a train of proſecution, ſuch accountants are not put in proceſs; if the accounts are of late date, and the accountants, having had a reaſonable time for preparation, have taken no ſteps for the proſecution, againſt theſe the *diſtringas* iſſues.

All accountants, unleſs the place of their abode is ſpecified, are ſuppoſed to reſide, and moſt of the great accountants do in fact reſide, within the juriſdiction of the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex: to them, therefore, the *diſtringas* againſt theſe accountants iſſues. We required from the king's remembrancer the writ of *diſtringas* that iſſued to thoſe ſheriffs after the laſt Hilary term, with the return and ſchedules annexed, for our inſpection; a copy of the writ and return is inſerted in the appendix.

The ſchedules annexed to this writ are very numerous; many of them contain large ſums. They are of various dates; and ſome very ancient, as far back as the year 1698. Each contains the name of the accountant, and, frequently, the ſum for which he is to account, and the ſervice for which it was iſſued. The return of the ſheriffs to the writ before us is, as to all the accountants in the ſeveral ſchedules thereto annexed, indiſcriminately, that none of them had any lands or chattels in his bailiwick by which he could diſtrain them; nor were they found in the ſame; that is, in the language of office, a *nichil* return, or *nulla bona* and *non eſt inventus*.

From the information of Mr. John Benſon, the principal clerk in the office of the ſheriff of Middleſex, we learn the practice of the office relative to this writ. It is uſual not to execute it; it is a proceſs of courſe; and the return indorſed upon the writ before us, is the conſtant regular return upon every one of theſe periodical writs of *diſtringas ad computandum*.

The king's remembrancer, after it is returned to his office, takes off from the bundle of ſchedules the returned writ, together with thoſe ſchedules in which the purpoſe of the *diſtringas* has been ſatisfied, and files them with the writ: the remainder of the ſchedules, with the addition of the names and ſchedules taken from the laſt impreſt certificate, are annexed to the renewed writ, and are iſſued again to the ſheriff. Upon his appoſal in the court of exchequer, the new ſchedules are read to him, and he is queſtioned upon his oath relative to the execution of this writ: his anſwer is uſually agreeable to his return. Sometimes the baron of the exchequer before whom he is appoſed, where the particular caſe ſtrikes him, directs the ſheriff to return iſſues to a certain amount: in that caſe, the ſheriff alters his return, and indorſes upon the writ the iſſues directed, which are tranſmitted to the pipe office, to be levied by proceſs from thence; but of this proceeding the inſtances are rare, and the officer of the ſheriff of Middleſex recollects but one inſtance in thirty-three years, where iſſues are drawn down to the pipe, and levied.

Having thus examined into the means of compelling public accountants to come to an account, we proceeded, in the next place, to the office where theſe accounts are audited; that is, to the office of the auditors of the impreſt. Of the conſtitution, authority, and execution of this office, we received information from John Bray, eſq. late deputy auditor, and from Charles

Harris, eſq. one of the preſent deputy auditors in the office of lord Mountſtuart.

This office is inſtituted for the ſole purpoſe of auditing and examining the public accounts: it is executed by two auditors, independant of each other; each having a ſeparate and diſtinct office, his own deputies, offices, and clerks. He is appointed by letters patent. Upon inſpection of thoſe by which lord Sondes and lord Mountſtuart now enjoy this office, it appears that he is appointed auditor of the preſt or impreſt, and foreign accounts, to execute the office by himſelf, or his deputy or deputies, during his good behaviour. The power therein delegated to him is, to audit and determine, with the advice, authority, and conſent of the commiſſioners of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer, the accounts and views of accounts of ſeveral officers and duties therein particularly ſpecified, and, in general, of all perſons being accountable for any ſums of money received by the name of impreſt from the king, or any other perſon in his name, and to be applied about the affairs of the king: it is confined to the examination of the accounts; he has no power to bring the accountants before him; if not compelled by the exchequer proceſs, they come at their own pleaſure only. By the general impreſt roll from the exchequer every half year, he learns who are become accountable, and for what ſums iſſued from thence. The yearly accounts of ſome, and the final accounts of other of the great accountants, inform him of the inſupers or ſub-accountants; but in the impreſt certificate, which he tranſmits every half year to the king's remembrancer, he inſerts thoſe accountants only whoſe accounts are then depending; and, when once inſerted, he has no authority to leave them out; their names muſt remain upon all ſubſequent certificates, until their accounts are paſſed; and from thence it ariſes that accounts of a very ancient date, debts obſolete and deſperate, conſtantly appear upon theſe certificates.

The accounts audited in this office are of two kinds; ordinary, and extraordinary. The ordinary accounts are prepared, made up, and preſented to the lords of the treaſury for declaration, by virtue of the authority veſted in the auditor by the letters patent. The extraordinary accounts are prepared, made up, and preſented for declaration, in purſuance of a ſpecial warrant obtained for that purpoſe, either from the king or from the treaſury: previous to the application for this warrant, the auditor examines the account and vouchers, makes up a ſtate of it, and preſents it to the treaſury for their approbation and allowance. In conſequence of ſuch allowance, a warrant is procured; which directs the auditor to prepare, make up, and preſent for declaration, the account, conformably to the ſtate of it ſo approved of and allowed. Which of theſe extraordinary accounts require the king's; and which a treaſury warrant, does not ſeem to be aſcertained by any known diſtinction; the auditor is taught by the uſage of office only, which he is to apply for. The accounts of governors and quarter maſters general are paſſed by the king's warrant; the accounts of contractors by a treaſury warrant.

Some of the accounts are annual;

and have a continuance; as thoſe of the treaſurer of the navy, and paymaſter general of the forces; ſuch accounts are uſually paſſed, a year's account alternately in each office; other accounts are carried, at the option of the accountant, to which of the two offices he chuſes; but it is in the power of the lords of the treaſury to direct an account to be audited in either office; and there are ſome accounts, ſuch as thoſe of the bank and South Sea company, which are audited by both officers jointly.

Having thus obtained a general knowledge of the mode of tranſacting the buſineſs of this office, we proceeded to inquire into the application of theſe general rules to the auditing and paſſing the particular accounts.

We began this inquiry in the ſame order in which we had examined into the offices themſelves; that is, firſt with the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy. We required from the auditors of the impreſt the laſt declared account of a treaſurer of the navy, with the ledgers, charge, diſcharge, and other materials from which that account was made out. The account tranſmitted to us purſuant to this requiſition, was that of the late George Grenville, for one year, ending the 31ſt of December 1759, with three folio ledgers, and other detached papers; comprehending the total charge upon him for that year, his total diſcharge, and two abſtracts.

The charge conſiſts of two parts; the impreſt roll, and the voluntary charge. The impreſt roll contains all the ſums impreſted to him from the exchequer during the period of his account; and is produced by the treaſurer to the auditor as his proof for that charge. The voluntary charge contains all the ſums received by him during the ſame time upon other accounts; and deductions made by him in his payments; that is to ſay, impreſts of former treaſurers cleared by him, money ariſing from the ſale of old navy and victualling ſtores and decayed proviſions, abatements from bills, and from ſhip, yard, and ſick and hurt books, from half-pay liſts, and Chatham cheſt.

The diſcharge conſiſts of entries of the following articles: all the bills paid by him in the year 1759, for the ordinary and extraordinary navy ſervices, for the ſick and hurt, and for the victualling ſervice: they are numbered, and entered as paid, either on the 14th or on the laſt day of every month, theſe two being the periods on which the treaſurer certifies his receipts and payments to the navy and victualling boards. The number of the navy bills in this year's account, is 5,052; of the victualling, 3,348; and of the ſick and hurt, 1,040; together, 9,440 bills;—entries of the extra payments, with the receipts for them annexed, being 12 in number;—entries of the payment of 244 ſhips books made up as paid in that year; each entry is the ſum total of the wages of the maſter, officers, and mariners, during their ſervice on board that ſhip, for a certain ſtated period, referring to that ſhip's book remaining in the navy office;—entries of the total ſums paid to the clerk of the cheque, officers, and men, employed in each yard, for their wages during a certain ſtated period; and of the total ſums paid to the hoſpital ſhips, and for ſick quarters, referring to books; and for the half-pay, referring

ring to liſts; all remaining in the navy office.

The two abſtracts are, the navy, and the victualling. The navy abſtract is an index, in which all the bills are entered under general heads, ranged alphabetically, expreſſing, for the moſt part, either the ſervices, or the ſpecies of ſtores or materials, which is the ſubject matter of the payment. Each entry contains the ſum, and the perſon to whom paid; and the payments under each head are caſt up to a total. It contains alſo the ſums paid for the ſick and hurt, extra payments, and on the ſhip, yard, hoſpital, and ſick quarters books, and on the half-pay liſt. To this is prefixed an alphabetical index of all the heads, with their ſeveral totals, caſt up into one ſum; this is called the abſtract abſtracted.

The other abſtract contains the victualling payments, digeſted and ranged in a method ſimilar to that of the navy abſtract. Theſe materials, collected together, form a complete ledger of a year's account of a treaſurer of the navy: from them is compoſed the formal account, which paſſes through various offices, and to a ſtate of which the treaſurer ſwears.

Sections of the ledgers, and the other papers, are ſent, from time to time, from the pay office of the navy to the office of the auditor of the impreſt; but none of the vouchers for the entries are ſent with them (except the receipts for the extra payments, which are very few); nor does the auditor inſpect any of theſe vouchers; he allows the payments upon a different ground. The laſt page of the voluntary charge, and every page of the ledgers, which contain the entries of the navy, victualling, and ſick and hurt bills, or the laſt page, where the entry of a bill takes up more pages than one; every page containing the payments on the ſhip, yard, hoſpital, and ſick quarters books, and on the half-pay liſt, is ſigned at the bottom by three commiſſioners of the navy. Upon the authority of theſe ſignatures, the auditor allows the voluntary charge, and all the payments, without the production of any of the vouchers: he does this in purſuance of a writ of privy ſeal, which every treaſurer of the navy procures ſoon after his appointment, and which directs the commiſſioners of the navy, in the firſt place, to examine the ledger books of accounts of the treaſurer, and three of them to ſign every page, and orders that theſe books, ſo ſubſcribed, ſhall be taken and allowed a ſufficient warrant and voucher to the auditors, and all other officers of the exchequer, to give full allowance of the payments therein mentioned to be made. Hence the ledger alone, thus ſubſcribed, becomes the ſole voucher for every payment therein contained; and the only, or at leaſt the principal, buſineſs of the auditor, is to prepare and reduce the account into the official form; which he does in the following manner:

The ſections and abſtracts are generally proceeded upon as ſoon as they are received in the office. The auditor compares the entry of each article in the ſection with the entry in the abſtract; and where the bill involves a calculation, or conſiſts of many articles, he examines the computation, and caſts up the articles. Where the ſame perſon has received ſums at different times, for the ſame ſervice, theſe ſums are entered in the ledger at the times they were ſeverally paid; but the auditor alters the diſpoſition of them; he collects them all together, and is thereby enabled to check the ledger entries, and to detect over-payments: being poſſeſſed of the warrants and receipts for the extra payments, he examines thoſe entries with the vouchers themſelves, and caſts up the totals under each head in the abſtracts.

After he has received all the materials from the pay office, the official account is compiled, and reduced to the following form:—the firſt diviſion is the charge; which comprehends the arrears due from the treaſurer on the foot of his laſt account, the money impreſted to him from the exchequer, and his voluntary charge. The impreſt part is an Engliſh tranſlation of the impreſt roll (which is in Latin) but retaining the Latin names of the terms in which the ſums were iſſued. The firſt part of the voluntary charge conſiſts of impreſts in former treaſurerſhips, cleared in the time of this account. The auditor ranges the articles under this head in the account in a manner different from that in the ledger. In the latter, they are entered in the order of time in which the impreſts are brought to the office to be cleared; but the auditor tranſpoſes them into the order of time in which the original bills iſſued. By this arrangement he can refer more eaſily to the inſuper liſt in the final account of that treaſurer who iſſued them, in order to mark them off as cleared. The other parts of the voluntary charge are copied from the abſtract, and conſiſt of the total ſums only, paid under the ſeveral heads. This comprehends the whole charge, unleſs errors in the account afford matter of ſurcharge.

The other diviſion of the account is the diſcharge. Of this the greateſt part is taken from the abſtract abſtracted. The heads are copied into the account, with the total ſum paid for each head, not the particular articles compoſing that total, except in the following inſtances. In the navy diſcharge—bounties, diſburſements, extra payments, penſions, ſalaries, ſick and hurt payments, ſhips books, rent, and rewards. In the victualling diſcharge—extra payments, ſalaries, rent, and workmanſhip. Of theſe heads it has been the uſage of office to enter upon the account each particular article; and for this reaſon; it enables the auditor to refer with greater facility to former accounts, and guard againſt a ſecond credit of the ſame payment. He does not range the articles under each head exactly in the order they ſtand in the abſtract; he diſpoſes them as beſt ſuits his own ideas and convenience. The fees for paſſing the account, and the balance due from the treaſurer, conclude the account of the year; unleſs it be his final account, and then the voluntary charge contains ſeveral other articles of a ſimilar kind, copied into the account in like manner with the reſt; and there is alſo added at the end a liſt of the inſupers, that is, of thoſe perſons to whom ſums have been iſſued upon account, but which have not been cleared during the time of the treaſurerſhip, with the ſums and dates of the impreſt bills. The treaſurer has no credit in his annual account for the ſums impreſted and not cleared by him in each year; they are reſerved for, and entered in, his final account, where he has credit for them all, and the reſponſibility is transferred to the perſons themſelves who have received the ſums, and they are returned accountable. This liſt, in a long treaſurerſhip, ſwells to a great ſize; it is tranſmitted from the pay office of the navy, ſigned by three commiſſioners, and admitted upon the authority of that ſignature. The names on the tranſmitted liſt are entered in the order of time in which the impreſt bills were paid; but they are tranſpoſed upon the account into an alphabetical order, for two reaſons; that all the ſums impreſted to the ſame perſon may be brought together; and, that each article may be the more eaſily found hereafter, to be marked in the margin, when it is cleared in a ſubſequent account: but in the final accounts that are now making up in the treaſurer's office, the mode of ranging the names of the inſupers alphabetically is adopted. The laſt ſtep is, comparing the balance ſtated by the auditor with the balance of the treaſurer; and, if it agrees, the account is completed. A ſhort ſtate of this account is drawn up in the auditors office; this ſtate the accountant ſwears to, or, if a peer, atteſts, before the barons of the exchequer, or commiſſioners appointed by them. The total charge upon Mr. Grenville in this account, for the year 1759, is 6,674,226 *l.*; the total diſcharge, 4,555,105 *l.*

Of every account two parts are made out in the auditors office; the one on paper, called The Declared Account, or Declaration; the other on parchment, called emphatically The Account; both of them are ſigned by the deputy auditors, preſented to the lords of the treaſury for declaration, ſigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, by two other lords of the treaſury, and by the chief baron of the exchequer. The declaration is preſerved in the auditors office; and the account is carried to the offices of the king's remembrancer and of the lord treaſurer's remembrancer, and then to the pipe; where it remains, and from whence the treaſurer receives his quietus.

Such is the progreſs of an account of a treaſurer of the navy through the office of the auditors of the impreſt.

As none of the vouchers, except thoſe for the extra payments, are produced to the auditor, but he relies for the exiſtence, as well as for the truth of them, upon the ſubſcription of the three commiſſioners of the navy, we thought it neceſſary to enquire what is the examination given in the navy office to theſe accounts, that warrants the commiſſioners in ſtamping ſo great a credit upon theſe entries. To this purpoſe we examined the officers who are employed in thoſe branches of the navy, victualling, and ſick and hurt offices, through which theſe accounts paſs.

In the navy office, we examined Mr. Oſborne Standert, chief clerk to the controller of the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy in the bill office, and Mr. William Paynter, his chief clerk in the ticket office; Mr. Benjamin Holl, chief clerk to the controller of the navy in the branch for the payment of ſeamen's wages, and Mr. Thomas Davies, his chief clerk in the office for bills and accounts; Mr. Robert Gregſon, chief clerk to the clerk of the acts; and Mr. Joſeph Poole, chief clerk to the controller of the victualling accounts. In the victualling office, we examined Mr. Denham Briggs, the accountant for caſh; Mr. William Sayer, chief clerk for clearing impreſts; and Mr. John Smith, chief clerk for keeping the charge on the treaſurer of the navy: and in the ſick and hurt office, Mr. Nathan Crow, chief clerk to the commiſſioners, together with Geo. Swaffield, eſquire, caſhier of the victualling in the office of the treaſurer.—From them we are ſupplied with the following information:

The year's account of a treaſurer of the navy is made out in the three branches of his office, each branch attending to that part of the account which relates to its own buſineſs, and tranſmitting it to the office of the auditors of the impreſt. The vouchers both for the charge and diſcharge, and the entries of thoſe vouchers in the ſections, all receive an examination, check, and correction, in ſome branch or other of the navy, victualling, or ſick and hurt offices, previous to their being ſigned by the commiſſioners of the navy, and to the tranſmiſſion of the ſections to the office of the auditor.

The charge is checked in the following manner:—as to the impreſt part, the exchequer every month, and the treaſurer immediately after his receipt, tranſmit to the navy-board certificates of all the ſums impreſted to him: twice in every month he certifies to them all his receipts and payments in general; the contents of theſe certificates are entered in the navy office; with theſe entries his impreſt charge is compared, as well as verified by the impreſt roll obtained by him from the exchequer.

As to the other part, which is the voluntary charge, much the greateſt part of it is directed into his hands by letters from either the navy or victualling boards; of which letters entries are made in the reſpective offices; and as he receives the ſums mentioned in thoſe letters, he inſerts them in his next certificate; beſides which, the ſums received by him from impreſts cleared, and from abatements on bills or books, appear upon the face of the bills and books themſelves, and every bill is regiſtered in its proper office. The voluntary charge conſiſts of three parts, and is made out, one part in each branch of the treaſurer's office. That made out in the pay branch, conſiſting of abatements on ſhip and yard books, and half-pay liſts, is checked and examined in the office of the controller of the navy, by a ledger kept there for the ſpecial purpoſe of entering every one of the articles contained in that charge, and which entries are taken from the books themſelves, the ſums there inſerted having been calculated, examined, and compared in three different offices. That made out in the caſhier's branch, conſiſting of impreſts cleared in former treaſurerſhips, abatements from bills, money produced by the ſale of old ſtores, and received from the ſucceſſor, is examined and checked by entries made of every article that compoſes it in the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts. That part made out in the victualling branch, conſiſting of impreſts cleared, abatements from bills, ſums ariſing from the ſale of old ſtores, fees of oxen, and decayed proviſions, is examined with the entries in the ledger, kept in that branch of the victualling office, for keeping the charge upon the treaſurer; in which ledger every article of this charge is entered, either from the letters directing the payment, or from the bills themſelves: a copy of this charge is ſigned by three commiſſioners of the victualling, which is the warrant for the ſignature of the three commiſſioners of the navy, upon that copy which is ſent to the auditors office.

The diſcharge is checked in this manner:—every bill paid by the treaſurer is made out in ſome branch or other of the navy, victualling, or ſick and hurt offices, or in the yards or out ports: if made out in one of the offices, it undergoes one, or, if neceſſary, more examinations in that office: if made out at the yards, it is ſent to, and examined by, two clerks in the office of the controller of the navy: if made out at the out-ports, it is ſent to, and examined in, the office of the accountant for caſh in the victualling office. All bills, whereever made out, are entered in regiſters; the navy bills in the controller's office; the victualling bills in the office of the controller of the victualling; and the ſick and hurt bills in the ſick and hurt office; and when aſſigned for payment, they are entered again in aſſigning books, kept for thoſe purpoſes in the ſeveral offices. The treaſurer's ſections, with the original bills themſelves, are ſent to theſe ſeveral offices, to be compared and examined with the entries made in their books: the navy ſections are examined with the entries in the aſſigning book in the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts, and afterwards compared with the original bills themſelves; the victualling ſections are examined with the entries in the aſſigning book in the office of the controller of the victualling; the ſick and hurt ſections, with the entries in the aſſigning book in the ſick and hurt office, and they are afterwards compared with the original bills in the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts.

For every ſhip five books are made out, copies of each other, lodged in three different departments of the navy office, one in that branch of the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts, called the ticket office; two in the office of the controller of the navy, one of them for the commiſſioner who controls the payments, the other for the controller's clerk who attends him; and two in the office of the treaſurer: this book contains the names, the times of ſervice, and the defalcations, of every perſon belonging to that ſhip, together with the full and nett wages of all perſons who are paid upon that book; all theſe ſeveral ſums are calculated, examined, and checked, both in the ticket office and in the office of the controller of the navy; and the full ſum to be allowed the treaſurer, for the pay of that ſhip, is entered at the end of the ſhip's book, and is the ſame ſum in the treaſurer's ledger, which he claims to be allowed him for the payment of that ſhip.

When a ſhip is paid, a commiſſioner of the navy, two clerks from the treaſurer's office, and one from each of the controller's offices, attend, each with his book; by which means they are a check upon each other: three of theſe books are made up at the ſame time, and compared together; and remain afterwards, one in the office of the treaſurer, another in that of the controller, and the third in that of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts. The treaſurer's ſections, containing the ſums paid upon the ſhip's books, are taken from the full books, after they are made up and ſigned by three commiſſioners of the navy, and are compared, in the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts, with the ſums entered upon the books in that office. The ſums for the hoſpital, half-pay, and ſick quarters, are likewiſe taken from, and compared with, the full books kept for thoſe ſervices. Upon a final account, the inſuper liſt is taken from the impreſt ledgers, one kept in the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts, another in the office of the controller of the victualling accounts; and in ſome one of which every impreſt bill is entered: this liſt is compared with the entries in theſe impreſt ledgers.

In conſequence of this examination of the entries in the treaſurer's ledger, with the vouchers for, and entries of, the ſame articles in the books of the different branches of the navy, victualling, and ſick and hurt offices, the commiſſioners of the navy are authorized to give to the entries in that ledger a credit equal to the credit of original vouchers, and to give to the treaſurer a diſpenſation with the production of thoſe originals in the office where he is finally to paſs his accounts.

The information we have thus collected, enables us to form ſome judgment of the cauſes of the delay in paſſing the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy, as well as ſupplies us with matter for regulation, worthy, in our opinion, to be ſubmitted to the attention of the legiſlature.

The cauſe of delay that occurs the firſt in this inquiry, is the not executing the compulſory proceſs intended to bring in perſons to account. This is a ſource of delay that extends to every account ſubject to be paſſed in the auditors office.

A diſtreſs is an ancient and legal method of forcing a perſon to do certain acts, which the law requires of him; and it is an effectual method; for he refuſes at the peril of forfeiting to the crown a part of his property, and if he continues refractory, of having that forfeiture increaſed till he obeys: but the *diſtringas ad computandum* is a proceſs utterly nugatory; it iſſues out of mere form; and, though levelled at perſons who have millions to account for, it is never executed. The long uſage of office warrants the ſheriff to give it under his hand, and to confirm it by his oath in the court of exchequer, that the treaſurer of the navy is not to be found either in the city of London, or in the county of Middleſex, and that the paymaſter general of the forces has neither lands nor chattels in either of thoſe diſtricts by which he can be diſtrained.

So far as the preſent ſyſtem of paſſing the public accounts ſhall be retained, this proceſs ought to be made effectual: It cannot be ſo in its preſent ſtate. The writ muſt be diſincumbered of that load of old and uſeleſs ſchedules, at preſent always annexed to it. Authority ſhould be given to inſpect and ſcrutinize the liſts of perſons, who ſtand at this time accountable to the crown for money impreſted or iſſued to them on account, and to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are of ability and amenable, from the inſolvent and thoſe whoſe accounts are remote and deſperate, and who can neither themſelves nor their repreſentatives ever be proſecuted with any hopes of ſucceſs. The names and ſchedules of the latter ſhould all be taken from the writ; the former only ſhould be annexed; and upon all named in the ſchedules annexed, the writ ſhould be executed, and they ſhould be compelled to appear upon the return, and give the reaſons for the delay before the proper judges, the barons of the exchequer.

The certificates of the accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the impreſt require the like correction. Public inſtruments ſhould not be incumbered with uſeleſs matter: nothing ſhould be inſerted in them but what tends to anſwer the purpoſe deſigned by them; but theſe certificates are filled with ſtale accounts that have been depending, many of them, for a century, the accountants forgotten, the line of their repreſentation not to be traced, no vouchers to be found, no veſtiges of them whatever remaining, ſave what are preſerved, to no purpoſe, in theſe inſtruments; they puzzle and confound the officers they are intended to inform; they engage the time of clerks that might be uſefully employed, and for which the public pay.

The power of diſcharging accounts of long ſtanding has been exercifed by the legiſlature for the quiet of the ſubject. In the land tax act of the year 1759, all inſupers ſet in the accounts of the receivers general of the land tax before the year 1746 are abſolutely diſcharged.

Other delays ariſe in the office of the treaſurer of the navy, and flow in a great meaſure from the preſent conſtitution of that office. As the auditor of the impreſt cannot paſs the account until he has received all the materials of which it is compoſed, we required from him a ſtate of the order of time in which the ſeveral parts of Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1759 were delivered into his office. By this ſtate it appears, that the firſt ſections of this year came to the auditor in May 1763; that the voluntary charge, and ſome other papers, which were the parts of the account that came the laſt, were not received until December 1781; that is, eighteen years after the ſections, and near twenty-two years after the expiration of the year to which the account belongs. We required, likewiſe, from the auditors a ſtate of the accounts of the treaſurers of the navy, now depending in each of their offices, with the times when the ſeveral parts of the accounts were delivered in to each. Theſe ſtates ſhew, that the accounts for the two next ſucceeding years, 1760 and 1761, are ready for declaration; that the accounts of none of the ſubſequent years are complete in the office, little more than the navy and victualling ſections of theſe years having been as yet received from the treaſurer's office.

One of the principal cauſes aſſigned for this delay, and the only one that ſeems to have a foundation, is ſtated in our third report; it is the neceſſity of keeping open the ſhips books for many years, even after the treaſurer, in whoſe time they were firſt opened, is out of office, for the purpoſe of compleating the payments upon each book, that ſuch treaſurer may have his proper voucher for the payment of each ſhip, and to prevent the difficulty that would ariſe in diſtinguiſhing the payments by each, if the ſame book was paid upon by more treaſurers than one.

Keeping open the ſhip's books ſo long, beſides the delay it occaſions in the accounts, is pregnant with ſo many inconveniences both to the officer and the office, that the correction of this defect is an object worth attempting.

The difficulty lies in the payment upon recalls; that is, of thoſe perſons who remain upon a book unpaid after the day of payment. A ſhip is ſaid emphatically to be paid, upon that day in which that ſhip's book is firſt opened for payment, except where one perſon only upon a ſhip's book is paid upon a certain day, in order to put that ſhip out of commiſſion; and, in that caſe, payments within the month after, are conſidered not as recalls, but as payments on the pay day. All payments made ſubſequent to that day, and before the book is made up, are payments upon recalls, and are now made by or upon the book itſelf, and by the treaſurer in whoſe treaſurerſhip the book was firſt opened for payment, whether he is in or out of office. If a method can be deviſed of paying thoſe after-claimants by the treaſurer in office, and otherwiſe than by the ſhip's book, without delaying or diſturbing the pay of the ſeamen, or confounding the accounts of the treaſurers, the ſhip's books may then be cloſed at any time, and this difficulty will be removed.

In order to diſcover ſuch a method, it was abſolutely neceſſary to examine minutely into the manner in which this branch of the buſineſs is now conducted in the pay office of the navy; and with this knowledge we are furniſhed by Mr. Adam Jellicoe, chief clerk in the pay branch in the office of the treaſurer of the navy; Mr. John Hunter, who has long been employed in the office of the controller of the treaſurer's accounts at Portſmouth, where by far the greateſt number of the ſhips and recalls are paid; Mr. Edward Falkingham, a clerk in that branch of the office of the controller of the navy that relates to the payment of ſeamen's wages; and by Mr. William Paynter, the chief clerk in the ticket office.

A ſhip's book, with its four copies, is made out in the ſhip; it contains the names, and certain neceſſary circumſtances, of all the perſons entitled to wages in that ſhip; the two oppoſite pages are divided into a variety of columns, with a title at the top of each column; eighteen of theſe columns are for defalcations, that is, deductions or abatements that are to be made out of their wages at the time of payment: four of theſe are conſtant, certain deductions; they are intituled, the cheſt, the hoſpital, the three pence in the pound, and, the marine ſtoppages. The other fourteen are caſual. The wages of an able ſeaman are twenty-four ſhillings a month: this is part of the four pounds *per* man *per* month, voted annually by parliament for the maintenance of the ſeamen: from this ſum of twenty-four ſhillings, and from the monthly wages of every warrant and petty officer, there are two conſtant deductions; one ſhilling for the cheſt, and ſixpence for the hoſpital. The one ſhilling is divided into three parts, for three different purpoſes; ſixpence of it is paid to the cheſt at Chatham, for the ſupport of hurt and diſabled ſeamen; four-pence is paid to the chaplain; and two-pence to the ſurgeon. The ſixpence is applied to the ſupport of

Greenwich hoſpital; and the monthly pay of the commiſſioned officers is alſo ſubject to the ſame deduction. The three-pence in the pound is a deduction from the pay of all commiſſioned and warrant officers, for the purpoſe of paying the widows penſions. The marine ſtoppages are, one-penny a week from the wages of the private men, three half-pence of the corporal and drummer, and two-pence of the ſerjeant, applicable to the ſame bounty. The caſual deductions are either for articles ſupplied to them, which they are to pay for out of their wages; or for wages that have been advanced to them, or remitted by their order; or certain mulcts incurred by them.

The ſhip's book, being formed with theſe diviſions, is ſent, with the four copies, from the ſhip to the pay office of the navy at that port where the ſhip is to be paid, with all the columns filled up except the eight following; the cheſt, the hoſpital, the three-pence in the pound, the marine ſtoppages, the full and nett wages, the ſums remitted at the pay of the ſhip, and, neglect. The firſt ſix, depending upon the time of the ſervice of each perſon, cannot be filled up until that time is fully aſcertained by examination, on the day of payment; neither can the next, as being a tranſaction upon that day. The column of neglect, which contains the mulcts and fines, is filled up ſome time before the payment.

The officers and ſeamen, entitled to wages upon any ſhip's book, may be paid, either before the pay day of that ſhip, or upon that day, or between the pay day and the making up of the book, or after the book is made up: each of theſe times of payment is attended with ſome difference in the mode. The payments on the pay day are made, and payments upon recalls, that is, between the pay day and the making up of the books, are either made or ſet off upon the ſhip's book itſelf; all the circumſtances of each payment being there entered, that book becomes the evidence of ſuch payments: but payments made, either previous to the pay day, or ſubſequent to the making up of the books, are not made upon the books, but upon liſts, or by tickets, which liſts or tickets contain all the circumſtances, and are the evidence of ſuch payments.

A payment upon the pay day, which is generally the principal payment, is in this manner:—The full wages of each perſon applying are calculated, and entered in the full column; the open columns of defalcations are filled up: the total of his defalcations, both certain and caſual, being caſt up, and deducted from his full wages, leaves the nett wages; which are paid to him, and entered in the proper column. No date is ſet in the book againſt the names of the perſons who are paid upon this day; but the indorſement of the day upon the book, ſerves for the date of all thoſe payments: after that day, the book, at whatever port it may be, remains in the pay office there, until it is finally cloſed, for the purpoſe of paying upon recalls; which is done in the following manner:

A liſt of the claimants entitled to wages from ſhips that have been paid, is ſent from the ſhip where they are on board, to the pay office at the port; this liſt is examined with the ſhip's books that are in the office; and the perſons upon the liſt who can be paid, are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who cannot. The current number in the ſhip's book is entered upon the liſt, oppoſite the name of the perſon, that he may be the more eaſily found upon the book when he comes to be paid. The liſt, thus corrected, is returned to the captain: who ſends on ſhore, under the care of a commiſſioned officer, thoſe men who appear upon the liſt entitled to receive their wages: they are paid each upon the book of that ſhip to which he belonged, and the date of the day he is paid upon is ſet oppoſite to his name.

Where the liſt contains the names of men belonging to ſhips whoſe books are not at that port, the pay clerks apply to the pay officers of thoſe ports where the books are, for extracts; that is, for copies of the entries relative to thoſe men, in the books from which they ſeverally claim their wages: upon the receipt of theſe extracts, the liſt is corrected by them, in ſuch a manner as to inform the captain which of thoſe men he may ſend to be paid; and, that theſe payments may be ſet off upon the proper ſhip's books, the account of the extracts, that is, of the men thus paid, is ſent every quarter to the ſeveral ports.

In payments by liſts, either previous to the pay day of the ſhip, or after the ſhip's book is made up, or by tickets, the name, time of ſervice, defalcations, and other circumſtances of each perſon, are tranſcribed from the book of that ſhip from which he claims his wages, into the liſt or ticket. Each entry is an exact copy of the entry relative to the ſame perſon in the ſhip's book; and it muſt be ſo; for otherwiſe the remaining defalcations, and the full and nett wages, could not be calculated. After this is done, where the payment is by liſt, previous to the payment of the ſhip, or by ticket, the wages are calculated; the open columns all filled up; and if by liſt, the nett wages are paid; or if by ticket, that ticket is aſſigned upon the treaſurer for payment of the nett ſum therein mentioned; and in both theſe modes, to prevent double payments, the ſhip's book is marked, oppoſite the name of each perſon, in what manner paid, and by what treaſurer.

A payment, ſubſequent to the making up of the ſhip's book, is made upon a liſt of arrears, that is, a book that contains the name of each ſhip, and the names and circumſtances, extracted from the ſeveral ſhips books, of all perſons paid after the books on which they claim wages have been made up and finally cloſed. All ſhips books are at preſent made up and remain afterwards at the navy office in London. A claimant upon ſuch books muſt firſt apply for his wages to the navy board: they refer to the ſhip's book lodged in the ticket office; and if he appears to be entitled, they order him to be entered and paid upon the liſt of arrears, and his name is marked upon the ſhip's book as paid in that manner, and by what treaſurer.

Theſe different modes of payment vary the vouchers of the treaſurer. The previous liſt or ticket is a voucher for the total of the nett ſums contained in the liſt, or for the ſingle nett ſum in the ticket, for that treaſurer who pays it, whether he continues in office long enough, or not, to pay the book from whence the liſt or ticket is extracted.

When a book is finally made up, the defalcations oppoſite the names of thoſe perſons, who have been paid, either by previous liſts or tickets, and of thoſe who remain unpaid, are entered in the proper columns. The defalcations of each are caſt up, and the total entered in the column of full wages. Every column is caſt up to a total, and the treaſurer, whoſe book it is, is allowed, and that book ſo filled up is his voucher, for the total ſum in the column of full wages; but as he has paid the ſeamen, not their full but their nett wages only, he diſcharges himſelf of the difference, that is, of the defalcations, by the receipts of the purſer, or other perſons entitled, to whom he has paid them: and if he has not paid all the defalcations, he charges himſelf with what remains unpaid in his voluntary charge of the year, in which he has credit for that ſhip's book, and this remainder is afterwards paid by the treaſurer in office by a defalcation liſt.

The keeping open the ſhips books ſo long as they are at preſent, prevents the after-claimants from being very numerous, and conſequently the liſt of arrears from being very long; inſomuch that it ſerves as a ſingle voucher only, for the amount of the nett ſum of the payments made upon this liſt by a treaſurer during his whole treaſurerſhip, and that nett total ſum is entered as one payment in his final account.

From this deſcription of the modes of paying ſhips now in uſe in the navy office, it appears, that there does at this time exiſt a method, by which a ſubſequent treaſurer pays claimants upon ſhips books paid by and belonging to his predeceſſor, after they are finally cloſed and made up; and this method is by a liſt of arrears. Suppoſe, then, all the ſhips books paid upon by a treaſurer were, upon his reſignation or death, to be immediately laid by, and all payments upon them to ceaſe: could the ſucceeding treaſurer, by the ſame means, pay all the remaining claimants upon thoſe books, without any material inconvenience, either to the ſeamen or to the pay office?

This depends upon the difference which the ſubſtitution of the liſt of arrears in the place of the ſhips books will occaſion in the payments. The previous application by the claimant to the navy board muſt be diſpenſed with. The ſhips books, inſtead of being ſent to the navy office after they are cloſed, muſt remain at the out ports as they do now. Liſts of arrears, diſtinguiſhed from thoſe uſed after the ſhips books are made up, muſt be kept there as well as in London. Thus far there ſeems to be no difficulty. At preſent, if a ſingle claimant appears upon a recall, his ſhip's book is examined, his name found, his wages are calculated, the open columns of defalcations and the columns of wages filled up, upon the ſhip's book. If he is paid upon the liſt of arrears, his ſhip's book is equally examined, the ſame calculations and the ſame entries are made; but in the one caſe the entries are made in the ſhip's book, and in the other, upon the liſt of arrears; and beſides this, the original entries appearing upon the ſhip's book are copied from thence into the liſt of arrears: and this is the only difference between the two methods of payment. As this copying takes up time, the payment upon a liſt of arrears is longer than the payment upon a ſhip's book, by the length of time it takes to tranſcribe theſe entries.

Upon inſpection of a ſhip's book made up, and of a liſt of arrears, the entries tranſcribed appear to be, the name of the claimant, the current number, the quality, the times of entry and of diſcharge, with from three to five caſual defalcations; for though there are fourteen columns for caſual defalcations, yet there are ſeldom entries made in more than five of them; and theſe are uſually for cloaths of different kinds, tobacco, and the two months advance. The name of the ſhip likewiſe, to which the claimant belonged, is entered upon the liſt; and, to prevent overpayments, the ſhip's book is marked, oppoſite the name, as paid by liſt of arrears. From theſe entries ariſes all the additional trouble to the pay clerks, and delay to the ſeamen, by the ſubſtitution of the liſt of arrears in the place of the ſhip's books.

As there are now, at every payment upon recalls, beſides the commiſſioner, his clerk, and a ſecond clerk in the treaſurer's office, three pay clerks, with each a ſhip's book in which the ſame entries are made; ſo at a payment upon a liſt of arrears there muſt be the like number of clerks and liſts, and the ſame entries made in each liſt; but tranſcribing into the three liſts will take up no more time than the tranſcribing into one, if an attending clerk reads the entries in the ſhip's books, whilſt the other three tranſcribe them into their liſts. Where the number of claimants is not great, the time it takes to tranſcribe theſe articles cannot be very conſiderable. Where the payment is in conſequence of a liſt ſent from the ſhip, which is the uſual courſe, and where extracts are to be procured, there is always time enough to tranſcribe the entries before the liſt is returned to the captain; and in this caſe the actual payment is more eaſily tranſacted; for where the claims ariſe upon different ſhips, as all are entered upon the liſt of arrears, the trouble of turning to each ſhip's book is avoided. In payment of theſe liſts care muſt be taken that the captain ſends on ſhore to be paid all who are returned to him capable of being paid, that the payment upon the liſt of arrears may be complete. A ſick man may be paid afterwards, or if a man is prevented from coming at all, his name may be ſtruck out of the liſt.

There is one inſtance, and the only one that occurs to us, in which the time taken up in tranſcribing may be material; that is, where, upon a ſhip's being paid off, a number of her men are turned over to a ſhip under ſailing orders, and the captain applies for their immediate payment: in this caſe, at preſent, the commiſſioner goes on board with his pay clerks, and pays the men that are turned over upon the ſhip's book; was he to pay them upon a liſt of arrears, it might poſſibly take up near double the time, and the ſervice would be ſo far retarded. This caſe can happen only in time of war; and where the ſervice preſſes, and the captain has not time to ſend on ſhore a liſt of the ſeamen who are to be paid; and where the vacancy of the treaſurerſhip happens between the pay day of the ſhip's book and the time when the men turned over call for their wages.

As ſo many circumſtances muſt concur, and conſequently the caſe can rarely exiſt, we do not think the inconvenience that may ariſe in this one accidental event, counterbalances the many public advantages that certainly attend it in every other event; and conſequently, that the propoſed regulation ought not therefore to be rejected.

But the time employed in paying the ſeamen upon the ſhip's books, as well as upon liſts of arrears, may, in our opinion, be ſhortened, and the pay clerks be relieved from ſome part of their trouble. The ſums applicable to the cheſt, and the hoſpital, the three pence in the pound, and the marine ſtoppages, are deductions, after a certain rate, out of the wages of the officers, ſeamen, and marines: we applied to the commiſſioners of the navy, to know by what authority theſe deductions are made: from their returns to our requiſion, we collect the following information.

The copy of an inquiſition taken at Rocheſter in the fifteenth year of James the firſt, before commiſſioners of charitable uſes appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the fund belonging to the cheſt at Chatham, recites the origin of the payment of the ſix pence (part of the deduction of one ſhilling) to the cheſt at Chatham: an extract of ſo much of it as relates to the ſubject matter before us, we have inſerted in the Appendix; and from thence it appears, that this deduction commenced in the year 1590, and was a voluntary gift and contribution of a certain portion of their reſpective wages, by the maſters, mariners, ſhipwrights, and ſeafaring men, then employed in the ſervice, to be a perpetual relief for hurt and maimed mariners, carpenters, and ſeamen.

The four pence to the chaplain, and the two pence to the ſurgeon, which are the remaining parts of the one ſhilling deduction under the title of the cheſt, are very ancient: The commiſſioners of the navy have not been able to trace them to their origin. One ſhilling was the abatement in the cheſt column in the year 1685.

The deduction of ſix pence under the title of the hoſpital, is ordered, by the act of the 7th and 8th of William the third, chap. 21ſt, to be made from the wages of the ſeamen, and applied for the better ſupport of Greenwich hoſpital. An order of the board of admiralty, dated 3d September 1696, directs the navy board to carry this act into execution.

His late majeſty king George the ſecond, in conſequence of a voluntary agreement of the officers of the navy, by a commiſſion dated the 30th Auguſt 1732, directs that the three pence in the pound ſhall be from that time abated from the perſonal pay and half pay of officers therein deſcribed, for the relief of poor widows of commiſſioned and warrant officers of the navy, and appoints commiſſioners for conducting this charity: this commiſſion was carried into execution by an order of the board of admiralty dated 29th September 1732, directed for that purpoſe to the commiſſioners of the navy.

The marine ſtoppages are directed by an order of the ſame board, dated 2d September 1756.

Where a fund is to be created and eſtabliſhed for a public purpoſe, a groſs ſum is better calculated for it, than a ſum compounded of various deductions: the one is ſimple, eaſy, and certain; the other complex, troubleſome, and uncertain. The commiſſioners of the admiralty and of the navy muſt have full knowledge what ſums have been iſſued every year out of the ſea pay, to the cheſt at Chatham, Greenwich hoſpital, and the fund for the relief of poor widows, ever ſince their inſtitution. They may conjecture, from the experience of many years, what will be the wants and ſupplies of thoſe charities, in every poſſible ſituation of the navy. The wages of the officers and ſeamen is the fund for them all. No reaſon, then, occurs to us, why, on ſettling the navy eſtabliſhment every year, certain portions of that fund ſhould not be appropriated to the ſupport of theſe charities, to be iſſued, from time to time, by the treaſurer of the navy. At preſent, he advances to all of them ſums on account, and upon calculation: neither the commiſſioners, nor truſtees for theſe charities, can know their income from the ſea pay for any one year, until ſeven or eight years after that year is expired. They cannot know it, until the books of all the ſhips paid in that year are made up; and the books are now in arrear as far back as the year 1775. The ſame boards muſt likewiſe be acquainted with the incomes of the chaplain and ſurgeon of every ſhip, of whatever rate in the navy; at leaſt they know what is a proper and adequate compenſation for their ſeveral ſervices. What objection, then, ariſes to the allowing to each of them, inſtead of theſe deductions, one ſtated, certain, annual, ſalary, according to his ſtation, payable out of the fund of wages?

It appears, in our judgment, a general, uſeful regulation, wherever it is practicable, to take away the diſtinction between nominal and real wages and ſalaries, that the reputed compenſation for ſervice may be the ſum actually received, that every man may know the price of his labour and abilities. Where the nominal exceeds the real, an ignorant mind ſuſpects fraud, and a weak one is deceived by an imaginary income.

As the modes ſuggeſted of providing for theſe charities, and of paying the chaplains and ſurgeons, appear to us to be practicable, they ought, in our opinion, to be ſubſtituted in the place of the modes in uſe; one conſequence of which will be, that the four columns of the cheſt, the hoſpital, the three-pence in the pound, and, the marine ſtoppages, are rendered uſeleſs, and may be left out of the ſhips' books.

There is another defalcation, which, in our opinion, ought to be omitted for the future, as not anſwering the end propoſed; that is, the deduction under the title of venereal cures. This is a payment to the ſurgeon of 15 *s.* for every cure; and is directed to be charged againſt their wages by an order of the board of admiralty, dated 9th of April 1756. Before that year, the mulct upon the ſeaman was 1 *l.* 10 *s.* for every cure; the order reduces it to 15 *s.*; and ſtates, among other reaſons for the reduction, "that this great charge on the ſeamen did not prevent the evil." If a certain pecuniary mulct was not ſevere enough to prevent the offence in the year 1756, half that mulct can hardly be ſuppoſed more efficacious in the year 1782. A puniſhment that neither corrects the offender, nor deters others, is in itſelf an evil, from which the ſubject ſhould be relieved; and therefore, we think the ſurgeon ſhould attend to every diſeaſe of the ſeamen at the public expence, and be allowed a certain compenſation adequate to his ſkill and trouble.

The omiſſion of theſe five columns in the ſhips books, will accelerate the payments, both upon the books and upon the liſts of arrears, by as much time as is now taken up in making the calculations and entries in thoſe columns. The calculations, (however eaſy they may be to perſons accuſtomed to them) and the entries, though ſhort, yet being numerous, muſt, like the tranſcripts into the liſts, take up ſome time. A book of a firſt rate, for ſix months, has contained the names of fifteen hundred eighty-ſix perſons: upon the payment of as many of theſe men as are ſeamen, ſums muſt be calculated, and entries made in two columns at leaſt. Where time is ſo valuable, every portion of it is worth ſaving.

From this examination into the effect that the ſubſtitution of the liſt of arrears, in the place of the ſhip's books, will have upon the payment of the ſeamen, we are led to be of opinion, that if, upon the death or reſignation of a treaſurer, all the ſhips books paid by him are immediately cloſed, the ſucceſſor may pay all the after-claimants left unpaid upon thoſe books, by liſts of arrears, without creating either delay or diſturbance in the pay of the ſeamen; eſpecially if the number of entries upon the liſt of arrears be reduced, by the omiſſion of the five columns of defalcations above mentioned. It remains to be ſeen, whether this alteration will cauſe any confuſion in the accounts of the treaſurer.

A ſhip's book, paid by him, will be made up in the ſame manner it is now. It will be paid upon by one treaſurer only, and will be his voucher for the total ſum contained in the column of full wages; for which ſum he will have credit in his account of that year in which the book was paid.

The account of his payments by liſts of arrears will be varied. At preſent, the books being kept ſo long open, the after-claimants are few; and one entry ſerves, in his final account, for the whole ſum paid by him for arrears during the time of his treaſurerſhip; and one liſt of arrears ſuffices for his voucher; but if he pays upon liſts of arrears, all the perſons left unpaid upon all the books by all his predeceſſors, theſe payments muſt become ſo very numerous, that inſtead of one item in his final account of the total ſum paid by him for arrears in the courſe of his whole treaſurerſhip, he muſt inſert in his account of every year the total ſums paid by him during that year for arrears, at every port where he has a liſt; and the liſt made up, annually, at every port, will be his voucher for the ſums paid at that port: but this alteration will ſtill leave his accounts clear and undiſturbed.

In one branch, this mode will be of advantage to the pay-office, by ſhortening their accounts. At preſent the pay clerks at each port tranſmit every month to the navy office an account, containing the ſums paid by them upon the recalls of every ſhip during that month at their reſpective ports, diſtinguiſhing the treaſurer by whom paid, in order that each ſum may be poſted to the account of the ending of each ſhip's book in the ledger. From theſe returns the paymaſter of the navy makes out monthly certificates of theſe payments. The places where payments are made upon recalls being four, and the ſhips books of three treaſurers being open for payment, theſe certificates for the month of Auguſt laſt were twelve; that of Mr. Ellis contained the payments upon three hundred fifty-two ſhips; that of Colonel Barré, upon one hundred and ten; beſides that of the treaſurer in office. Had theſe payments been made upon liſts of arrears, they would have been all made by the treaſurer in office, and there would have been four returns only, each containing a single article, being the amount of all the payments upon the liſt of arrears at that port during that month, and poſted in the ledger to the account of payments on liſts of arrears; ſo that, inſtead of four hundred ſixty-two ſeparate articles inſerted in the returns, entered in the certificates, and poſted into the ledger, four entries only would have been made in each, and conſequently twelve entries would have ſerved inſtead of thirteen hundred eighty-ſix, for theſe payments in that month only.

If the ſhips books of a treaſurer may be cloſed upon his death or reſignation, that which is aſſigned as the principal cauſe for the delay in making up his accounts is removed: not that this cauſe is wide enough to cover the delay. The ſhips books are in arrear ſeven years only, but the accounts are in arrear above twenty years; and this delay reſts with the office of the treaſurer; for the materials which compoſe the accounts of the year 1762, are not complete in the office of the auditors of the impreſt; the reaſon given for it is, a want of officers and clerks properly qualified to make up the accounts in arrear; for which the remedy is obvious.

This examination has enabled us to form an opinion upon another point of moment to the public. The legiſlature have, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, introduced into the office of the paymaſter general of the forces a regulation, which, as it ſeems to us, may be applied as beneficially to the office of the treaſurer of the navy. The cuſtody of the caſh applicable to the navy ſervices, may be transferred from the treaſurer to the bank of England, and the account only of the receipts and payments be kept in his office. All the ſums now received by him may be received by the bank: ſums from the exchequer may be impreſted to the bank: ſums directed by the letters of the different boards to be be paid to him, may be directed to be paid into the bank: All bills aſſigned upon him for payment may be paid, and all extra payments may be made by his drafts upon the bank. The payment of the ſeamen, the artificers and labourers in the yards, and the perſons in the hoſpital ſhips, and on the half pay liſts, muſt be carried on in the ſame manner it is now; theſe men cannot be paid by drafts; they muſt have caſh; and with that caſh the pay clerks muſt be entruſted, as they are at preſent, and the treaſurer muſt continue to be reſponſible for them, as for officers of his appointment and under his control; but this will be no obſtruction to the regulation. The money may be all iſſued to the pay clerks by the drafts of the treaſurer upon the bank, according to the requiſitions of the navy board, in like manner as many of theſe ſums are iſſued at this day; and upon the death or reſignation of a treaſurer, the balances of his caſh in the bank, and in the hands of his pay clerks, may be ſtruck immediately, and carried over to the account of his ſucceſſor. In this ſituation the treaſurer, neither receiving nor paying public money himſelf, can be neither debtor to nor creditor of the public, except as far as he may be reſponſible for his clerks.

On paſſing his accounts, the bill indorſed, or requiſition of the navy board, is both his authority and voucher for his draft. The draft indorſed is the voucher for the bank to prove their payment. If theſe accounts agree (and they ought frequently to be compared together) it is highly probable that they are both right.

The only remaining ſource of delay, in the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy, that has come under our obſervation, is the neceſſity, ariſing from the preſent courſe of the exchequer, that theſe accounts ſhould paſs through the office of the auditors of the impreſt. Public accounts ought certainly to be fully and accurately examined ſomewhere. The officer entruſted with public money ſhould give an account what he has done with it; and the public have a right to the ſatisfaction of knowing, that their money has been applied to the purpoſes for which they gave it.

The treaſurer of the navy is an officer merely miniſterial: He neither receives nor pays in conſequence of any judgment of his own; but as he is directed, or according to liſts prepared for him, and rules preſcribed him; and therefore to paſs his accounts, is no more than to ſee that he has an authority, and a correct voucher, for every payment he claims to be allowed.

We learn from the information of George Marſh, eſq. one of the commiſſioners of the navy; and from Jonas Hanway, eſq. one of the commiſſioners of the victualling; and from Mr. Nathan Crow, chief clerk to the commiſſioners of ſick and hurt, that the commiſſioners of each office are entruſted with the power of making all contracts, whether for the purchaſe of ſtores or materials, or for the performance of ſervices in their ſeveral departments: that certain officers are appointed or officially bound to ſuperintend the execution of the contracts; and no payment is directed to be made but upon the certificate or teſtimony, in ſome ſhape or other, of theſe officers that the contracts have been executed to the amount of the demand with honeſty and fidelity, and according to the terms and conditions of the engagement. Certain officers of theſe boards, in their reſpective departments, compare the bills with the terms of the contracts, and examine the computations and caſtings. The commiſſioners, relying upon their accuracy and fidelity, aſſign the bill ſo examined upon the treaſurer for payment. The treaſurer, before he tranſmits his account or ledger to the auditors of the impreſt, ſends the ſeveral parts of it to different branches of the navy, victualling, and ſick and hurt offices, with the vouchers: the officers whoſe buſineſs it is, in theſe departments, compare the articles in the ledger with their correſpondent vouchers, and with the entries in their books of office; this examination warrants the ſubſcription of the commiſſioners of the navy to the ledger entries. The auditor compares the abſtract with the particular items that compoſe it: he recaſts and recomputes the compound articles, and makes ſome alteration in the arrangement of others.

From this ſtate of the progreſs of theſe accounts, it ſeems to us that the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy are in fact not audited by the auditor of the impreſt, but by the commiſſioners of the navy.

To the commiſſioners of the ſeveral boards is committed the important truſt of making and deciding upon the execution of all contracts. They are the ſole judges of the reaſonableneſs of the terms, and of the fidelity with which they are fulfilled: they direct the payments or ſums to be advanced on account, conſequent to the complete or part performance of the contracts. Hence they are the ultimate judges of the ground and conſideration of every payment. Theſe powers muſt be entruſted ſomewhere without appeal; and where, to all appearance, ſo properly as with the preſiding officers of the ſeveral boards, ſubject to the ſuperintending eye of parliament?

Of this material branch of an audit, the auditor of the impreſt has no cognizance: from the nature and conſtitution of his office, he is not competent to examine into the grounds of theſe payments; or, if he could examine, can he be qualified to decide upon the propriety of them? Neither does he ſee any vouchers (except for the few extra payments): he relies upon the teſtimony of the commiſſioners of the navy (a teſtimony he is bound not to call in queſtion) that they exiſt, and warrant the entries: he does no more, in fact, than what has been previouſly, and to all appearance ſufficiently, done to his hands in the navy office, except the diſpoſing of certain articles in different order; which, as far as it is uſeful, may eaſily be adopted in the office of the treaſurer; where they are now profiting by his example in the arrangement of the inſupers. Errors may certainly eſcape the navy and other officers. The auditor diſcovered an error, in the account of the year 1759, of a double charge of eighty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings: and, extend the chain of re-examination to any given length, the poſſibility of error muſt exiſt in the laſt link. The auditor himſelf is not perfect: errors in his accounts have been diſcovered in the pipe office, and corrected by him.

Since, then, the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy are, in effect, paſſed, and with ſufficient care and accuracy, in the offices to which they ſeverally relate, and the moſt important parts of the examination are intruſted to thoſe officers without control, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe the computations and caſtings, generally the buſineſs of clerks in office, may, with equal ſafety, be finally committed to the ſame deciſion.

We are therefore of opinion, that auditing the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy, in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, is unneceſſary, and may be diſpenſed with; that the proceedings of that office upon the accounts of the treaſurers now before them ſhould ceaſe, and the materials relative thereto be returned to the office of the treaſurer, and that the auditors ſhould be relieved and diſcharged from all attention to them for the future.

Paſſing public accounts without the intervention of the auditors of the impreſt, is no novelty in the exchequer. Thomas Rumſey, eſq. deputy auditor of the exciſe, informed us of the manner in which the accounts of the duties under the management of the commiſſioners of exciſe are paſſed. Theſe commiſſioners are all jointly accountable for the ſums received and paid by them on account of the exciſe, and other duties committed to their truſt: they do not paſs their accounts in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, but in that of the auditor of the exciſe; an office inſtituted for that ſpecial purpoſe. The accounts they paſs every year, are, ſixteen caſh accounts, and ſeventeen general accounts. All except the malt are made up to the 5th of July. Each caſh account contains the account of the weekly receipts and payments of the commiſſioners themſelves only, relative to one or more duties. It is made out by the accountant general in whoſe department thoſe duties are. After examination, it is ſworn to by all the commiſſioners, before the curſitor baron of the exchequer, about the May following; after which, it is delivered to the auditor of exciſe, with all the vouchers: he examines them, and reduces the account into the official form of the exchequer: he makes out two parts, one on parchment, the other on paper, as is done in the office of the auditors of the impreſt.

Beſides theſe caſh accounts, the general accounts are likewiſe made up every year by the accountants general, to the ſame period. Theſe general accounts are more comprehenſive than the caſh accounts. They contain all the receipts and payments of each particular duty by every collector throughout the kingdom, and at the office in London: they are ſigned by the reſpective accountants general, and delivered to the auditor with the vouchers. He examines and reduces them into the like official forms, and makes out ſimilar parts of them. They are not ſworn to by any one. Both the caſh and general accounts are ſigned by the deputy auditor of exciſe, declared every year, uſually in June or July, before the chancellor of the exchequer, and ſigned by him and two lords of the treaſury; after which, the auditor delivers the parts on parchment to the king's remembrancer, and retains the declarations in his own office. The total charge upon the commiſſioners of exciſe, for the year 1778, was 7,479,613*l.*; the total diſcharge was 5,656,829*l.*

We find likewiſe, from the examination of Mr. James Roulands, firſt clerk in the office of James Weſt, eſq. one of the auditors of the land revenue, that the accounts of the receivers general of the land tax, window tax, and of ſeveral other duties, are not paſſed in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, but in the office where he is employed.

Since, then, the courſe of the exchequer does not render it abſolutely neceſſary that all public accounts ſhould be paſſed in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, we ſee no reaſon why the navy accounts may not proceed in the like train with thoſe of the exciſe. Of theſe duties the commiſſioners themſelves are the accountants; and therefore a diſtinct office is appointed for the paſſing them; but in the navy, the treaſurer being the accountant, and neither appointed by, nor ſubject to, the commiſſioners, his accounts may, without danger of colluſion, be completely, as they are now in by far the moſt material part, paſſed by the commiſſioners of the navy; they may be reduced into the exchequer form in the treaſurer's office, adopting from the auditor his arrangement of the articles, and may be paſſed through the exchequer offices.

All theſe public accounts, in whatever office paſſed, are drawn up in the official form of the exchequer; and, after declaration, the part on parchment paſſes through the three ſeveral offices of the king's remembrancer, the lord treaſurer's remembrancer, and the pipe. We endeavoured to learn, from the officers employed in theſe departments, to what purpoſe theſe accounts were paſſed through ſo many offices.

Adam Martin, eſq. the firſt clerk in the office of the king's remembrancer; and John Perrott, eſq. firſt ſecondary in the office of the lord treaſurer's remembrancer; and Mr. Peter Sykes, deputy to the firſt ſecondary in the pipe-office, inform us, that a ſtate or abſtract of every public account, after it is paſſed, is inrolled in theſe offices, and in the two firſt the inſupers are inrolled verbatim; but in the laſt, the groſs ſum only, ſet inſuper, is entered upon the roll without the names, unleſs where there are but few of them. This inrollment is the record of the account in each office; and, in the office of the king's remembrancer, warrants the proceſs that iſſues againſt the accountant, whether it be the ordinary proceſs of *diſtringas ad computandum*, or the ſpecial proceſs of *capias ad computandum*, or any proceſs for recovering a debt due to the crown. No general proceſs can iſſue from this office, unleſs founded on matter of record in the office: but, in the two other offices, the inrollment ſeems to be of no uſe; no proceſs iſſues from either of them, in conſequence of, or grounded on that record. The long writ, which is the proceſs that iſſues out of the office of the lord treaſurer's remembrancer, is grounded upon the nichil record tranſmitted to them from the pipe-office.

On the roll of foreign accounts in the pipe-office, which contains the abſtracts of all the public accounts, no proceſs whatever iſſues. The words, either "*quietus eſt*," or "*he is quit*," are written at the bottom of every abſtract upon the roll, and a copy is delivered to the accountant, which is his quietus.

Public accounts, or abſtracts of them, ought to be inrolled, and the records of them preſerved in ſome office or other: but enrolling them in three different branches of an office, ſeems to be more than is neceſſary. In that of the king's remembrancer it is neceſſary, as the ground for the proceſs; and that inrollment anſwers all the purpoſes of a record; it may be conſulted for information, or it may be produced, if wanted, in evidence: the other two ſeem utterly uſeleſs, and may, therefore, be diſpenſed with, and the fees ſaved to the public. The fees paid to the pipe for the quietus upon Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1759, were eighty-one pounds ten ſhillings. The account itſelf being lodged in this office, a very ſhort abſtract, with the quietus ſubſcribed, may be delivered to the accountant as his final diſcharge.

An account in the exchequer form is in Engliſh, but contains ſome Latin terms. The impreſt roll is all written in an abridgement of the Latin language. The ſums in both are expreſſed in characters that are, in general, corruptions of the old text, and are in uſe no where, that we can find, but in the exchequer; characters very liable to miſtakes, inconvenient and troubleſome even to the officers themſelves: the ſums ſo expreſſed cannot

not be caſt up. Moſt of the accounts in the exchequer are made up twice; firſt in common figures, that they may be added together; and then turned into Latin, and the ſums entered in the exchequer figures: and, that the high numbers in a declared account may be underſtood, they are written in common figures under the characters. They are defective, having no characters to expreſs high numbers, as millions; they are unintelligible to the perſons either receiving, or having other money tranſactions at the exchequer.

The act of the 4th of his late majeſty, chapter 26th, "to remedy "the miſchiefs ariſing from pro-"ceedings in courts of juſtice being "in an unknown language, and in "a character not legible to any "but perſons practiſing the law," directs that all ſuch proceedings ſhall be in the Engliſh language, and written in a common legible hand and character, and in words at length, and not abbreviated. This act is declared, by the ſixth of the ſame king, chapter 6th, not to extend to the court of the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer; but that their officers ſhall carry on the buſineſs according to the uſual forms and practice. No reaſon is ſtated in the act, or appears to us, for this exemption; and therefore we are at liberty, without the imputation of impeaching the wiſdom of thoſe times, to ſay, that the many inconveniences attending this practice, call for the extenſion of the act of the fourth of George the ſecond, to the court of the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer. It does not ſeem reaſonable, that this ſhould be the only court whoſe proceedings are to remain involved in myſtery and obſcurity.

Simplicity, uniformity, and perſpicuity, are qualities of excellence in every account, both public and private; and accounts of public money, as they concern all, ſhould be intelligible to all: nor is this learning in danger of being loſt; the bent of the antiquarian, and the intereſt of the keeper of records will preſerve it.

The uſe of the Engliſh language, and of the common figures only, will ſave the time and trouble of the officers; a conſideration of weight, in an office where, at this time, the receipt and iſſue is of above thirty millions each in the year.

As ſuggeſting means for contracting the public expences is one great end of our inſtitution, to which every act expreſsly points our attention, we enquired what ſaving would accrue to the public from this exemption of the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy from the juriſdiction of the auditors of the impreſt: to this end, we required from that office a liſt of the expences attending the paſſing the account of the year 1759, which had been under our conſideration.

The liſt tranſmitted to us, contains fees to the amount of 1,278 *l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*; of which the ſum paid in the office of the auditor is 1,091 *l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* The auditor himſelf has a fee of one hundred pounds a year; and at the rate of twenty pounds for every hundred thouſand pounds contained in the charge, deducting the balance in the preceding account. Hence, if theſe accounts are immediately withdrawn from the auditor, the ſaving will be, in his fees alone (omitting thoſe to the deputy and clerks) one hundred pounds for every year ſince 1761, that is, 2,100*l.* for every 100,000*l.* on above 70 millions, which are yet to paſs his office (excluſive of what the voluntary charges of the treaſurers may amount to in thoſe years) that is, together, upwards of 16,000*l.* deducting a reaſonable compenſation for the trouble they have had in examining thoſe parts of the accounts of the years ſubſequent to the year 1761, which have been delivered into the office. The annual ſaving for the future will depend upon the navy eſtabliſhment of the year.

Thus have we endeavoured, by ſuggeſting ſuch regulations as appear to us beſt calculated for the purpoſe, to remove the cauſes of delay that have hitherto retarded the accounts of the treaſurer of the navy.

The benefits intended to reſult from them are—to ſecure the public money from miſuſe;—to reduce the outſtanding balances for the navy ſervices;—to enable the treaſurer to end his buſineſs with his office, and to paſs his accounts with greater facility and expedition; and, ſhould he retire in diſguſt, to deprive him of the power of diſturbing the pay of the navy, by a refuſal to carry on the payment of the ſhips;—and, finally, to further the plan of œconomy, by lopping off ſome branches of expence.

The annual ſaving propoſed by the regulation does not appear very conſiderable; when compared with the ſupply of the year, it vaniſhes; but ſuch is the ſtate of the public finances, that ſavings comparatively minute are not to be neglected: to reduce an enormous public debt, indiſpenſably requires a ſyſtem of general œconomy; an œconomy coextenſive with the receipt and expenditure of the public revenue, and that pervades every branch of both; and, though the ſavings in each branch, ſeparately conſidered, may, to minds accuſtomed to the contemplation of millions, appear beneath attention, yet of ſuch ſavings is compoſed an aggregate, that grows to an object, and conſtitutes the fund for redemption.

Powerful and effectual may be the operation of a principle univerſally diffuſed, and ſteadily adhered to; and upon ſuch an operation only depends the character of national juſtice, the ſupport of national credit, and the preſervation of the public welfare.

Every reform muſt proceed by degrees; it ſpreads wider and faſter, in proportion as regulations are formed, adopted, and carried into execution. The exigency of theſe times demands that every regulation, if approved, ſhould, as ſoon as it is formed, be applied to its proper object, that a ſtop may be put, as ſoon as poſſible, to every unneceſſary and improper expence. The weight of debt preſſes; and procraſtination both increaſes the preſſure, and more and more embarraſſes the means of relief; and, for this reaſon, we have thought it incumbent upon us not to defer our report until we had proceeded further in the inveſtigation of the office of the auditors of the impreſt; but to ſubmit to the wiſdom of parliament the regulations that have thus far occurred to us, applicable to the office of the treaſurer of the navy, to the end that no advantage whatſoever, that can be derived from the execution of the important truſt repoſed in us by the legiſlature, may, by our neglect or delay, be withheld, for one moment, from the public.

Office of Accounts,
Surrey Street,
December 20th, 1782.

T. Anguish, (L.S.)
A. Piggott, (L.S.)
Rich. Neave, (L.S.)
Sam. Beachcroft, (L.S.)
Geo. Drummond. (L.S.)

CHARAC-

CHARACTERS.

Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of Haller; *from* Coxe's *Travels in* Switzerland, vol. ii.

BERNE has produced few men highly eminent in literature; but has eſtabliſhed her glory in being the birth-place of the celebrated Haller.

Albert Haller, the youngeſt of five brothers, was born on the 16th of October 1708. His father, Emanuel Haller, a citizen of Berne, practiſed the law as an advocate with great ſucceſs; and in 1713 removed from the capital to Baden, where he was appointed ſecretary of that bailliage.

Although many accounts are uſually related concerning the early genius of diſtinguiſhed perſons, which do not always deſerve implicit credit; yet the premature abilities and application of Haller are inconteſtably proved. When he had ſcarcely attained his fifth year, he was accuſtomed to write the new words, which he recollected to have heard in the courſe of the day. His progreſs in the languages was ſo rapid, that in his tenth year he could tranſlate from the Greek, and compoſed for his own private uſe a Chaldaic grammar, a Greek and Hebrew lexicon. His paſſion for letters was alſo ſo general and ardent, that, about the ſame period, he abridged from Bayle and Moreri an hiſtorical dictionary, compriſing above two thouſand lives, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſatire in Latin verſe againſt his preceptor Abraham Baillodz, a perſon of conſiderable learning, but of a capricious and moroſe diſpoſition.

Such unwearied application, and ſuch aſtoniſhing progreſs, in a youth of his years, ought to have enſured the approbation and encouragement of his family. On the contrary, his father, who had deſtined him to the law, reproved his growing taſte for polite literature, was particularly offended at his inclination for poetry, as likely to draw him from the ſeverer occupations, and objected to the variety of his purſuits as too deſultory and ſuperficial. He did not conſider, that, during childhood, the principal requiſite of education is to infuſe a taſte for application in general; and, that when the baſe of education is rendered as broad as poſſible, it may always, like a pyramid, be reduced to a point. But neither his father's repeated exhortations, nor his preceptor's ſevere admonitions, could oblige the youth to confine his ſtudies to one object, or check his inſatiable thirſt for general information.

In this manner he was educated

until 1721, when, on his father's death, he was removed to the public ſchool at Berne. He was placed in a claſs far above his age; and uſually wrote in Greek the exerciſe, which he was expected to compoſe in the Latin tongue.

In 1723, he obtained permiſſion to accompany a young friend to Bienne, in order to be inſtructed in philoſophy by the father of his companion, who was a celebrated phyſician. But his new preceptor being a bigot to the Carteſian ſchool, Haller ſoon rejected with diſdain that logic and philoſophy, which tended to cramp his genius rather than extend his knowledge; and continued to cultivate hiſtory, poetry, and polite literature, but with as little order and method as might be expected from his years.

Haller, during his reſidence at Bienne, began a cuſtom, which he afterwards followed through life, that of writing his opinion of the books which he peruſed, and making large extracts from them. His genius being alſo awakened by the romantic ſcenery of the country to poetical enthuſiaſm, he compoſed various pieces in the epic, dramatic, and lyric ſtyles. He was at this time ſo entirely abſorbed in this favourite ſtudy, that, on a fire breaking out in the houſe in which he reſided, he ruſhed into his apartment, and reſcued his poetry from the flames, leaving his other papers, with little regret, to deſtruction. Afterwards, when a more mature age had ripened his judgment, he was frequently heard to ſay, that he had preſerved from the flames thoſe compoſitions which he then thought the fineſt productions of human genius, in order at a future period to conſign them to deſtruction as unworthy of his pen.

In this period of life, Haller compares himſelf to a wild plant, which is left to grow without pruning; and this very circumſtance was probably the principal cauſe of his future proficiency, and the foundation of that univerſal knowledge, to which he afterwards attained.

He had been originally intended for the law: but his active mind could not ſubmit to follow a profeſſion which would limit his inquiries; which entirely depended on precedent and authority; and which, to uſe his own quotation from Horace, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, obliged him,

Jurare in verba magiſtri.

And although he could not ſubmit to the ſhackles of that narrow philoſophy, ſo ſtrongly recommended and enforced by his new preceptor, yet he appears to have been principally determined by his advice to dedicate himſelf to phyſic; the ſtudy of which comprehends ſuch a variety of literary purſuits, as ſeemed congenial to the zeal and activity of his capacious mind. He had no ſooner formed this reſolution, than he adopted a more regular and uniform plan, than he had hitherto been able to purſue. For this purpoſe he removed, towards the end of 1723, to the univerſity of Tubingen, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with that unwearied application, which never forſook him, under the profeſſors Elias Camerarius and Du Vernoy. From Camerarius he learned thoſe ſound principles of rational philoſophy, which teach us firſt to doubt, and afterwards to believe; and which are as far removed from credulity on one hand, as from ſcepticiſm on the other. From the lectures of Du Vernoy he imbibed his firſt taſte for botany, and made ſo rapid a progreſs in the ſtudy of anatomy, that his maſter predicted, from ſeveral diſſertations, his future proficiency in that line. Notwithſtanding, however, his ſtrong and invariable attachment to theſe two branches of natural hiſtory, he repreſents himſelf as ſtudying *invitâ minervâ*, againſt nature; anatomy though he could not ſupport bad ſmells, and botany though he was extremely ſhort-ſighted. At Tubingen he alſo diſtinguiſhed his knowledge in mineralogy, by refuting the error of Tournefort, in aſcribing to foſſils a vegetating power.

During his continuance in that univerſity, he gave an inſtance of his early controul over his paſſions; a difficult conqueſt for a young man of ſtrong feelings and lively imagination. A ſingle deviation into exceſs, into which he had been hurried by the example of ſome of his fellow-pupils, ſo greatly affected a perſon like him, no leſs enamoured of virtue, than ſuſceptible of ingenuous ſhame, that he inſtantly formed a reſolution to abſtain from wine; and adopted a ſtrictneſs of morals, which renders highly probable the aſſertion of his French encomiaſt, the Marquis de Condorcet, that he was deſcended from a family, in which piety might be ſaid to be hereditary.

In 1725, Haller repaired to Leyden, to which place he was drawn by the great reputation of Boerhaave. Here he found a more ample field for a diſplay of his abilities, and the improvement of his mind. He became the favourite ſcholar of Boerhaave, by whoſe example and encouragement he ſtrengthened his growing inclination for botany. He noted down his maſter's lectures on the *Inſtitutes of Medicine* with ſuch preciſion, as afterwards gave birth to one of his moſt uſeful publications. He continued his anatomical ſtudies under Albinus, juſt then riſing into fame, and the venerable Ruych, who ſo highly improved the art of injecting anatomical preparations.

The precarious ſtate of his health, probably occaſioned, or at leaſt increaſed, by his intenſe application, induced him to accompany two of his countrymen through part of Germany. On his return, in 1726, he received his doctor's degree, though only in the nineteenth year of his age; and publiſhed on that occaſion his inaugural diſſertation *de Ductu ſalivali Coſchwiziano.*

In 1727 he viſited England, was favourably received by Cheſelden, Douglas, and Sir Hans Sloane; and improved his knowledge of medicine and ſurgery under the auſpices of thoſe celebrated men, and by diligently attending the hoſpitals.

At Paris, whither he next directed his courſe, he ſtudied botany under Geoffroy and Juſſieu; anatomy under Le Dran and Winſlow, a celebrated ſurgeon. Winſlow was indeed his favourite maſter, to whom he particularly attached himſelf; whom he propoſed to his diſciples as the beſt model for their imitation, as an anatomiſt who, ſhackled by no ſyſtem, deſcribed ſimply and faithfully what he himſelf obſerved in his diſſections.

Haller had propoſed to continue his travels to Italy, that country where medicinal knowledge firſt revived in the darker ages, and where,

> "*Smit with the love of ſacred ſong,*"

he might indulge his enthuſiaſm and improve his taſte in claſſical literature. The uncertain ſtate of his health, the *maladie du pays*, which ſo remarkably affects the Swiſs in foreign parts, and on which he has compoſed a poem, together with the advice of his friends, prevailed over his inclination, and induced him to return to his native country.

In his way to Berne he ſtopped at Baſle, in order to ſtudy mathematics and algebra under the celebrated John Bernoulli; and in this, as well as every other inſtance of his life, applied with ſuch indefatigable perſeverance, as if thoſe ſciences were to form the ſole object of his future reſearches. His proficiency in theſe ſtudies is ſufficiently proved by ſeveral treatiſes ſtill extant in manuſcript, which he compoſed on arithmetic and geometry, and particularly by his remarks on the Marquis de l'Hoſpital's Analyſis of Infiniteſimals; and his attachment to them by his being deeply employed in a profound calculation on the day of his marriage. But though he made ſuch a progreſs as aſtoniſhed Bernoulli himſelf, he continued his other purſuits, being appointed to read lectures on anatomy during the ſickneſs of the profeſſor: while he fulfilled the duties of that office, he alſo attended the lectures of Tzinger on the practical parts of medicine; thus at the ſame time diſplaying, with equal propriety, the dignity of a profeſſor, and the humility of a pupil.

During the ſummer of 1729, he, in company with his friend John Geſner, made an excurſion into the mountains of Switzerland; an excurſion rendered memorable by its ſuggeſting to him the plan of a *Flora Helvetica*, and by inſpiring his poem on the Alps, which he compoſed in the 21ſt year of his age; a poem as ſublime and immortal as the mountains which are the ſubject of his ſong.

Not to interrupt theſe biographical anecdotes with a chronological detail of his poetical productions, I ſhall juſt mention, that, not long after his poem on the Alps, he wrote his ethic epiſtles, on the Imperfection of Human Virtue, on Superſtition and Infidelity, on the Origin of Evil, on the Vanity of Honour, Various Satires, Doris, a Paſtoral on his firſt wife, and his much-admired Elegy on her death. It is a convincing proof of Haller's verſatile genius and extraordinary mental powers, that he ſhould have ſo eminently excelled in poetry, which, except in his early youth, he never conſidered otherwiſe than as an amuſement, either to ſoothe him under afflictions, and in the bed of ſickneſs, or to conſole him for the envy and neglect of his contemporaries.

The ſoundeſt German critics place Haller among the moſt eminent of their poets; and conſider ſublimity as the grand characteriſtic of his writings. They acknowledge, that he improved the harmony and richneſs of his native tongue; that he poſſeſſed the higheſt powers of invention and fancy; great originality both in his ideas and language; that he is the true colouriſt of nature; that he ſounded the depths of metaphyſical and moral ſcience; that he equally excels in pictureſque deſcriptions, in ſoft and delightful imagery, in elevated ſentiments, and philoſophical preciſion.

A few ſupercilious critics have reproached his poetry with occaſional obſcurities; and accuſe him of having introduced a new language affectedly averſe to the common modes of diction. Cold criticiſm may cenſure; but twenty-two ſucceſſive editions of his German poems, and the tranſlation of them into the principal languages of Europe, prove, that they poſſeſs the great aim of poetry, that of pleaſing and intereſting the reader. And it may be remarked with truth, that although Haller's ſtupendous labours in erudition and ſcience render his poetical talents of inferior account; yet that if he had confined himſelf to poetry, that alone would have immortalized his name.

But it is time to follow Haller to his native city, where he returned, in 1729, expecting from his countrymen that reſpect and patronage, he had ſo liberally received abroad. He had, however, the mortification to experience that neglect, and even envy, to which every man of genius is expoſed in his own country, and which he ſeems to have augmented by his ſatirical compoſitions.

He continued three years without having the intereſt to procure any public employment; and, though he prevailed on government to eſtabliſh an anatomical theatre, and gave lectures gratis; yet he did not ſucceed in obtaining the place of phyſician to the hoſpital, which he much deſired. He alſo ſolicited a profeſſorſhip, and was again repulſed. He ſeems to have ſenſibly felt theſe diſappointments, and expreſſed his impatience and indignation in his ſatirical poems. Inſtead, however, of damping his activity or abating the ardour of his genius, he redoubled his application and ſervices in order to force himſelf into public notice.

His literary reputation began now to ſpread itſelf by various botanical, anatomical, and medical publications, and by a collection of poems, which firſt made its appearance in 1732.

At length, in 1736, he received, unſolicited on his part, the offer of the profeſſorſhip of phyſic, botany, and ſurgery, in the univerſity of Gottingen, newly eſtabliſhed by George the Second. Notwithſtanding, however, all the advantages and honours which accompanied this offer, he, for ſome time, heſitated whether he ſhould accept it. He had, in 1731, eſpouſed a young lady of good family, whoſe great beauty and accompliſhments were rendered ſtill more endearing by her affectionate ſubſerviency to his manner of life. She had brought him three children; and theſe ties attached him more ſtrongly to his native place, where his merits had procured him many ſincere friends; and the air of which he conſidered as in ſome reſpect neceſſary for the continuance of his health. On the contrary, the honour of being invited by ſo great a monarch, the dignity of the eſtabliſhment to which he was called, and the conſideration of having a more ample theatre for the improvement of his knowledge, induced him to remove to Gottingen.

During ſeventeen years, in which he reſided at Gottingen, where his abilities expanded in proportion as his opportunities of acquiring knowledge increaſed; he obtained from government the eſtabliſhment of a botanical garden, which he ſuperintended, of an anatomical theatre, a ſchool for midwifery, and a college for the improvement of ſurgery. He formed the plan for a Royal Society of Sciences, of which he was appointed perpetual preſident.

The comprehenſive mind and verſatile genius of Haller, united with his unremitting diligence and ardour, in all his purſuits, enabled him to cultivate with uncommon ſucceſs, a variety of knowledge. Had not the great Swede pre-occupied the field, it is probable, that Haller would have ſtood the firſt among his contemporaries as an improver of botanical knowledge.

In 1742, his great botanical work on the plants of Switzerland, the reſult of fourteen years ſtudy, made its appearance. It was entitled, *Enumeratio Methodica Stirpium Helvetiæ,* in 2 vols. folio. It was the moſt copious Flora the world had ever ſeen, compriſing 1,840 ſpecies, and was enriched with ſeveral advantages, that rendered it ſingularly acceptable. The preface contains a compendious geographical deſcription of Switzerland, and of the Alps particularly; an account of all the authors who had written on the plants of that country; the recital of his own journies; acknowledgments to thoſe who had aſſiſted him; concluding with the order and method he means to purſue in this work.

[We muſt refer our readers for a more detailed account of the botanical and medical works of Haller, to Mr. Coxe's valuable letter, from which theſe extracts are taken.]

He proceeds to inform us that Haller's emoluments augmented as his merits were diſplayed; and honours flowed upon him from all quarters. He was elected, in 1748, into the Royal Society of Stockholm, into that of London in 1749, and in 1754 choſen one of the eight foreign members in the Academy of Sciences at Paris. In 1739, he was appointed phyſician to George the Second, and king's counſellor in 1740. In 1749, the emperor Francis conferred on him letters of nobility at the requeſt of George the Second; and about the ſame time the king, in a viſit which he paid to the univerſity, diſtinguiſhed Haller with particular marks of approbation.

He declined, in 1745, an invitation to Oxford, which would probably have terminated in his nomination to the profeſſorſhip of botany, vacant by the death of the celebrated Dillenius; a ſecond from the univerſity of Utrecht; and, in 1750, a third from the king of Pruſſia, with the offer of a very conſiderable penſion.

At length, in 1753, induced by the precarious ſtate of his health, by the deſire of removing from Gottingen, which he called the *grave* of his wives, and by his earneſt anxiety to dedicate the remainder of his days to the ſervice of his country, he took a journey to Berne, in order to procure an eſtabliſhment, which, though not adequate to his preſent appointments, might place him in the boſom of his beloved Switzerland.

His grateful country rewarded this diſintereſted attachment with the moſt liberal and unbounded confidence, and employed his talents in the public ſervice.

In 1757, he was ſent to reform the academy of Lauſanne; and, in the following year, was deputed by the Senate to examine ſome curious remains of antiquity lately diſcovered at Culm. About the ſame time he was appointed director of the ſalt-works at Bex and Aigle, with an annual ſalary of £. 500. During the term of this appointment, which continued ſix years, he reſided at La Roche.

On his return to Berne he was elected member of the chamber of appeal for the German diſtrict, of the council of finances, of the committees for matrimonial affairs, and for improving the ſmall livings in the French diſtrict of the canton: he was alſo appointed perpetual aſſeſſor of the Council of Health, with an annual ſalary of about £. 100, as a token of his country's gratitude for having declined ſo many ſplendid offers from foreign courts, and for preferring his native place to the advancement of his fortune.

In 1766, and the following years, this great man, who had hitherto enlightened ſcience from his cloſet, diſplayed in the theatre of public life the more active and diſtinguiſhed parts of a patriot and politician. He re-eſtabliſhed the harmony and ſettled the diſputes between the Vallais and the canton of Berne by a ſucceſsful negociation, in which he fixed the new boundaries of the two ſtates; he was aſſociated with the moſt enlightened characters of the republic in terminating the diſſentions of Geneva; he drew up the principal diſpatches to the court of Verſailles on the ſubject of the changes which had been projected at Verſoi, on which occaſion he held a perſonal conference with the French ambaſſador; and was employed to prepare the plan of a treaty, which the canton of Berne contracted with the Elector of Bavaria relating to the purchaſe of ſalt.

He reſumed his literary labours, which had been neceſſarily interrupted amidſt his other more important avocations. He publiſhed, in 1768, his hiſtory of Swiſs plants, mentioned above; and, in 1771, the firſt part of his *Bibliotheca Medicinæ*, or his Medical Library.

Eight volumes of this work were publiſhed during the author's life-time, between the years 1771 and 1778. The anatomical, including the phyſiology, the botanical, and the chirurgical, were each compriſed in two volumes, and bring down the reſpective ſubjects nearly to the preſent time. Two, on the practice of phyſic, were publiſhed by Haller himſelf, a third after his deceaſe by Dr. Tribolet, and a fourth by Dr. Brandis of Childenſheim, from the manuſcript of Haller, which the learned author has conſiderably augmented.

Haller alſo employed the latter period of his life in ſending extracts from eminent publications for the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*; furniſhed many of the articles for the ſupplement to the Paris Encyclopédie, for the quarto improved edition of the ſame work publiſhed at Yverdun, and for the dictionary of natural hiſtory printed at the ſame place. He meditated alſo a new edition of his great phyſiological work, of which he put forth the firſt volume in 1777, only a few months before his death.

His active imagination brooding on the civil and political affairs, in which he had been lately engaged, produced, between 1771 and 1774, his three political romances, Uſong, Alfred, and Fabius and Cato, which treat of the deſpotic, monarchical, and republican governments. In Uſong he ſketches, with a maſterly hand, the abuſes of abſolute authority, and ſets forth, in the character of the principal perſonage, the happy effects which may be derived from a virtuous and intelligent ſovereign, even amidſt the horrors of oriental deſpotiſm. In Alfred he diſplays the advantages of a limited monarchy, wherein the balance of power is wiſely diſtributed; and which, while it avoids the extremes of either, enjoys the benefits of both. In Fabius and Cato he deſcribes, with an animation and ſpirit worthy of ancient Rome, but with a partiality natural to a republican, the ariſtocratical government as moſt friendly to the diſplay of patriotiſm, and moſt congenial to the exertions of genius. In theſe romances he diſcovers ſound principles of legiſlation, great political ſagacity, a deep inſight into human nature, and a moſt extenſive acquaintance with hiſtory.

If we conſider Haller as a man of piety and a Chriſtian, we ſhall obſerve him tracing, from a comprehenſive view of the creation in its grandeſt as well as in its minuteſt parts, the *neceſſary* exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the great principles of natural religion. We ſhall ſee him demonſtrating the divine origin of Chriſtianity from a profound ſtudy of the New Teſtament, from the excellence of its morality, its manifeſt influence over the happineſs of mankind, and its tendency to meliorate our nature; and we ſhall find him proving himſelf, both in his life and writings, a zealous friend and able advocate of the revealed doctrines.

Haller, at a very early period of his life, undertook the defence of natural and revealed religion on all occaſions. In 1732 he declared, in his preface to his poetry, that he was firmly convinced of their truth; in 1747, he rejected with horror the dedication which La Metrie offered to prefix to his work entitled "*L'Homme Machine*;" and he declared, in various literary journals, that he neither acknowledged as his friend, or his diſciple, a man who entertained ſuch impious notions. In a preface which he publiſhed in 1751, to Formey's abridgement of Crouzas's "*Examen du Pyrrhoniſme*," he paints, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the dreadful effects of infidelity both on ſociety and individuals. He alſo put forth, in the German tongue, "Letters to his Daughter, on the Truth of the Chriſtian Revelation;" he publiſhed an extract from Ditton's "Truth of the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt," which he acknowledges to have firſt cleared any doubts he might entertain on that ſubject. He avows, at the ſame time, that he received infinite ſatisfaction from the ſtudy of the New Teſtament, becauſe he was never more certain of holding converſe with the Deity, than when he read his *will* in that divine book.

In 1775, he finally gave to the public, alſo in the German language, "Letters concerning ſeveral late Attempts of Freethinkers yet living againſt Revelation." In this work the author examines and refutes the objections to Chriſtianity, advanced in ſo lively and dangerous a manner by Voltaire in his *Queſtions ſur l'Encyclopédie*. "If this latter publication," adds Sennebier, "may be conſidered as an Index to the Doubts and Arguments againſt the Chriſtian Religion, the work of Haller may be entitled an Index to the Anſwers in favour of the ſame Revelation, to be conſulted by thoſe who wiſh impartially to diſcuſs both ſides of this important queſtion." When learning and philoſophy, inſtead of being employed in ſupporting ſceptical tenets by artful ſophiſtry, thus lend their united aſſiſtance to the cauſe of religion, they then truly become an honour to the poſſeſſor, and a benefit to ſociety.

Even this great and good man was not exempt from a too anxious ſolicitude for his welfare in a future ſtate. That depreſſion of ſpirits, which ought juſtly to be conſidered as the effects of diſeaſe, and the warmth of his imagination conſpiring perhaps with the narrow principles of Calviniſm, in which he had been educated, led him to reflect rather on the *juſtice* than the *mercy* of the Deity, and to bewilder himſelf in the endleſs mazes of predeſtination and grace. In one of his deſponding fits, he compared himſelf, as uncertain of ſalvation, to a man placed on the edge of a precipice without any ſupport, and expecting every inſtant to fall. At another moment, animated with a paſſion for ſcience, he breaks out, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, into the following exclamation, expreſſive of his regret to quit a world which he had improved by his diſcoveries, and which he might ſtill further illuminate by his zeal and application. "O my poor brain, which muſt return to duſt; and all the knowledge and information which I have been collecting with ſuch unwearied labour, will *fade away* like the dream of an infant."

Theſe little weakneſſes of a great mind overpowered by conſtitutional irritability, and ſtruggling againſt early prejudices, are more intereſting to the man who feels and reſpects the imperfections of human nature, even in its moſt exalted ſtate, than the moſt pompous and exaggerated accounts of *unerring* wiſdom, or *uniform* virtue which never exiſted. And it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to learn, that reaſon and religion roſe ſuperior to the gloomy deſpondency of ſickneſs; and that Haller met death with the calmneſs of a philoſopher, and the faith of a Chriſtian. In the laſt letter which he wrote, a few days before his deceaſe, he ſpeaks indeed of the tremendous grandeur of eternity, but with hopes rather than with fears; and looks back upon his paſt life with ſatisfaction: amidſt a few complaints uttered on his painful ſufferings, he mentions his country with the moſt ardent affection, and offers up his laſt prayers for its preſervation and welfare.

He continued his literary labours, and preſerved his ſenſes and compoſure to the laſt moment; he beheld his end approaching without fear and regret; "My friend," ſaid he to the phyſician who attended him, "I die, my pulſe is ſtopped," and then expired. He died on the 12th of December 1777, in the ſeventieth year of his age.—Thus lived, and thus died, the great Haller; a man to whom Michaelis, the eminent orientaliſt, juſtly applies an obſervation which had been made on the genius of Ariſtotle; "*Neque cælo, neque terrâ, neque mari quicquam relinquere voluit incognitum, indole præterea adeo mirabili, ut ad ſingula natum præcipuè dicas.*"

In his perſon Haller was tall and majeſtic, of a ſerious and expreſſive countenance; he had at times an open ſmile, always a pleaſing tone of voice, uſually low, and ſeldom elevated, even when he was moſt agitated. He was fond of unbending

ing himſelf in ſociety, was on thoſe occaſions remarkably cheerful, polite, and attentive; he would converſe with the ladies on faſhions, modes of dreſs, and other trifles, with as much eaſe as if he had never ſecluded himſelf from the world.

Mr. Bonnet informed me, that Haller wrote with equal facility the German, French, and Latin tongues; that he was ſo well acquainted with all the European languages, except the Ruſſian, Poliſh, and Hungarian, as to ſpeak with the natives in their reſpective idioms. When he converſed on any ſcience or ſubject of literature, his knowledge was ſo extenſive, that he ſeemed to have made that his particular ſtudy. His profound erudition in every branch of ſcience, is well known to all who are converſant with his works: but the variety of his information, and the verſatility of his talents, are thus delineated by a perſon who was his particular friend: "He poſſeſſed a fundamental knowledge of natural hiſtory; was well read in hiſtory both antient and modern, univerſal and particular; and uncommonly verſed in the ſtate of agriculture, manufactures, trade, population, literature, and languages of the reſpective nations of Europe; he had read with attention the moſt remarkable voyages and travels; and was particularly converſant in the late diſcoveries which tend to illuſtrate the geography of the globe. He had even peruſed many thouſand novels and plays; and poſſeſſed ſuch an aſtoniſhing memory, that he could detail their contents with the utmoſt preciſion."

As it was his cuſtom to make extracts, and to give his opinion of every book which came into his hands, as well for his own private uſe, as for the Gottingen Review, he read moſt new publications; and ſo eager was he uſually in the peruſal, that he laid them upon the table even when he was at dinner, occaſionally looking into them, and marking thoſe parts with a pencil, which he afterwards extracted or commented upon. He was accuſtomed to make his remarks on ſmall pieces of paper, of different ſizes, which he placed in order, and faſtened together; a method he learned from Leibnitz.

He derived from nature extreme ſenſibility, or rather irritability of temper, which is ever the child of genius. He ſpoke therefore from his own experience, when, in a lettter to Voltaire, he thus expreſſed himſelf:—"Providence holds with an equal hand the balance of human happineſs. He has loaded you with riches, he has loaded you with glory; but misfortune was neceſſary, and he preſerved the equilibrium by giving you ſenſibility. If my wiſhes could take effect, I would beſtow upon you that *tranquillity* which flies at the approach of genius, which is inferior to genius in relation to ſociety, but far ſuperior in regard to ourſelves: then the moſt celebrated man in Europe ſhould be at the ſame time the moſt happy."

He was always impatient under ſickneſs, as well from his extreme ſuſceptibility of pain, as becauſe he was precluded in that ſituation from his literary occupations. He was fond, therefore, of taking violent remedies, more calculated to remove the immediate effects of pain, and to check his diſorder, than to cure it radically. In his latter years he accuſtomed himſelf to opium, which, operating as a temporary palliative, only increaſed his natural impatience. This reſtleſſneſs of temper, which occaſionally diſturbed his tranquillity even in his younger days, and in the full flow of his health and ſpirits, was conſiderably heightened by the advances of age, and the diſorders which ſhattered his frame towards the cloſe of his days.

His correſpondence in every period of his life was extenſive, punctual, and carried on in the Engliſh, French, German, Latin, and Italian languages.

Six volumes of Latin epiſtles, and three in the German tongue, addreſſed to him from men of learning in various parts of Europe, have been given to the public, but his own have never made their appearance. It is much to be lamented, that he ſeldom preſerved any copies, being himſelf too much occupied for that purpoſe; and never ſufficiently rich to maintain a ſecretary. His two principal correſpondents, to whom he opened his heart, were Bonnet of Geneva, and John Geſner of Zuric: to the latter he wrote either in German or Latin, to Mr. Bonnet in the French tongue. This celebrated friend of Haller poſſeſſes ſeven manuſcript volumes of his letters: it was an uninterrupted correſpondence of twenty-three years; begun in March 1754, and finiſhing only a few days before his death, in December 1777. This epiſtolary commerce comprehends a great variety of ſubjects, principally concerning phyſiology, natural hiſtory, the ſtructure of the globe, politics, morality, and religion. Haller being accuſtomed to conſult his friend on all occaſions, to diſcloſe his moſt ſecret thoughts, and to relate his diurnal occupations; theſe effuſions of the moment diſcover the ſucceſſive train of his ſtudies, the progreſs of his diſcoveries, and his gradual advances in knowledge.

"Theſe letters of my moſt reſpectable friend," added Bonnet, "diſplay his genius, his underſtanding, and the goodneſs of his heart, more fully than any of his publications. His ſtyle, conciſe, energetic, yet pictureſque, correſponds with the ſtrength and originality of his ideas; and he ſpeaks, with no leſs ſublimity than conviction, of the great truths of natural and revealed religion. Though he treats the numerous advocates for infidelity, and particularly Voltaire, with ſufficient ſeverity; yet his heat is the ardour of conviction, and did not proceed from either pique or ſpirit of contradiction: he ſeemed as if he was perſonally intereſted in all queſtions on revelation, and pleaded its cauſe as if it had been his own. He is no leſs ſevere againſt thoſe writers, who ſeem to exclude the intervention of a firſt intellectual cauſe in the creation and arrangement of the univerſe, and particularly cenſures the materialiſts, who endeavour to deduce mechanically the formation of organized bodies. In a word, his philoſophy was entirely practical, becauſe it was entirely Chriſtian; and nothing ſecured his approbation, but what tended to improve the underſtanding, or to amend the heart."

I am concerned to find, that the publication of this correſpondence, between two ſuch enlightened and virtuous philoſophers as Haller and Bonnet, which in ſome works had been announced to the public, ſhould, on account of private reaſons, be relinquiſhed. Religion, morality, philoſophy, and learning, would be greatly benefited by this epiſtolary commerce.

Haller's library, conſiſting of about 4,000 volumes, was purchaſed for £.2,000 by the emperor, for the public library of Milan, where I examined it in 1785. The collection is particularly rich in books of natural hiſtory, and is rendered invaluable from numerous annotations of Haller, written on the margins.

Haller was three times married, firſt to Marianne Wytſen, in 1731, who died in 1736. 2. To Elizabeth Buchers, in 1738, who died in childbed the ſame or the following year; both natives of Berne. 3. In 1739, to Amelia Frederica Teichmeyer, a German lady, who ſurvived him. He has written and publiſhed the lives of his two firſt wives. He left eight children, four ſons and four daughters, all of whom he lived to ſee eſtabliſhed. His eldeſt ſon, Gotlieb Emanuel, who was born in 1735, followed his father's example in dedicating himſelf to the ſervice of his country, and to the purſuits of literature. He was elected member of the Great Council, and obtained various employments under government, particularly the bailliage of Nyon, in which ſituation he died in 1786. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author by various publications tending to illuſtrate the hiſtory and literature of Switzerland, and particularly by his *Schweitner-bibliothek*, or Swiſs Library, in 6 volumes 8vo. of which he lived to publiſh only the firſt. In this work, deſervedly eſteemed for its method and accuracy, the indefatigable author enumerates all the books which treat of Switzerland, in all languages, and all the works publiſhed by the Swiſs on all ſubjects. He even deſcends to the minuteſt articles which have appeared in reviews and journals; and in moſt inſtances, where the publication deſerves detail, analyſes the contents, corrects the errors, and gives his opinion on the merits of the performance.

I was perſonally acquainted with the learned author, and am indebted to him for ſome curious information on Switzerland, and for ſeveral anecdotes relative to his illuſtrious father, which I have introduced into theſe biographical memoirs.

Account of the late Mr. Howard; *from the Gentleman's Magazine for March* 1790.

ABOUT the end of the month of February 1790, advice was received, by Mr. Whitbread, of the not unexpected, yet certainly untimely death of the eccentric, but truly worthy, JOHN HOWARD, eſq. —This extraordinary man was the ſon of an upholſterer, or carpet warehouſeman, in Long-lane, Weſt Smithfield, and was put apprentice to Mr. Nathaniel Newnham, a wholeſale grocer, grandfather to the preſent alderman.—His father died, leaving only this ſon and a daughter, to both of whom he bequeathed handſome fortunes; and by his will directed that his ſon ſhould not be conſidered of age till he was five-and-twenty. His conſtitution was thought very weak, and his health appeared to have been injured by the neceſſary duties of his apprenticeſhip; and therefore, at the expiration of it, he took an apartment in a lodging-houſe in Church Street, Stoke Newington, Middleſex; but not meeting with the tendereſt treatment there, he removed to another lodging-houſe in the ſame ſtreet, which was kept by a widow named Mrs. Sarah Lardeau. Here he was nurſed with the utmoſt care and attention; and at length he became ſo fond of his landlady, that he reſolved to marry her, out of gratitude for her kindneſs to him. In vain ſhe expoſtulated with him upon the extravagance of ſuch a proceeding, he being about 28, and ſhe about 51 years of age, and twenty years older in conſtitution; but nothing could deter him; and they were privately married about the year 1752. She was poſſeſſed of a ſmall fortune, which he preſented to her ſiſter. During his reſidence at Newington, the miniſter of the diſſenting meeting-houſe there reſigned his office, and a ſucceſſor was elected; and Mr. Howard, who was bred a diſſenter, and ſtedfaſtly adhered all his life to that profeſſion, propoſed to purchaſe the leaſe of a houſe near the meeting-houſe, and to appropriate it as a parſonage-houſe for the uſe of the miniſter for the time being, and generouſly contributed 50 l. for that purpoſe. His wife died November 10, 1755; and ſoon after he formed a reſolution of viſiting Liſbon, which had been juſt before laid in ruins by the earthquake of November 1, 1755. About Midſummer 1756, he ſet ſail for Liſbon, on board the Hanover Packet, which was taken by a French privateer; and he behaved with ſo much *hauteur*, ſo much *à l'Anglois*, to the captain of the privateer, as might probably be the cauſe of his ſuffering ſo ſeverely as it appears he did, (ſee "State of Priſons," pp. 22 and 23, note): and "perhaps what he ſuffered on this occaſion increaſed" (if it did not call forth) "his ſympathy with the unhappy people whoſe cauſe is the ſubject of this book."—He afterwards, it is believed, made the tour of Italy; and at his return ſettled at Brokenhurſt, a retired and pleaſant villa in the New Foreſt, near Lymington in Hampſhire, having, April 25, 1758, married Harriet, daughter of Edward Leeds, eſq. of Croxton, in the county of Cambridge, king's ſerjeant. Mrs. Howard died in 1765, in child-bed, of her only child, a ſon, who unfortunately has been for ſeveral years lunatic, and now is, or lately was, under the care of T. Arnold, M. D. of Leiceſter. Before the death of his ſecond wife, he left Lymington, and purchaſed an eſtate at Cardington, near Bedford, adjoining to that of his relation Mr. Whitbread. While he reſided at Cardington, he very much conciliated the eſteem of the poor, by employing them, building cottages for them, &c. Every Sunday he went to Bedford, attended both morning and evening ſervice at one of the diſſenting meeting-houſes, and then returned home. He was univerſally eſteemed by the Preſbyterians, Moravians, and all the other ſectaries with which that borough abounds; and at the general election in 1774, offered himſelf with Mr. Whitbread, as a candidate to repreſent it in parliament. They were oppoſed by Sir W. Wake, bart. and R. Sparrow, eſq. who were returned; and Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Howard petitioning, the committee determined that Sir W. Wake and Mr. Whitbread were duly elected. In conſequence of the act 19 Geo. III. for eſtabliſhing penitentiary houſes, the late Dr. Fothergill, Mr. Howard and Geo. Whatley, eſquire, treaſurer of the

Foundling Hoſpital, were appointed by his majeſty ſupervifors of them. The doctor and Mr. Howard fixed on a ſpot for the erection of them, near to that whereon Pentonville chapel has ſince been erected. Mr. Whatley, on the other hand, inſiſted that they ſhould be built on or near the Iſle of Dogs: but being fixed in his own opinion, having loſt his friend and co-adjutor Dr. Fothergill, and ſeeing no proſpect of accompliſhing the buſineſs in any way that would be agreeable to him, in January 1781, Mr. Howard ſent a letter to earl Bathurſt, lord preſident of the council, requeſting his majeſty to accept his reſignation of the office. His ſiſter died unmarried, and left him her houſe in Great Ormond Street, together with a conſiderable fortune in the funds, which he conſtrued into an approbation, on the part of Providence, of his ſchemes for the relief of priſoners, and *made uſe of the money* accordingly. In 1773, he ſerved the office of ſheriff of the county of Bedford. This office, as he obſerves, brought "the diſtreſs of priſoners more immediately under his notice;" and with a view to its alleviation, he began his labours by "viſiting moſt of the county gaols in England," and afterwards, "the bridewells, houſes of correction, city and town gaols," where he found "multitudes both of felons and debtors" "dying of the gaol fever and the ſmall-pox." Upon this ſubject he was examined in the houſe of commons, in March 1774, when "he had the honour of their thanks." This encouraged him to proceed in his deſign: he travelled again and again through Great Britain and Ireland, and alſo into France, Flanders, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland; and publiſhed "The State of the Priſons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Obſervations, and an Account of ſome Foreign Priſons, 1777," 4to. with a dedication to the houſe of commons, dated April 5, 1777. In 1780, he publiſhed an appendix to this account, in which he extended the narrative of his travels to Italy, and gave ſome obſervations concerning the management of priſoners of war, and the hulks on the Thames. This appendix he re-publiſhed in 1784; which publication included alſo an account of his viſit to Denmark, Sweden, Ruſſia, Poland, Portugal, and Spain. By this time his character for active benevolence had engaged the public attention. It was propoſed that a ſubſcription ſhould be ſet on foot to erect a ſtatue to his honour, and 1533l. 13s. 6d. was ſubſcribed for that purpoſe; but ſome of thoſe who knew Mr. Howard beſt, never concurred in the ſcheme, being well aſſured that he would never countenance nor accede to it: and the event juſtified their conduct; for the language that he held upon the ſubject, when firſt adviſed of it, was, "Have not I one friend in England, that would put a ſtop to ſuch a proceeding?" In conſequence of two letters from Mr. Howard himſelf to the ſubſcribers, the deſign was laid aſide; and the contributors were publicly invited, either to recall their money, or to leave it to the diſpoſition of the committee. In 1789, Mr. Howard publiſhed "An Account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, with various Papers relative to the Plague, together with further Obſervations on ſome Foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals, and additional Remarks on the preſent State of thoſe in Great Britain and Ireland," with a great number of curious plates. Beſides theſe, he publiſhed, in 1780, "Hiſtorical Remarks and Anecdotes on the Caſtle of the Baſtile, tranſlated from the French;" and laſt year the Grand Duke of Tuſcany's "new Code of Criminal Law, with an Engliſh Tranſlation."

Not ſatisfied, however, with what he had already done, he concludes his "Account of Lazarettos," with announcing his "intention again to quit his country, for the purpoſe of re-viſiting Ruſſia, Turkey, and ſome other countries, and extending his tour in the Eaſt. I am not inſenſible, ſays he, of the dangers that muſt attend ſuch a journey. Truſting, however, in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preſerved me, I calmly and chearfully commit myſelf to the diſpoſal of unerring Wiſdom. Should it pleaſe God to cut off my life in the proſecution of this deſign, let not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to raſhneſs or enthuſiaſm, but to a ſerious, deliberate conviction that I am purſuing the path of duty, and to a ſincere deſire of being made an inſtrument of more extenſive uſefulneſs to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life." To a man who holds ſuch language, what elſe can be ſaid, but that the piety and benevolence of his *heart* deſerve univerſal honour? What permanent good may ariſe from his unwearied, well-intended labours, both in theſe kingdoms and the reſt of Europe, time only can ſhew. Certain it is, that his plan has been adopted in many of our new-built gaols, and will gradually extend to more. Although the advice of his friends could not poſſeſs that influence to reverſe his determination to encounter once more the contagion of the plague, with all its diſmal concomitants; yet ſurely that *incorrupta fides*, that *nuda veritas*, which actuated his undertaking, ſo elegantly diſplayed by himſelf in his laſt publication, will acquit him of temerity in the progreſs of his benevolent migration. His great abſtemiouſneſs was probably a mean of prolonging his life in the midſt of his dangers: for a long time potatoes were almoſt his whole ſupport; at another time they were ſucceeded by tea, and bread and butter; conſequently it will not be thought wonderful that he never partook of the public or private repaſts to which he was ſo frequently invited. All that remains to be ſaid upon the ſubject is, that in his ſecond "Tour in the Eaſt, it did pleaſe God to cut off his life:" for, having ſpent ſome time at Cherſon, a new ſettlement of the empreſs of Ruſſia, in the mouth of the Dnieper or Boryſthenes, toward the northern extremity of the Black Sea, near Oczakow, he caught in viſiting the Ruſſian hoſpital of that place, or as ſome ſay a young lady who was ill of the ſame complaint, a malignant fever, which carried him off on the 20th of January, N. S. after an illneſs of about twelve days: and after having been kept, according to his expreſs directions to his ſervant, five days, he was buried, by his own deſire, in the garden of a villa in the neighbourhood belonging to a French gentleman, from whom he had received great civilities, by his faithful ſervant who had attended him on his former journeyings, and whom he expreſly enjoined not to return home till five weeks from his death.—In his way to Cherſon, his baggage was found to be miſſing from behind the carriage while he and his ſervant refreſhed themſelves with a nap. On the diſcovery of this loſs, Mr. H. haſtened back to the neareſt town or village where he recollected to have ſeen a party of Ruſſian recruits, whom he charged with taking his property. While he waited in the carriage till a magiſtrate could be applied to, his property was brought in, firſt a hat-box, and next a trunk; which laſt had been found half-buried in the road by the ſide of fields where ſome men were ploughing; one of whom, ſtartled at ſeeing the nails of the trunk ſhine juſt out of the ground, was afraid to touch it without his companion. When it was opened by Mr. H. every article both of linen and money was found *in ſtatu quo*: but ſuſpicions fell ſo ſtrong on the recruits, at having concealed it till an opportunity offered for them to carry it off and ſhare the ſpoil, that the magiſtrate conſigned ſeven of them to Siberia.

The account given of his death in the London Gazette of the 23d inſtant is as follows, and is perhaps the firſt inſtance of the death of a private individual being ſo announced.—"Warſaw, March 6. Yeſterday arrived in this city a perſon from Cherſon, who brings an account of the death of Mr. Howard, ſo well known from his travels, and plans of reform of the different priſons and hoſpitals in Europe. This gentleman fell a victim to his humanity; for, having viſited a young lady at Cherſon, ſick of an epidemic fever, for the purpoſe of adminiſtering ſome medical aſſiſtance, he caught the diſtemper himſelf, and was carried off in twelve days.—Prince Potemkin, on hearing of his illneſs, ſent his phyſician to his relief from Jaſſy."

Account of the late Mr. Ledyard; *from "Proceedings of the Society for promoting the diſcovery of the interior Parts of Africa."*

"THIS extraordinary perſon was recommended to the committee of the aſſociation as eminently qualified for undertaking the projected journey into the interior part of Africa. He was an American by birth, and ſeemed from his youth to have felt an invincible deſire to make himſelf acquainted with unknown or imperfectly diſcovered regions of the globe. For ſeveral years he had lived with the Indians of America, had ſtudied their manners, and had practiſed in their ſchool the means of obtaining their protection, and of recommending himſelf to the favour of ſavages. In the humble ſituation of a corporal of marines, to which he ſubmitted rather than relinquiſh his purſuit, he had made, with Capt. Cook, the voyage of the world; and feeling, on his return, an anxious deſire of penetrating from the North-weſtern coaſt, which Cook had partly explored, to the Eaſtern coaſt, with which he himſelf was perfectly familiar, he determined to traverſe the vaſt continent, from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

"His firſt plan for the purpoſe was that of embarking in a veſſel which was preparing to ſail, on a voyage of commercial adventure, to Nootka Sound, on the Weſtern coaſt of America; and with this view he expended, in ſea-ſtores, the greateſt part of the money which his chief benefactor, Sir Joſeph

Banks (whoſe generous conduct the writer of this narrative has often heard him acknowledge), had liberally ſupplied. But the ſcheme being fruſtrated by the rapacity of a cuſtom-houſe officer, who had ſeized and detained the veſſel for reaſons which, on legal enquiry, proved to be frivolous, he determined to travel over land to Kamtſchatka; from whence, to the Weſtern coaſt of America, the paſſage is extremely ſhort. With no more than ten guineas in his purſe, which was all that he had left, he croſſed the British Channel to Oſtend, and, by the way of Denmark and the Sound, proceeded to the capital of Sweden; from whence, as it was winter, he attempted to traverſe the Gulph of Bothnia on the ice, in order to reach Kamtſchatka by the ſhorteſt way; but finding, when he came to the middle of the ſea, that the water was not frozen, he returned to Stockholm, and, taking his courſe Northward, walked into the Arctic Circle, and, paſſing round the head of the Gulph, deſcended, on its Eaſtern ſide, to Peterſburg.

" There he was ſoon noticed as an extraordinary man. Without ſtockings or ſhoes, and in too much poverty to provide himſelf with either, he received and accepted an invitation to dine with the Portugueſe Ambaſſador. To this invitation it was probably owing that he was able to obtain the ſum of twenty guineas for a bill on Sir Joſeph Banks, which he confeſſed he had no authority to draw, but which, in conſideration of the buſineſs that he had undertaken, and of the progreſs that he had made, Sir Joſeph, he believed, would not be unwilling to pay. To the Ambaſſador's intereſt it might alſo be owing that he obtained permiſſion to accompany a detachment of ſtores, which the Empreſs had ordered to be ſent to Yakutz, for the uſe of Mr. Billings, an Engliſhman, at that time in her ſervice.

" Thus accommodated, he travelled Eaſtward through Siberia, ſix thouſand miles, to Yakutz, where he was kindly received by Mr. Billings, whom he remembered on board Capt. Cook's ſhip, in the ſituation of the aſtronomer's ſervant, but to whom the Empreſs had now entruſted her ſchemes of Northern diſcovery.

" From Yakutz he proceeded to Oczakow, on the coaſt of the Kamtſchatka ſea; from whence he meant to have paſſed over to that peninſula, and to have embarked on the Eaſtern ſide, in one of the Ruſſian veſſels that trade to the Weſtern ſhores of America; but finding that the navigation was completely obſtructed by the ice, he returned to Yakutz, in order to wait for the concluſion of the winter.

" Such was his ſituation, when, in conſequence of ſuſpicions not hitherto explained, or reſentments for which no reaſon is aſſigned, he was ſeized, in the Empreſs's name, by two Ruſſian ſoldiers, who placed him in a ſledge, and, conveying him, in the depth of winter, through the deſarts of the Northern Tartary, left him at laſt on the frontiers of the Poliſh dominions. As they parted, they told him, that, if he returned to Ruſſia, he would certainly be hanged; but that, if he choſe to go back to England, they wiſhed him a pleaſant journey.

" In the midſt of poverty, covered with rags, infeſted with the uſual accompaniment of ſuch clothing, worn with continued hardſhip, exhauſted by diſeaſe, without friends, without credit, unknown, and full of miſery, he found his way to Koningſberg. There, in the hour of his utmoſt diſtreſs, he reſolves once more to have recourſe to his old benefactor; and he luckily found a perſon who was willing to take his draft for five guineas on the Preſident of the Royal Society.

"With this aſſiſtance he arrived in England, and immediately waited on Sir Joſeph Banks, who told him, knowing his temper, that he believed he could recommend him to an adventure almoſt as perilous as the one from which he had returned; and then communicated to him the wiſhes of the Aſſociation for diſcovering the inland countries of Africa. Ledyard replied, that he had always determined to traverſe the continent of Africa as ſoon as he had explored the interior of North America; and, as Sir Joſeph had offered him a letter of introduction, he came directly to the writer of theſe memoirs. Before I had learnt from the note the name and buſineſs of my viſitor, I was ſtruck with the manlineſs of his perſon, the breadth of his cheſt, the openneſs of his countenance, and the inquietude of his eye. I opened the map of Africa before him, and, tracing a line from Cairo to Sennar, and from thence Weſtward in the latitude and ſuppoſed direction of the Niger, I told him that was his route, by which I was anxious that Africa might, if poſſible, be explored. He ſaid, he ſhould think himſelf ſingularly fortunate to be entruſted with the adventure. I aſked him when he would ſet out? 'To-morrow morning,' was his anſwer.

Such a perſon as Mr. Ledyard was formed by Nature for the object in contemplation; and, were we unacquainted with the ſequel, we ſhould congratulate the Society in being ſo fortunate as to find ſuch a man for one of their miſſionaries;—but—the reader will ſoon be acquainted with the melancholy circumſtance to which we allude.

Mr. Ledyard undertook, at his own deſire, the difficult and perilous taſk of traverſing from Eaſt to Weſt, in the latitude attributed to the Niger, the wideſt part of the continent of Africa. On this bold adventure he left London June 30, 1781, and arrived at Cairo on the 19th of Auguſt.

Hence he tranſmitted ſuch accounts to his employers as manifeſt him to have been a traveller who obſerved, reflected, and compared; and ſuch was the information which he collected here from the travelling ſlave-merchants, and from others, reſpecting the interior diſtricts of Africa, that he was impatient to explore them. He wrote to the Committee, that his next communication would be from Sennar (600 miles to the South of Cairo): But death, attributed to various cauſes, arreſted him at the commencement of his reſearches, and diſappointed the hopes which were entertained of his projected journey. A bilious complaint, produced by vexatious delays, induced him to try too ſtrong a doſe of the acid of vitriol, which he counteracted by the ſtrongeſt tartar emetic; the continued diſcharge of blood produced by which, haſtened his death, and he was buried at Cairo.

Extracts from the Life of John Elwes, *Eſq*; *by* Edward Topham, *Eſq*.

THE *family name* of Mr. Elwes was *Meggot:* and as his name was *John*, the conjunction of *Jack Meggot*, made ſtrangers ſometimes imagine that his intimates were addreſſing him by an aſſumed appellation. His father was a *brewer* of great eminence. His dwelling-houſe and offices were ſituated in Southwark; which borough was formerly repreſented in parliament by his grand-father, Sir George Meggot. Mr. Clowes is now in poſſeſſion of the above premiſes. He purchaſed, during his life, the eſtate now in poſſeſſion of the family at Marcham, in Berkſhire, of the Calverts, who were in the ſame line. The father died while the late Mr. Elwes was only four years old; ſo, little of the character of Mr. Elwes is to be attributed to him; but from the *mother* it may be traced at once—for though ſhe was left nearly *one hundred thouſand pounds* by her huſband—ſhe *ſtarved herſelf to death!*

The only children from the marriage above, were Mr. Elwes, and a daughter who married the father of the late Colonel Timms—and from thence came *the intail* of ſome part of the preſent eſtate.

At an early period of life he was ſent to Weſtminſter School, where he remained for ten or twelve years. During that time he certainly had not miſapplied his talents—for he was a good *claſſical ſcholar* to the laſt—and it is a circumſtance not a little remarkable, though well authenticated, that he never read afterwards. Never was he ſeen at any period of his future life with a book, nor has he in all his different houſes now left behind him, books that would, were they collected together, *ſell for two pounds.* His knowledge in accounts was ſtill more trifling—and in ſome meaſure may account for the total ignorance he was always in as to his own affairs.

From Weſtminſter School, Mr. Elwes removed to Geneva, where he ſoon entered upon purſuits more agreeable to him than ſtudy. The *riding-maſter* of the academy there, had then to boaſt, perhaps, three of the beſt riders in Europe, Mr. Worſley, Mr. Elwes, and Sir Sydney Meadows. Of the three, Elwes was reckoned the moſt deſperate: the young horſes were always put into his hands, and he was the *rough-rider* to the other two.

On his return to England, after an abſence of two or three years, he was to be introduced to his uncle, the late Sir Harvey Elwes, who was then living at Stoke, in Suffolk, perhaps the moſt perfect *picture of human penury* that ever exiſted. The attempts of ſaving money were, in him, ſo extraordinary, that Mr. Elwes, perhaps, never quite reached them, even at the laſt period of his life.

His poſſeſſions at the time of his death, were ſuppoſed to be, at leaſt *two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds* —his annual expenditure was about *one hundred and ten pounds!*

However incredible this may appear, it is yet ſtrictly true; his cloaths coſt him nothing, for he took them out of an old cheſt, where they had lain ſince the gay days of Sir Jervaiſe.

He kept his houſehold chiefly upon game, and fiſh which he had in his own ponds; and the cows which grazed before his own door furniſhed milk, cheeſe, and butter, for the little œconomical houſehold. What fuel he did burn, his woods ſupplied.

To *this uncle*, and *this property*, Mr. Elwes ſucceeded, when he had advanced beyond the fortieth year of his age. And for fifteen years previous to this period, it was, that he was known in the faſhionable circles of London. He had always a turn for play; and it was only late in life, and from paying always, and not always *being paid*, that he conceived diſguſt at the inclination.

The theory which he profeſſed, "*that it was impoſſible to aſk a gentleman for money*," he perfectly confirmed by the practice; and he never violated this feeling to the lateſt hour of his life.

On this ſubject, which regards the *manners* of Mr. Elwes, gladly I ſeize an opportunity to ſpeak of them with the praiſe that is their due. They were ſuch—ſo gentle, ſo attentive, ſo gentlemanly, and ſo engaging, that rudeneſs could not ruffle them, nor ſtrong ingratitude break their obſervance. He retained this peculiar feature of the *old court* to the laſt; but he had a praiſe far beyond this; he had the moſt gallant diſregard of his own perſon, and all care about himſelf, I ever witneſſed in man.

It is curious to remark, how he then contrived to mingle ſmall attempts at ſaving, with objects of the moſt unbounded diſſipation. After ſitting up a whole night at play for thouſands, with the moſt faſhionable and profligate men of the time, amidſt ſplendid rooms, gilt ſophas, wax lights, and waiters attendant on his call, he would walk out about four in the morning, *not* towards home, but into Smithfield! to meet his own cattle, which were coming to market from Thaydon-hall, a farm of his in Eſſex. There would this ſame man, forgetful of the ſcenes he had juſt left, ſtand in the cold or rain, bartering with a carcaſs-butcher *for a ſhilling!* Sometimes when the cattle did not arrive at the hour he expected, he would walk on in the mire to meet them; and, more than once, has gone on foot the whole way to his farm without ſtopping, which was ſeventeen miles from London, after ſitting up the whole night.

He always travelled on horſeback. To ſee him ſetting out on a journey, was a matter truly curious; his firſt care was to put two or three eggs, boiled hard, into his great coat pocket, or any ſcraps of bread which he found—baggage he never took—then, mounting one of his hunters, his next attention was to get out of London, into that road where turnpikes were the feweſt. Then, ſtopping under any hedge where graſs preſented itſelf for his horſe, and a little water for himſelf, he would ſit down and refreſh himſelf and his horſe together.

In the life of Mr. Elwes, the luxuriant ſources of induſtry or enjoyment all ſtood ſtill. He encouraged no art; he beſtowed not on any improvement; he diffuſed no bleſſings around him; and the diſtreſſed received nothing from his hand. What was got from him, was only obtained from his want of knowledge—by knowledge that was ſuperior; and knaves and ſharpers might have lived upon him, while poverty and honeſty would have ſtarved.

But not to the offers of *high intereſt* alone, were his ears open. The making him trifling preſents, or doing buſineſs for him for nothing—were little ſnug allurements which, in the hands of the needy, always drew him on to a loan of money. A ſmall wine-merchant who had theſe views—begged his acceptance of ſome very *fine wine,* and in a ſhort time obtained the loan of ſome hundred pounds. Old Elwes uſed ever after to ſay, "*It was, indeed, very fine wine, for it coſt him twenty pounds a bottle!*"

Mr. Elwes, from his father, Mr. Meggot, had inherited ſome property in houſes in London; particularly about the Haymarket, not far from which old Mr. Elwes drew his firſt breath—for, by his regiſter, it appears, he was born in St. James's pariſh. To this property he began now to add, by engagements with one of the Adams, about building, which he increaſed from year to year to a very large extent. Great part of Marybone ſoon called him her founder. Portland-place and Portman-ſquare, the riding-houſes and ſtables of the ſecond troop of life guards, and buildings too numerous to name, all roſe out of his *pocket.*

In poſſeſſions ſo large, of courſe it would happen that ſome of the houſes were without a tenant; and, therefore, it was the cuſtom of Mr. Elwes, whenever he went to London, to occupy any of theſe premiſes which might happen to be vacant. He had thus a new way of ſeeing London and its inhabitants—for he travelled in this manner from ſtreet to ſtreet; and whenever any body choſe to take the houſe where he was, he was always ready to move into any other. He was frequently an itinerant for a *night's lodging*; and though maſter of above an hundred houſes, he never wiſhed to reſt his head long in any he choſe to call his own. A couple of beds, a couple of chairs, a table, and an old woman, were all his furniture; and he moved them them about at a minute's warning.

The ſcene which terminated the life of this old woman, is not the leaſt ſingular among the anecdotes that are recorded of Mr. Elwes. But it is too well authenticated to be doubted. I had the circumſtance related to me by the late Colonel Timms himſelf.

Mr. Elwes had come to town in his uſual way—and taken up his abode in one of his houſes that were empty. Colonel Timms, who wiſhed much to ſee him, by ſome accident was informed that his uncle was in London; but then how to find him was the difficulty. He enquired at all the uſual places where it was probable he might be heard of: he went to Mr. Hoare's, his banker—to the Mount Coffee-houſe—but no tidings were to be heard of him. Not many days afterwards, however, he learnt from a perſon whom he met accidentally, that they had ſeen Mr. Elwes going into an uninhabited houſe in Great Marlborough-ſtreet. This was ſome clue to Colonel Timms: and away he went thither. As the beſt mode of information, he got hold of a *chairman*—but no intelligence could he gain of a *gentleman* called Mr. Elwes. Colonel Timms then deſcribed his perſon—but *no gentleman* had been ſeen. A *pot-boy,* however, recollected that he had ſeen a poor old man opening the door of the ſtable, and locking it after him: and from every deſcription, it agreed with the perſon of old Mr. Elwes. Of courſe, Colonel Timms went to the houſe:—he knocked very loudly at the door—but no one anſwered. Some of the neighbours ſaid they had ſeen ſuch a man, but no anſwer could be obtained from the houſe. On this added information, however, Colonel Timms reſolved to have the ſtable door opened, and a blackſmith was ſent for—and they entered the houſe together. In the lower parts of it—all was ſhut and ſilent. On aſcending the ſtair-caſe however, they heard the moans of a perſon, ſeemingly in diſtreſs. They went to the chamber—and there, upon an old *pallet bed*, lay ſtretched out, ſeemingly in death, *the figure of* old Mr. Elwes. For ſome time he ſeemed inſenſible that any body was near him; but on ſome cordials being adminiſtered by a neighbouring apothecary, who was ſent for, he recovered enough to ſay—"That he had, he believed, been ill for two or three days, and that there was an old woman in the houſe, but for ſome reaſon or other ſhe had not been near him. That ſhe had been ill herſelf, but that ſhe had got well, he ſuppoſed, and gone away."

On repairing to the garrets, they found the *old woman*—the companion of all his movements, and the partner of all his journies—ſtretched out lifeleſs on a rug upon the floor. To all appearances ſhe had been dead about two days.

In three ſucceſſive parliaments, Mr. Elwes was choſen for Berkſhire: and he ſat as member of the houſe of commons about twelve years. It is to his honour—an honour in theſe times, indeed, moſt rare! that in every part of his conduct, and in every vote he gave, he proved himſelf to be what he truly was—an *independent* country gentleman.

All this time the income of Mr. Elwes was increaſing hourly, and his preſent expenditure was next to nothing; for the little pleaſures he had once engaged in, he had now given up. He kept no houſe, and only one old ſervant and a couple of horſes; he reſided with his nephew; his two ſons he had ſtationed in Suffolk and Berkſhire, to look after his reſpective eſtates; and his dreſs certainly was no expence to him; for, had not other people been more careful than himſelf, he would not have had it even mended.

When he left London, he went on horſeback to his country ſeats, with his couple of *hard eggs*, and without once ſtopping upon the road at any houſe. He always took the moſt unfrequented road—but Marcham was the ſeat he now chiefly viſited; which had ſome reaſon to be flattered with the preference, as his journey into Suffolk coſt him only *two pence halfpenny*, while that into Berkſhire amounted to *fourpence!*

When his ſon was in the guards, he was frequently in the habit of dining at the officers' table there. The politeneſs of his manners rendered him agreeable to every one, and in time he became acquainted with every officer in the corps; amongſt the reſt, with a gentleman of the name of Tempeſt, whoſe good-humour was almoſt proverbial. A vacancy happening in a *majority*, it fell to this gentleman to purchaſe; but as money is not always to be got upon landed property *immediately*, it was imagined ſome officer would have been obliged to purchaſe over his head. Old Mr. Elwes heard of the circumſtance, and ſent him the money next morning. He aſked no ſecurity—he had ſeen Captain Tempeſt, and liked his manners; and he never once afterwards talked to him about the payment of it. On the death of Captain Tempeſt, which happened ſhortly after, the money was replaced. That Mr. Elwes was no loſer by the event, does not take away from the merit of the deed; and it ſtands amongſt thoſe ſingular records of his character, that reaſon has to reconcile or philoſophy to account for, that the ſame man, at one and the ſame moment, could be prodigal of thouſands, and yet almoſt deny to himſelf *the neceſſaries of life!*

As no gleam of favourite paſſion, or any ray of amuſement, broke through this gloom of penury, his inſatiable deſire of ſaving was now become uniform and ſyſtematic. He uſed ſtill to ride about the country on one of theſe mares—but then he rode her very œconomically; on the ſoft turf adjoining the road, without putting himſelf to the expence of ſhoes—as he obſerved, "The turf was ſo pleaſant to a horſe's foot!" And when any gentleman called to pay him a viſit, and the boy who attended in the ſtables was profuſe enough to put a little hay before his horſe, old Elwes would ſlily ſteal back into the ſtable, and take the hay very carefully away.

That very ſtrong appetite which Mr. Elwes had in ſome meaſure reſtrained during the long ſitting of parliament, he now indulged moſt voraciouſly, and on every thing he could find. To ſave, as he thought, the expence of going to a butcher, he would have a whole ſheep killed, and ſo eat mutton to the—*end of the chapter*. When he occaſionally had his river drawn, though ſometimes horſe-loads of ſmall fiſh were taken, not one would he ſuffer to be thrown in again, for he obſerved, "He ſhould never ſee them again!" Game in the laſt ſtate of putrefaction, and meat that *walked about his plate*, would he continue to eat, rather than have new things killed before the old proviſion was finiſhed.

With this diet—the *charnel-houſe of ſuſtenance*—his dreſs kept pace—equally in the laſt ſtage of *abſolute diſſolution*. Sometimes he would walk about in a tattered brown-coloured hat: and ſometimes in a red and white woollen cap, like a priſoner confined for debt.

When any friends, who might occaſionally be with him, were abſent, he would carefully put out his own fire, and walk to the houſe of a neighbour; and thus make one fire ſerve both. In ſhort, whatever Cervantes or Moliere have pictured, in their moſt ſportive moods, of *avarice in the extreme*, here might they have ſeen realized or ſurpaſſed!

His ſhoes he never would ſuffer to be cleaned, leſt they ſhould be worn out the ſooner.

The ſcene of mortification, at which Mr. Elwes was now arrived, was all but a denial of the common neceſſaries of life: and indeed it might have admitted a doubt, whether or not, if his manors, his fiſh-ponds, and ſome grounds, in his own hands, had not furniſhed a ſubſiſtence, where he had not any thing *actually to buy*, he would not, rather than have *bought any thing*, have ſtarved;—ſtrange as this may appear, it is not exaggerated.—He, one day, during this period, dined upon the remaining part of a moor-hen, which had been brought out of the river by a *rat!* and at another, eat an undigeſted part of a pike, which the larger one had ſwallowed, but had not finiſhed, and which were taken in this ſtate in a net! At the time this laſt circumſtance happened, he diſcovered a ſtrange kind of ſatisfaction, for he ſaid to me—“Aye! this was killing two birds with one ſtone!” In the room of all comment—of all moral—let me ſay, that at this time, Mr. Elwes was perhaps worth nearly *eight hundred thouſand pounds!* and, at this period, he had not made his will, of courſe, was not ſaving from any ſentiment of affection for any perſon.

As, in the day, he would now allow himſelf no fire, he went to bed as ſoon as day cloſed, to ſave candle; and had began to deny himſelf even the pleaſure of ſleeping in *ſheets*. In ſhort, he had now nearly brought to a climax the moral of his whole life—*the perfect vanity of wealth*.

On removing from Stoke, he went to his farm-houſe at Thaydon Hall; a ſcene of more ruin and deſolation, if poſſible, than either his houſes in Suffolk or Berkſhire. It ſtood alone, on the borders of Epping Foreſt; and an old man and woman, his tenants, were the only perſons with whom he could hold any converſe. Here he fell ill; and, as he would have no aſſiſtance, and had not even a ſervant, he lay, unattended and almoſt forgotten, for nearly a fortnight—indulging, even in *death*, that avarice which *malady* could not ſubdue. It was at this period he began to think of making his will.

The property diſpoſed of to two natural children, may amount, perhaps, to *five hundred thouſand pounds*. The *entailed eſtates* fall to Mr. Timms, ſon of the late Richard Timms, Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Troop of Horſe Guards.

The cloſe of Mr. Elwes's life was ſtill reſerved for one ſingularity more, and which will not be held leſs ſingular than all that has paſſed before it, when his diſpoſition and his advanced age are conſidered. He *gave away* his affections: he conceived *the tender paſſion*.—In plain terms, having been accuſtomed for ſome time to paſs his hours, out of œconomy, with the two maid ſervants in the kitchen—one of them had the art to induce him to fall in love with her; and it is matter of doubt, had it not been diſcovered, whether ſhe would not have had the power over him to have made him marry her.

But good fortune, and the attention of his friends, ſaved him from this laſt act—in which, perhaps, the pitiable infirmity of *nature*, weakened and worn down by age and perpetual anxiety, is in ſome meaſure to be called to account.

Mr. George Elwes having now ſettled at his ſeat at Marcham, in Berkſhire, he was naturally deſirous, that in the aſſiduities of his wife, his father might at length find a comfortable home. In London he was certainly moſt uncomfortable: but ſtill, with theſe temptations before and behind him, a journey, with any expence annexed to it, was inſurmountable. This, however, was luckily obviated by an offer from Mr. Partis, a gentleman in the law, to take him to his ancient ſeat in Berkſhire, with his purſe perfectly whole—a circumſtance ſo pleaſing, that the general intelligence which renders this gentleman ſo entertaining, was not adequate to it in the opinion of Mr. Elwes. But there was one circumſtance ſtill very diſtreſſing—the old gentleman had now nearly worn out his laſt coat, and he would not buy a new one; his ſon, therefore, with a *pious fraud* that did him honour, contrived to get Mr. Partis to buy him a coat, and make him a preſent of it. Thus, formerly having had a good coat, then a bad one, and, at laſt, no coat at all—he was kind enough to accept one from a neighbour.

Mr. Elwes carried with him into Berkſhire *five guineas and an half, and half a crown.* Leſt the mention of this ſum may appear ſingular, it ſhould be ſaid, that previous to his journey, he had carefully wrapped it up in various folds of paper, that no part of it might be loſt. On the arrival of the *old gentleman*, Mr. George Elwes and his wife, whoſe good temper might well be expected to charm away the irritations of avarice and age, did every thing they could to make the country a ſcene of quiet to him. But "he had that within" which baffled every effort of this kind. Of his heart it might be ſaid, "there was no peace in Iſrael." His mind, caſt away upon the vaſt and troubled ocean of his property, extending beyond the bounds of his calculation, returned to amuſe itſelf with fetching and carrying about a *few guineas*, which in that ocean, was indeed a drop.

The firſt ſymptoms of more immediate decay, was his inability to enjoy his reſt at night. Frequently would he be heard at midnight as if ſtruggling with ſome one in his chamber, and crying out, "I will keep my money, I will; nobody ſhall rob me of my property!" On any one of the family going into his room, he would ſtart from this *fever of anxiety*, and, as if waking from a troubled dream, again hurry into bed, and ſeem unconſcious of what had happened.

At other times, when perfectly awake, he would walk to the ſpot where he had hidden his money, to ſee if it was ſafe. One night, while in his waking ſtate, he miſſed his treaſure—that great ſum of *five guineas and an half, and half a crown!*" That great ſum which he carried down into Berkſhire as his laſt, deareſt pleaſure! That great ſum, which at times ſolaced and diſtracted the laſt moments of a man, whoſe property, nearly reaching to a *million*, extended itſelf almoſt through *every county in England!*

The circumſtances of the loſs were theſe:—

Mr. Partis, who was then with him in Berkſhire, was waked one morning about two o'clock by the noiſe of a naked foot, ſeemingly walking about his bed-chamber with great caution. Somewhat alarmed at the circumſtance, he naturally aſked, "Who is there?" on which a perſon coming up towards the bed, ſaid with great civility—"Sir, my name is Elwes; I have been unfortunate enough to be robbed in this houſe, which I believe is mine, of all the money I have in the world—*of five guineas and an half, and half a crown!*"—"Dear Sir," replied Mr. Partis, "I hope you are miſtaken; do not make yourſelf uneaſy."—"O! no, no;" rejoined the old gentleman; "it's all true; and really, Mr. Partis, with ſuch a ſum—I ſhould have liked to have ſeen the end of it."

This unfortunate ſum was found a few days after in a corner behind the window-ſhutter.

On the 18th day of November 1789, Mr. Elwes diſcovered ſigns of that utter and total weakneſs, which in eight days carried him to his grave. On the evening of the firſt day he was conveyed to bed—from which he roſe no more. His appetite was gone—he had but a faint recollection of any thing about him; and his laſt coherent words were addreſſed to his ſon, Mr. John Elwes, in hoping "he had left him what he wiſhed." On the morning of the 26th of November, he expired without a ſigh!—with the eaſe with which an infant goes to ſleep on the breaſt of its mother, worn out with "the rattles and the toys" of a long day.

Anecdotes relative to the Engliſh *Nation*; *from* D'Archenholz's *Picture of* England.

THE national pride of the Engliſh is a natural conſequence of a political conſtitution, by which every citizen is exempted from any other dependence than that impoſed by the laws.

This pride is carried among them to a great length. Indeed, how is it poſſible to know and to feel all the merit of ſuch a ſyſtem of liberty, without attaching an uncommon value to it? This ſame ſentiment, with which we ſo violently reproach the Engliſh of the preſent times, has always been felt by the moſt enlightened nations in the world.

The Greeks and Romans carried it ſtill farther. This laudable pride, which with them was united to a lively and fervid patriotiſm, occaſioned thoſe heroic actions which will for ever be engraved in the records of immortality. If the modern hiſtory of England be equally filled with glorious atchievements, it is to a love of their country that all this ought to be aſcribed; a love which, carried to the extreme, as it has been, by thoſe haughty iſlanders, cannot be conceived without a certain degree of contempt for thoſe nations who do not poſſeſs ſimilar ſenſations.

This fault, if it is one, is ſtill more common amongſt the Spaniards than them; but being founded on no ſolid grounds, it has become very juſtly a ſubject of ridicule. The Engliſh themſelves are hated on this account, although their very enemies, at the bottom of their hearts, pay tribute to their extraordinary merit.—Envy will glide into nations, as well as individuals.

There are, perhaps, no people in Europe who poſſeſs ſo much natural pride as the French: it will be eaſy, with a little penetration, to reconcile this with that urbanity and thoſe polite manners for which they are ſo diſtinguiſhed. It is under this maſk that the ſly Frenchman conceals thoſe marks of envy with which he views his Engliſh neighbours.

It was this offenſive pride of the Engliſh that ſo many nations ſtrove to humble during the American war. Many even of the ſtates of Germany, among whom the ſpirit of imitation exerciſes ſuch a deſpotic rule, that they neither think, live, nor exiſt but after the French, were animated with the ſame deſire. They carried their madneſs ſo far as to forget the blood and the treaſures, which that nation, in the preſent century, has ſacrificed for the advantage and repoſe of their country. They even wiſhed, without knowing why, to ſee the ſource of her greatneſs dried up.

It ought, however, to be remarked, that the principal members of the empire, guided by a more ſound and judicious policy, trembled for England; even Switzerland, which was neither connected with her by politics nor commerce, offered up continual vows for her preſervation.

A traveller, more eſpecially if he paſſes immediately from France into Great Britain, in looking for that politeneſs at once ſo ſplendid and ſo trifling, which he has been uſed to, will not fail to imagine the Engliſh rude and uncultivated; and this merely becauſe he does not give himſelf the trouble to ſearch beyond the ſurface of their character.

Groſley, a member of the French academy, recounts, with ſome humour, in one of his letters, a circumſtance that happened to him. He had gone to England, prejudiced with the idea, that he was about to viſit the moſt unpoliſhed nation in Europe. A few days after his arrival he went to the theatre. The pit was very crowded; and being there alone, and exceedingly inquiſitive, he began to recollect the little Engliſh of which he was maſter, and put ſeveral queſtions to the perſon next him. His neighbour, who did not underſtand a word of the jargon which he uttered, riſes precipitately, turns his back to him, and departs. Groſley was but little ſurpriſed at this conduct, ſo extremely ungenteel in appearance, and which, for ſome moments, only ſerved to confirm him in his former opinion: but he was ſoon put to the bluſh when he ſaw the Engliſhman return. This good-natured man had perceived, at the other end of the pit, one of his friends who ſpoke French; and having pierced the crowd which ſeparated them, he returned with much difficulty, leading him in his hand.—I aſk, whether this is true politeneſs or not? A Frenchman, by paying him a handſome compliment, would have imagined that he had done enough; the Engliſhman, on the contrary, thought that he ought to do more, and he accordingly did it. If it is then in actions, and not in ſimple words, that real urbanity conſiſts, one is obliged to confeſs that the Engliſh are the moſt poliſhed nation in Europe.

The principle of ſuch actions is there alſo more pure, becauſe a beggar has no occaſion to humble himſelf before the moſt wealthy, and a citizen in eaſy circumſtances knows no bounds to his independence.

The moral character of the Engliſh has indeed degenerated, but, notwithſtanding this, it is ſtill eſtimable; for it is not from its parliaments, its oriental depredators, and the crews of its privateers, who all aim at a certain end, that we ought to judge of the nation. Many members of parliament aſpire at eminent ſituations, and allow themſelves to be corrupted; ſo alſo do the adventurers who leave Europe with an intention to plunder Aſia; and it is the very nature of pirates to rob and ſlaughter.

Is it from the refuſe of a community that we are to imbibe our opinions of the moral character of a people; or from a multitude of godlike actions, which are performed every day, by thouſands in this iſland?

An extraordinary event, which occurred a few years ſince, will ſerve to elucidate the noble and generous manner of thinking among the Engliſh. The emigrations from the empire, of which ſuch ſad complaints are made, even at this day, and which are founded on reaſons partly juſt, and partly imaginary, gave an opportunity to a German gentleman to form a very ſingular ſcheme.

The name of this projector, and his intentions, are ſtill unknown; the arts alſo which he practiſed to put in execution ſuch a well-concerted plan, are equally obſcure: it is, however, certain that a common genius durſt never imagine, far leſs be able to put in execution, an enterpriſe of this nature. In the year 1765, he went to England at the head of 800 adventurers, conſiſting of men, women, and children, whom he had collected in the Palatinate, Franconia, and Suabia, by promiſing them that they would be much more happy in the Engliſh colonies. On their arrival at the port of London, this ſingular man diſappeared, and has never ſince been heard of.

At once miſerable and diſappointed, theſe unfortunate wretches, neither knowing the language, nor being acquainted with any of the inhabitants, and with only a few rags to cover them, were entirely bewildered in that extenſive capital. Without an aſylum, without even bread for their children, who aſked for it with the moſt piercing cries, they knew not to whom they could addreſs themſelves.

In hopes of a leſs cruel deſtiny, they lay down in the open air, in the midſt of thoſe ſtreets neareſt to the wharf where they had been landed. In every other city, even in Paris itſelf, the unexpected arrival of a colony of eight hundred perſons, would have been talked of every where, and proper meaſures taken accordingly: but the landing of ſuch a numerous body was for a long time unknown in London. The inhabitants, indeed, of that part of the town, and alſo the paſſengers, were greatly aſtoniſhed at the appearance of this ſingular groupe, who bewailed their misfortunes in an unknown language; but not being able to diſcover the cauſe, they gave themſelves but little concern on the ſubject.

Two days paſſed in this manner, and theſe poor people remained expoſed to the inclemency of the elements, and the cravings of hunger. Some died for want, on the third day. Their miſery was now at the extreme, for their arrival was unknown any where elſe than in this little corner of the ſuburbs: not a ſingle word of it had tranſpired either in the city or Weſtminſter.

The inhabitants in the neighbourhood were not, however, unfeeling ſpectators of ſo many calamities; they aided them as far as they were able; but what are the feeble ſuccours of poverty at ſuch a criſis? The bakers were accuſtomed to ſend their ſervants every morning loaded with baſkets of bread, which they diſtributed according to the directions of their maſters. One of theſe happening to paſs near the place where theſe emigrants were encamped, heard that they had been ſeveral hours without any ſubſiſtence. "If it is ſo," ſays he, at the ſame time placing his pannier in the midſt of them, "our cuſtomers muſt have "patience to-day; were my maſter "to loſe them all, he would not be "angry. I will," added he, "aid "theſe poor creatures, if I pay for "it out of my own wages."—I truſt that the behaviour of this man does not need a commentary.

The Reverend Mr. Waſchel, a clergyman of the German church, who lived near to them, at laſt reſolved to advertiſe this ſingular event in the newſpapers. In a letter which he inſerted, and which was ſigned with his own name, he particularizes, in a moſt affecting detail, the miſery of his countrymen, and implores in their behalf the generous compaſſion of the Engliſh, on which theſe wretches had ſo much relied when they left their native country. The effect of this was incredible and beyond expectation.

The morning papers are generally printed at eight o'clock; by nine a man arrives on horſeback from one of the moſt diſtant parts of Weſtminſter, and brings to Mr. Waſchel a bank note for 100 l. ſterling. The meſſenger would not mention the donor, but it was afterwards found to be the old counteſs of Cheſterfield, who performed ſo charitable an action.

This might be called the earneſt of the whole nation. It ſeemed to rain bank notes and guineas upon the good prieſt. Coffee-houſes were opened for ſubſcriptions, attendants were appointed to ſupply them with neceſſaries, as they themſelves were not able to buy them; phyſicians and apothecaries were aſſigned, and nurſes and interpreters appointed to them: in a word, the wants of this deſerted band were ſatisfied, their forlorn ſituation removed, and they themſelves inſpired with the ſweet hope of better proſpects before the middle of that very day.

In the mean time the ſubſcriptions continued open, and there never, perhaps, was ſuch a general contribution. There were but few rich people, of a certain rank, in all the kingdom, who did not aſſiſt on this occaſion. I myſelf have read the liſt of thoſe benefactors to my countrymen, and have counted more than twenty who gave a hundred pounds each, and ſome even more. The ſum total is unknown to me; it was, however, ſufficient to entertain this numerous body of people, during five months, in London; at the end of that period they were carried to Carolina, in veſſels hired for the purpoſe, and provided with proper neceſſaries. They had a very excellent paſſage to America, and received, at the inſtant of their arrival, not only every thing neceſſary for their eſtabliſhment, but alſo the remainder of the money which had been collected for them.

It may be imagined that the Germans, ſettled in London, ſhewed themſelves equally generous towards their countrymen as the Engliſh.—Not only thoſe in eaſy circumſtances, but even opulent people, to whom the nation had confided the care of theſe unfortunate wretches, received money for their ſervices out of the fund ariſing from the ſubſcriptions, and charged at the higheſt rate!

The priſons for confining debtors in England, are ſuch as might be expected in a nation which regards the powerful and ſacred rights of humanity.

As it is extremely eaſy to contract debts in England, it muſt therefore neceſſarily follow, that the gaols are always full of priſoners. The pooreſt people, provided they are not common beggars, labour with the utmoſt aſſiduity to hire a ſmall tenement, and become *houſekeepers*, becauſe, beſides the convenience reſulting from it, there are certain privileges annexed to ſuch a ſituation. In conſequence of this, they prefer the moſt miſerable cottage hired in their own name, to more convenient apartments in another houſe.

From this proceeds the great number of houſes in London, which, on this very account, are as five to three in proportion to thoſe of Paris, where all the inhabitants live heaped upon one another.

The national character is diſcovered in this very circumſtance. It often happens, that a man has nothing in his little houſe, but a bed, a table, and ſome chairs; and yet, in quality of a *houſekeeper*, he procures a certain degree of credit, and no one makes any difficulty in truſting him. The butchers, the bakers, the taylors, the ſhoe-makers, &c. &c. furniſh him with whatever he may ſtand in need of, without requiring ready money; people in good circumſtances generally make them wait till Chriſtmas: a ſhorter time is however fixed for the poor; and whenever the debt amounts to the ſum of* forty ſhillings, the creditor has a right to arreſt the debtor.

Nothing is more eaſy than this. He goes to the ſheriffs' office, where there is generally no other perſon than a clerk; he informs him of his buſineſs, and aſks for a writ. The clerk, whoſe duty it is to diſtribute theſe writs without making any inquiry, receives his fee, after having firſt made him kiſs the bible, the uſual manner of taking an oath in England.

The bailiffs, of whom I made mention in the preceding chapter, are afterwards employed, in virtue of their office, to arreſt the debtor. The people deteſt theſe men; and it is very natural, for they lead a lazy life, and inhabit good houſes, which ſerve as temporary priſons. The creditor carries the writ to one of theſe, and gives him inſtructions. The bailiff conveys the priſoner to his houſe, where he remains for twenty-four hours: during this time, he makes uſe of every art, either to ſettle the matter, or procure bail. If an accommodation does not take place in that time, the officer conducts him to priſon: a fee however, properly applied, will often procure an indulgence for ſeveral days.

As there are two priſons, called the King's Bench and the Fleet, which are peculiar to England, and have nothing ſimilar to them in Europe, they uſually make choice of one of theſe. The latter is ſituated in the middle of the city; the other in St. George's Fields. No traveller that I am acquainted with, has ever given a particular account of theſe ſingular and uncommon gaols. They never, indeed, have been mentioned among us but in ſome Engliſh romances, which are very juſtly rejected as ſo many fictions and improbabilities. So true it is, that we have only a few vague ideas of a nation concerning which we never ceaſe to ſpeak; which we endeavour to imitate in almoſt every thing, and which is ſo very near to us.

It may be ſaid, that theſe priſons are two republics exiſting in the boſom of the metropolis, and entirely independent of it. The ſituation and the largeneſs of the firſt render it more commodious than the other. Its boundaries are marked by a wall, which contains a prodigious extent of ground.

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* By a late act, no one can be arreſted for any debt below the ſum of ten pounds.

Within its circumference a great number of houſes are built for the accommodation of the priſoners; a garden where they may walk, a place where they may play at fives, public-houſes where beer and wine are ſold, a coffee-houſe, ſhops, &c. &c.

All the mechanics who follow trades which do not require much room nor long preparation, are allowed here to exerciſe their reſpective avocations, which they denote by ſigns at their doors and windows. You may find taylors, ſhoe-makers, wig-makers, &c. &c. who not only work for the other priſoners, but alſo for their cuſtomers elſewhere, who ſtill continue to employ them. They generally make their families ſtay with them, and live very comfortably. Thoſe who are at liberty ſometimes ſurpaſs in number thoſe who are confined, and the whole often amounts to two or three thouſand. There is no guard but at the entrance; the greateſt liberty reigns within; neither bars, nor bolts, nor irons, nor gaoler are to be perceived; nothing, in one word, to denote a priſon.

As their doors are never locked up, the inhabitants may divert themſelves for whole nights together: they have even been known to give balls and concerts. The free-maſons have a lodge here. It was in the king's bench that Wilkes was, in the year 1769, received as a member of that ſociety.

The gates are open from ſeven o'clock in the morning till nine at night. Any perſon impelled either by curioſity or buſineſs, may go and come during thoſe hours, without being aſked any queſtions. During Wilkes's impriſonment, the avenues were continually choaked up by the number of carriages that were bringing viſitors to him.

It ſometimes happens, that perſons afraid of being arreſted, run to this place as to an aſylum, where they remain with ſome of the priſoners whom they are acquainted with, and never depart till they have made terms with their creditors, or taken ſome other neceſſary ſteps. For, according to the conſtitution of this ſingular commonwealth, the perſons who fly there for refuge, cannot in any manner be moleſted by thoſe on the outſide. The inſide is a ſanctuary, ſacred to liberty, where the bailiff dares not penetrate. He never goes further than the lobby, where he depoſits his priſoners. Woe to him if he paſſes one ſtep beyond it!

In this priſon, there are apartments which would not diſgrace a palace. Theſe are generally occupied by rich people, who pay for them at a very dear rate: for nothing is more common than to ſee perſons who poſſeſs conſiderable fortunes conducted to this place, who remain there as long as they pleaſe, and ſet out whenever they chooſe to make the neceſſary arrangements with their creditors. During their confinement they ſquander large ſums of money, and give a great deal in charity to their fellow-priſoners.

One may here ſee people dreſſed in the moſt faſhionable clothes; aſſemblies of ladies and gentlemen, apartments elegantly furniſhed, and tables delicately ſerved. The genteel and polite air every where viſible, will never allow any one to think that all this is in a gaol.

One is almoſt ſure of meeting

good company at this place, as it is frequented by reſpectable perſons, who have loſt their fortunes by ſome unforeſeen accidents.

It was here that the Rev. Mr. Horne wrote his excellent book on the government and laws of England; that Wilkes formed the plan of his preſent grandeur.

The unbecoming aſſemblage of the two ſexes, is one of the greateſt abuſes of this priſon. I have already ſaid, that according to the laws of the country, the huſband is obliged to anſwer for the debts of his wife, ſo that it is he only that is arreſted. One does not therefore meet with married women here, but there are plenty of widows and unmarried ladies. Theſe laſt, who are all prieſteſſes of Venus, abound in great plenty, and ſometimes exceed an hundred. One of theſe muſt be very diſagreeable, if ſhe does not find, on her arrival, ſeveral who will offer to ſhare their apartments with her, and even their beds. When they are tired of each other they ſeparate, and make a freſh choice. It often happens that they remain with their lovers after they are liberated; and it is not at all uncommon to ſee them forming connections here, which are only diſſolved by death.

The voluptuous life which they lead in this gaol, is alſo augmented by the continual viſits which their lovers make them. However, notwithſtanding the debauchery which generally prevails, it very rarely happens that it is attended with conſequences puniſhable by the laws.

There are certain diſtricts in the neighbourhood of the king's bench and the fleet, called *rules*, which form a circuit of two Engliſh miles. The priſoner may not only ramble but even live within theſe, whenever he can find ſecurity that he will not eſcape. It is remarked, that no nation is ſo credulous as the Engliſh.

There are a great many agreeable gardens in the neighbourhood of the king's bench, where tea and coffee are ſold, and which in an afternoon are full of priſoners.

The marſhal has upwards of three thouſand a year, in ſalary and perquiſites; for this he has very little to do, as he never troubles himſelf about the interior regulations: he is obliged, however, to give large ſecurity, as he becomes liable to the debts of all thoſe who eſcape. About ten years ſince, four priſoners, whoſe debts amounted to 1,500*l.* ſterling, eſcaped by means of a hole in the garden wall. Before he paid ſo much money, the marſhal bethought himſelf of a very ſingular expedient. He gave notice that he would give them fifty per cent. of the ſums for which they had been confined, provided they would ſurrender themſelves. Three of them actually acceded to the agreement, received the ſtipulated payment, and returned to their former habitation.

Although the care of this gaol is entirely confided to the marſhal, yet he is not permitted to interfere in its internal regulations, and is very ſeldom ſeen within its walls. Every priſoner, whether man or woman, is a member of this commonwealth, and participates in all its privileges. They chooſe a lord chief juſtice, and a certain number of judges, who aſſemble once a week, and decide controverſies.

In this court they terminate all quarrels, make laws concerning the police, hear all complaints, and pronounce final judgment; in a word, every thing is equally attended to as in a well-governed community. Every one has a right to attend and plead his own cauſe. Thoſe who are not able to expreſs themſelves with propriety in public, ſuch as women, for example, employ others to relate their complaints, or defend their intereſts.

Of all the remarkable objects which England offers to the eye of a foreigner, no one is more worthy of his admiration, than the aſtoniſhing beauty of the women.

It produces ſuch a ſurpriſing effect, that every ſtranger muſt acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Engliſh ladies over all others. The moſt exact proportions, an elegant figure, a lovely neck, a ſkin uncommonly fine, and features at once regular and charming, diſtinguiſh them in an eminent degree. Their private virtues alſo render them capable of enjoying all the felicity of the marriage ſtate.

The proneneſs of the whole nation to melancholy, renders the women grave and ſerious; their minds are leſs occupied about pleaſures, than in ſolicitude for the happineſs of their huſbands, and the management of their domeſtic concerns. Even women of quality ſuckle their children; they think that the name and duties of a *mother* have nothing in them which they ought to bluſh at, and that no ſtation on earth is comparable to the pleaſures of maternal tenderneſs, and the agreeable reflections which reſult from it.

Notwithſtanding vice is often puſhed to the extreme in the capital, it is very uncommon to ſee a married woman become profligate, and give way to infamous pleaſures. To this there is always an inſurmountable bar in her love for her family, the care of her houſehold, and her own natural gravity. I am of opinion, that there is not a city in the whole world, where the honour of a huſband is in leſs danger than in London.

It is to this ſerious and melancholy diſpoſition that we ought to attribute, the attachment of the Engliſh catholics to the cloiſter, and which has induced ſo many of them to retire to France, and ſtill more to Flanders. They have even eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of convents in England, for thoſe who do not like to leave their native country. A certain number of ladies live there in common, perform divine ſervice together, and conform to all the inſtitutions of that order to which their *houſe* belongs. Like other nuns, they take the vows, and their dreſs is always plain and modeſt.

I have already mentioned the prodigious attachment of the Engliſh to politics. This paſſion is actually among them an inducement to marriage. A huſband who can talk of nothing but public affairs, is always ſure to find in his wife a perſon with whom he may converſe concerning thoſe topics which intereſt him moſt. He has no need to go abroad, to ſatisfy his appetite for this darling ſubject.

The Engliſh are not ungrateful to nature for her prodigality towards them. The children are never bound up in ſwaddling-clothes, but covered with a thin dreſs, which gives a perfect freedom to all their motions. The great advantages ariſing from inoculation, become every day more perceptible.

The ſchools for the education of young people of both ſexes, are almoſt always in the country. In walking through the charming villages which ſurround the metropolis, one is delighted to ſee three or four houſes together, dedicated ſolely to this purpoſe. Theſe ſupport a prodigious number of language-maſters, dancing-maſters, muſic-maſters, &c. &c.

The ladies, truſting perhaps too much to their natural charms, often neglect the means of ſetting them off to advantage. But a very few even of the women of the town make uſe of *rouge*. Many women of faſhion, when dreſſed in the moſt elegant manner, do not uſe hair-powder; *neatneſs*, however, which ſeems actually to be a *rage* amongſt them, is never neglected.

The moſt elegant part of an Engliſhwoman's apparel is her hat, which is uſually adorned with ribbands and feathers. No female, of whatever rank, dares appear in the ſtreets of London on foot, without one of theſe; the very beggars wear them. The art with which they place them, is but imperfectly imitated by foreigners, who know not how to derive from them all their magical advantages. The charming effect which they produce, made Linguet obſerve, that if Homer had been acquainted with this enchanting dreſs, he would not only have given a ceſtus to Venus, but alſo a hat.

The fair-ſex in that country have a number of cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, and among others that of riding on horſeback; in this ſituation, they may be ſeen galloping by hundreds along Hyde Park. On theſe occaſions, they are always dreſſed like Amazons; a practice introduced by queen Anne, the conſort of Richard II. and which has continued to the preſent time. The ladies alſo think it indecent to ſhew themſelves at the window. It is only an extraordinary circumſtance that will make a woman of character open it, to ſatisfy her curioſity. The women of the town, however, are entirely above ſuch a prejudice.

The education among the Engliſh, as far as it regards health, is excellent: I cannot, however, ſay ſo much in reſpect to morals. The abuſes which prevail in the great ſchools are well known; I ſhall therefore be ſilent concerning them. After a long contention concerning the advantages and diſadvantages of a public or private education, it ſeems at laſt to have been decided in favour of the former. The young duke of Bedford, who is the richeſt peer in the kingdom, was for ſeveral years at Weſtminſter, where he was brought up as other young men. His table and his bed were entirely the ſame as theirs. Two guineas a week were allowed him for pocket money; and out of his income, which amounts to ſixty-thouſand pounds per annum, five hundred only were expended in his education.

All the exerciſes which tend to bring the muſcles into action, and to make the body healthy and robuſt, are the daily recreations of theſe public ſchools, which, notwithſtanding their numberleſs diſadvantages, do not, however, make youth effeminate.

A great number of children of good extraction are deſtined from the earlieſt age to commerce, and educated accordingly. This practice, ſo wiſe in itſelf, and which was the ſource from which the Genoeſe nobility derived their opulence, and by which the illuſtrious houſe of Medicis were raiſed to a throne, where they became the benefactors of mankind, was not introduced into England until about the middle of the ſeventeenth century.

The Engliſh nobility during the civil war, being almoſt entirely attached to the king, were baniſhed from all employments by the Houſe of Commons, whoſe power then preponderated; they therefore had no reſource but in trade. Thoſe who poſſeſſed abilities amaſſed immenſe riches, and contributed by their example to remove the ancient prejudices which ſtill ſubſiſted in their country againſt the employment of a merchant. Soon after this, ſome of the firſt people in the kingdom became the moſt zealous partizans of commerce, and embarked their fortunes in it, by which means they at once gave activity and vigour to trade. This, it is affirmed, was the origin of that ſplendour and opulence which England ſoon after acquired. In our own time, we have ſeen the ſon of Sir Robert Walpole, formerly prime miniſter of England, a private banker, and the brother of lord Oxford, a citizen of London.

Anecdotes relative to Dean Swift's *treatment of Mrs.* Johnſon *and Mrs.* Vanhomrigh; *from Literary Relics, by* G. M. Berkeley, *Eſq.*

I Am now come to the only part of Swift's conduct which is, in my opinion, deſerving of cenſure; I mean his treatment of Stella and Vaneſſa. But be it remembered, that cenſure, though merited, ſhould be proportionate to the crime. Had the Dean's accuſers taken the trouble of candidly inveſtigating all the circumſtances relative to that double connection, they might poſſibly have found the unfortunate lover not wholly undeſerving of pity.

But before I proceed to inquire how far the treatment Stella experienced *was* or *was not* excuſeable, I ſhall inform my reader *who* Stella *really was*. On this point *all* the biographers of Swift have been miſinformed. The following account I received a few days ago in a letter from Mrs. Hearn, niece to the celebrated Mrs. Johnſon, and who now reſides at Brighton near Alresford, Hants, with her daughter Mrs. Harriſon, the wife of a moſt reſpectable clergyman of that name.

"Mrs. Eſther Johnſon, better "known by the name of Stella, was "born at Richmond in Surry on "the 13th of March 1681. Her "father was a merchant, and the "younger brother of a good family "in Nottinghamſhire. He died "young, and left his widow with "three children, a ſon and two "daughters. Whilſt Mrs. Johnſon "lived at Richmond, ſhe had the "happineſs of becoming firſt ac"quainted with Lady Gifford, the "ſiſter of Sir William Temple. "The uncommon endowments, "both of body and mind, which "Mrs. Johnſon certainly poſſeſſed "in an high degree, ſoon gained "her not only the eſteem but the "warm friendſhip of that excellent "lady; a friendſhip which laſted "till death. As they ſeldom were "apart, and lady Gifford lived "much with her brother Sir William, it was through her that "Mrs. Johnſon and her two daughters (her ſon dying young) were "brought to the knowledge and "friendſhip of Sir William Temple "and his lady; who diſcovering ſo "many excellencies, and ſuch fine "parts, in the *little Hetty*, as ſhe "was always called in the Temple "family, ſo far took upon them-"ſelves the care of her education "as to bring her up with their own "niece, the late Mrs. Temple of "Moor Park by Farnham—a moſt "acceptable piece of kindneſs and "friendſhip this to the mother, "whoſe little fortune had been "greatly injured by the South Sea "bubbles. And here it was that "Dr. Swift firſt became acquainted "with Stella, and commenced that "attachment which terminated in "their marriage. The cauſe why "that marriage was not owned to "the world has never been thoroughly explained. It is the opi-"nion, however, of her own family, "that their finances not being equal "to the ſtyle in which the Dean "wiſhed to move, as a married "man, could be the only one; "Stella's own fortune being only "£. 1,500, one thouſand of which, "as a farther mark of friendſhip, "was left her by Sir William "Temple himſelf. It was Dr. "Swift's wiſh at laſt to have owned "his marriage; but finding herſelf "declining very faſt, Stella did not "chooſe to alter her mode of life, "and beſides fully intended coming "over to England to her mother."

If we attentively ſurvey the ſituation of Swift from the firſt moment of his connection with the far-famed object of his wiſhes to the period immediately preceding her death, we ſhall be at a loſs to point out the time when, conſiſtently with the dictates of prudence, he could have united himſelf with his amiable miſtreſs.

From the promiſed munificence of King William, he received nothing but diſappointment. After his retirement from Moor Park till his connection with Lord Berkeley, he had no proſpect of preferment. On his promotion to the deanery of St. Patrick, a ſyſtem of the ſevereſt œconomy was neceſſary to liquidate the debt contracted by a long and vexatious attendance on miniſtry; at the ſame time that a certain degree of ſtate was a neceſſary appendage to his ſtation.

To the union of Swift and Stella there was, however, at one period of their connection, a much more formidable obſtacle than any that could have ariſen from prudence. It is with reluctance I proceed; but during one of the Dean's long miniſterial attendances in London, commenced his acquaintance with Vaneſſa.

This lady poſſeſſed wit, youth, beauty, a competent ſhare of wealth, and *univerſal* admiration. Thus decorated, ſhe offered herſelf a willing victim at the ſhrine of Swift, by whoſe genius ſhe was completely faſcinated.

To behold, without emotion, ſuch a ſacrifice, was hardly to be expected from man. But to the honour of Swift be it remembered, that though allured by ſuch attractions as were indeed at once moſt rare and powerful, he made a long and obſtinate defence; and when the death of the queen exiled him as it were from England, he uſed all the force of argument to prevail on Vaneſſa to ſmother the deſtructive flame ſhe had ſo long nouriſhed in her boſom, and which, he wiſely apprehended, would at ſome future period kindle a conflagration, from which effects the moſt fatal were juſtly to be dreaded. Dazzled at *firſt* by the ſplendor of his conqueſt, he was prevented from ſeeing his own conduct in a proper point of view; but when the death of the Queen reminded him that Ireland was to be the ſcene of his remaining years, the thought of wounding her whom he had invited to that country, by the preſence of her rival, ſhocked the delicacy of his feelings; whilſt the idea of Stella, neglected and forſaken, returned with redoubled force, and once more poſſeſſed itſelf of his mind.

Yet at the moment when he recommended to Vaneſſa forgetfulneſs of the paſt, it is certain he taught what he could not practiſe, and that what was *right* was preferred to what was *pleaſant*. In the eye of juſtice, the claims of Stella were highly forcible. She had, at an early period of life, yielded her affections to the aſſiduities of Swift. To enjoy his ſociety, ſhe had ſacrificed her country and her connections, and had fixed her abode in a part of the world where people were by no means inclined to put the beſt conſtruction on the face of things.

In circumſtances like theſe, to have *finally* deſerted Stella was a piece of cruelty and of villainy of which her lover was utterly incapable. His return to Ireland certainly leſſened her anxiety, and rendered her ſituation more tolerable than it could be during his abſence. Whatever ſhe might think of the ſtate of his affections, ſhe was at leaſt in a ſituation to attempt the recovery of them; and though diſappointment had killed the roſes of youth, yet her converſation was ſtill attractive, her mind cultivated, and her manners gentle. But the arrival of the unfortunate Vaneſſa ſoon violated the tranquillity of Stella. The anxiety inſeparable from ſuch a ſituation as hers preyed on her ſpirits, and materially affected her health.

Swift, ſhocked at the effects his own inconſtancy was likely to produce, requeſted Biſhop Aſh, the common friend of *both*, to inquire from Stella what could reſtore her former peace of mind. Her anſwer was to this effect, "That for many years ſhe had patiently borne the tongue of ſlander; but that hitherto ſhe had been cheered by the hope of one day becoming his wife: that of ſuch an event ſhe now ſaw no probability; and that, conſequently, her memory would be tranſmitted to poſterity branded with the moſt unmerited obloquy."

Swift, in his reply to this declaration, obſerved, that "in early life he had laid down two maxims with reſpect to matrimony: The *firſt* was, never to marry unleſs poſſeſſed of a competency: the *ſecond*, unleſs this was the caſe at ſuch a period of life as afforded him a probable proſpect of living to educate his family; but yet, ſince her happineſs depended on his marrying her, he would directly comply with her wiſhes on the following terms: That it ſhould remain a ſecret from all the world, unleſs the diſcovery were called for by ſome *urgent neceſſity*; and that they ſhould continue in ſeparate houſes."

To theſe terms Stella readily ac-

ceded;

ceded; and in 1716 they were married by the Biſhop of Clogher, who himſelf related the circumſtance to Biſhop Berkeley, by whoſe relict the ſtory was communicated to *me.*

Swift, by marrying Stella at a time when it is pretty certain he ceaſed to entertain for her any very impaſſioned ſentiments, is one proof that he thought the laws of honour intitled to the ſtricteſt obſervance. He ſaw when it was too late, the error of this conduct towards that amiable woman, and made reparation; though, to be ſure, his declining to acknowledge her was a ſtep that cannot be juſtified, and which muſt be attributed merely to that love of ſingularity, which in a greater or leſs degree is inſeparable from genius.

With reſpect to Vaneſſa I have little to ſay. Whilſt, in juſtice to Swift, I cannot refrain from obſerving, that the firſt advances came from her, I ſhould not forbear recalling to the reader's recollection what is remarked a few pages back, that when Vaneſſa ſelected Cadenus for her lover, ſhe was *univerſally followed* and *admired*; and whatever conſtruction may be put on a celebrated poem, which it is to be wiſhed had never ſeen the light, I ſhall venture to aſſert, that the paſſion ſhe entertained for Swift was perfectly innocent. She knew of no engagement to prevent their union; and to obtain that union was the ſole object of her wiſhes. Although the encouragement ſhe gave to Swift might be rather inconſiſtent with the etiquette obſerved by all *prudent* and *experienced* women when in a ſtate of courtſhip; yet for this inattention it is by no means right to brand her memory with the ſevereſt obloquy.

With reſpect to the Dean's conduct towards this lady, no other apology can be offered than this: That the violence of the paſſion which he entertained for her, blinded him to the fatal effects that were likely to ariſe from ſuch a connection; and that he found himſelf unexpectedly in a ſituation where *perſeverance* was *wrong*, and where *retreat* was *impoſſible*. Swift has been ſeverely blamed for continuing his connection with Vaneſſa after his marriage with Stella: But be it remembered, that though in this point he erred, his motive was ſuch as, though it could not juſtify, certainly palliated, the crime. He wanted reſolution mortally to wound the peace of one who loved ſo well. Juſtice and nature conteſted the point; and thoſe who in this inſtance may cenſure, cannot regret the triumph of the latter. It is likewiſe more than probable, that one of the motives which induced Swift to conceal his marriage, was a wiſh to ſpare Vaneſſa ſo ſevere a pang; the effects produced by the diſcovery of that fatal ſecret were foreſeen, and are too well known to need recapitulation. Her laſt will declared what her feelings were: Her appointing Swift's moſt intimate friend Biſhop Berkeley to be one of the executioners of her vengeance, ſhows the violence of her reſentment. At the ſame time, had the hour of Vaneſſa's diſſolution been leſs rapid in its approach, had death allowed the ſtorm of paſſion time to ſubſide, it is more than probable ſhe would have recalled her order reſpecting the publication of their mutual correſpondence. Her paſſions were violent, and conſequently would have been ſhort-lived. Her heart was tender, and her ſenſibility great; whilſt her mind was poſſeſſed of a degree of ſtrength not always to be found amongſt the fair ſex; and her talents in many points eclipſed thoſe of her unfortunate rival.

Deſcription of Shirauz, *and of the Manners of the Modern* Perſians; *from* Francklin's *Tour from* Bengal *to* Perſia.

NO place in the world produces the neceſſaries of life in greater abundance and perfection than Shirauz; nor is there a more delightful ſpot in nature to be conceived, than the vale in which it is ſituated, either for the ſalubrity of the air, or for the profuſion of every thing neceſſary to render life comfortable and agreeable. The fields yield plenty of rice, wheat, and barley, which they generally begin to reap in the month of May, and by the middle of July the harveſt is completed. Moſt of the European fruits are produced here, and many of them are ſuperior in ſize and flavour to what can be raiſed in Europe, particularly the apricot and grape. Of the grape of Shirauz there are ſeveral ſorts, all of them very good, but two or three more particularly ſo than the reſt; one is the large white grape, called Reeſh Bàbà, without ſeed, which is extremely luſcious and agreeable to the taſte; the ſmall white grape, called Aſkeri, alſo without ſeed, and as ſweet as ſugar; the black grape, of which the celebrated wine of Shirauz is made. This wine is preſſed by the Armenians and Jews, in the months of October and November, and a vaſt deal is exported annually to Abu Shehr, and other parts in the Perſian Gulph, for the ſupply of the India market. The wine of Shirauz is really delicious, and well-deſerving of praiſe; ſo much ſo, that people who have drank it for a ſpace of time, ſeldom care for any other, though at the firſt taſte it is rather unpleaſant to an European. They have another kind of large red grape, called Sahìbi, the bunches of which weigh ſeven or eight pounds each: it is ſharp and rough to the taſte, and makes vinegar of a very ſuperior quality. The cherries here are but indifferent; but apples, pears, melons, peaches, quinces, nectarines, and the gage plums, are all very good, and in the greateſt plenty. The pomegranate is good to a proverb; the Perſians call it the fruit of Paradiſe.

The breed of horſes in the province of Fars is at preſent very indifferent, owing to the ruinous ſtate of the country; but in the province of Duſhtiſtaàn, lying to the ſouth-weſt, it is remarkably good. The ſheep are of a ſuperior flavour, owing to the excellence of the paſturage in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, and are alſo celebrated for the fineneſs of their fleece: they have tails of an extraordinary ſize, ſome of which I have ſeen weigh upwards of thirty pounds; but thoſe which are ſold in the markets do not weigh above ſix or ſeven. Their oxen are large and ſtrong, but their fleſh is ſeldom eaten by the natives, who confine themſelves chiefly to that of ſheep and fowls. Proviſions of all kinds are very cheap; and the neighbouring mountains affording an ample ſupply of ſnow throughout the year, the meaneſt artificer of Shirauz may have his water and fruits cooled without any expence worthy his conſideration; this ſnow being gathered on the tops of the mountains, and brought in carts to the city, is ſold in the markets. The price of proviſions is regulated at Shirauz with the greateſt exactneſs, by the Daroga, or judge of the police, who ſets a fixed price upon every article, and no ſhop-keeper dares to demand more, under the ſevere penalty of loſing his noſe and ears; ſuch being the puniſhment attached to a crime of this nature; by which means the pooreſt inhabitants are effectually ſecured from impoſition, in ſo capital an article as the neceſſaries of life.

Manufactures and trade are at preſent greatly decayed in Perſia, the people having had no interval of peace to recover themſelves ſince the death of Kerim Khan to the preſent period: but if a regular and permanent government were once again to be eſtabliſhed, there is little doubt but they would flouriſh, as the Perſians are very ingenious, of quick capacities, and even the lower claſs of artificers are induſtrious and diligent. They work in filligree and ivory remarkably well, and are good turners. They have at Shirauz a glaſs manufactory, where they caſt very good glaſs, of which great quantities are exported to different parts of Perſia; by which the manufacturers acquire conſiderable profit. Moſt of the woollen goods, ſilks and worked linens, are brought from Yezd and Carmania, from both of which places they alſo export felts and carpets. A great quantity of copper is produced from Tauris, and other of the more northern parts of Perſia. Kòm is remarkable for excellent ſword blades; but at preſent all trade with Europeans is ſtopped; and the ſtate of the country does not promiſe a ſpeedy return of it. India goods are imported chiefly from Abu Shehr. In matters of trade amongſt the natives, the whole is under the regulation of the Caloònter, or town-clerk, who regulates the duties to be paid to the Khan on all imports: this is ſometimes executed with a ſeverity which leaves the merchant little or no profit upon his goods.

The climate of Shirauz is one of the moſt agreeable in the world, the extremes of heat and cold being ſeldom felt. During the ſpring of the year, the face of the country appears uncommonly beautiful. The flowers, of which they have a great variety, and of the brighteſt hues, the fragrant herbs, ſhrubs, and plants, the roſe, the ſweet baſil, and the myrtle, all here contribute to refreſh and perfume the natural mildneſs of the air. The nightingale of the garden (called by the Perſians *Boolbul Hezar Daſtaan*) the goldfinch, and the linnet, by their melodious warblings, at this delightful ſeaſon of the year, ſerve to add to the ſatisfaction of the mind, and to inſpire it with the moſt pleaſing ideas. Their mornings and evenings are cool, but the middle of the day is very pleaſant. In ſummer, the thermometer ſeldom riſes above ſeventy-three in the day-time, and at night it generally ſinks as low as ſixty-two. The autumn is the worſt ſeaſon of the year, that being the time when the rains begin to fall, and during the autumnal months it is conſidered by natives as the moſt unhealthy;

colds, fluxes, and fevers being very general. In winter, a vaſt deal of ſnow falls, and very thick, but ice is rarely to be found, except on the ſummits of the mountains, or towards Iſpahan, and the more northern parts of Perſia. One thing, which is moſt to be eſteemed in this country, and renders it preferable to any other part of the world, is their nights, which are always clear and bright; and the dew, that in moſt places is of ſo pernicious and dangerous a nature, is not of the leaſt ill conſequence here: there is none at all in ſummer, and in the other ſeaſons it is of ſuch a nature, that if the brighteſt ſcimitar ſhould be expoſed to it all the night, it would not receive the leaſt ruſt; a circumſtance I have myſelf experienced. This dryneſs in the air cauſes their buildings to laſt a great while, and is undoubtedly one of the principal reaſons that the celebrated ruins of Perſepolis have endured for ſo many ages, and comparatively ſpeaking, in ſo perfect a ſtate; that place being ſituated in much ſuch another valley as Shirauz, and but two days journey from thence. The nights in Perſia, and more particularly in the ſouthern parts of it, are moſt excellently adapted for the ſcience of aſtronomy, being of extraordinary brightneſs, and far preferable in that point to what I have obſerved in any country in which it has been my fortune to reſide.

In attempting to ſay any thing of the character of the Perſians, I am ſenſible of the difficulty of the undertaking, from my being ſo ſhort a time amongſt them. An acquaintance with the real character of a people, is only capable of being attained by a very long reſidence; yet as, during my ſtay in Perſia, from the ſituation I was placed in, by living in a native family, I had an opportunity of ſeeing more of the nature and diſpoſition of the middling ſort of people, and their manners and cuſtoms, than perhaps has fallen to the lot of moſt travellers, I am induced to give the few obſervations I made during that period. The Perſians, with reſpect to outward behaviour, are certainly the Pariſians of the Eaſt. Whilſt a rude and inſolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkiſh nation towards foreigners and Chriſtians, the behaviour of the Perſians would, on the contrary, do honour to the moſt civilized nations: they are kind, courteous, civil and obliging to all ſtrangers, without being guided by thoſe religious prejudices ſo very prevalent in every other Mahomedan nation; they are fond of enquiring after the manners and cuſtoms of Europe; and, in return, very readily afford any information in reſpect to their own country. The practice of hoſpitality is with them ſo grand a point, that a man thinks himſelf highly honoured, if you will enter his houſe and partake of what the family affords; whereas, going out of a houſe, without ſmoking a Caleàn, or taking any other refreſhment, is deemed, in Perſia, a high affront; they ſay that every meal a ſtranger partakes with them, brings a bleſſing upon the houſe: to account for this, we muſt underſtand it as a pledge of faith and protection, when we conſider that the continual wars in which this country has been involved, with very little ceſſation, ſince the extinction of the Seſi family, have greatly tended to an univerſal depravity of diſpoſition, and a perpetual inclination to acts of hoſtility. This has leſſened that ſoftneſs and urbanity of manners for which this nation has been at all former times ſo famous; and has at the ſame time too much extinguiſhed all ſentiments of honour and humanity amongſt thoſe of higher rank.

The Perſians, in their converſation, aim much at elegance, and are perpetually repeating verſes and paſſages from the works of their moſt favourite poets, Hafiz, Sàdi, and Jàmi; a practice univerſally prevalent, from the higheſt to the loweſt; becauſe thoſe who have not the advantages of reading and writing, or the other benefits ariſing from education, by the help of their memories, which are very retentive, and what they learn by heart, are always ready to bear their part in converſation. They alſo delight much in jokes and quaint expreſſions, and are fond of playing upon each other; which they ſometimes do with great elegance and irony. There is one thing much to be admired in their converſations, which is the ſtrict attention they always pay to the perſon ſpeaking, whom they never interrupt on any account. They are in general a perſonable, and in many reſpects a handſome people; their complexions, ſaving thoſe who are expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather, are as fair as Europeans.

The women at Shirauz have at all times been celebrated over thoſe of other parts of Perſia for their beauty, and not without reaſon. Of thoſe whom I had the fortune to ſee during my reſidence, and who were moſtly relations and friends of the family I lived in, many were tall and well-ſhaped; but their bright and ſparkling eyes was a very ſtriking beauty: this, however, is in a great meaſure owing to art, as they rub their eye-brows and eye-lids with the black powder of antimony (called ſurma) which adds an incomparable brilliancy to their natural luſtre. The large black eye is in moſt eſtimation among the Perſians, and this is the moſt common at Shirauz. The women, as in all Mahomedan countries, are, down to the meaneſt, covered with a veil from head to foot, ſo that a ſight is never to be obtained of them in the ſtreet. After marriage, they are ſubject to the ſtricteſt confinement. The huſband thinks himſelf affronted even by the inquiry of a friend after the health of his wife. Calling her by name, is never allowed of; the mode of addreſs muſt be, "May "the mother of ſuch a ſon, or ſuch "a daughter, be happy; I hope "ſhe is in health." And none, except thoſe of the neareſt kin, as a brother, or uncle, are ever allowed to ſee the females of the family unveiled.

Extracts from Obſervations in a Journey through Italy, *by* Mrs. Piozzi.

Turin, Oct. 17, 1784.

WE have at length paſſed the Alps, and are ſafely arrived at this lovely little city, whence I look back on the majeſtic boundaries of Italy, with amazement at his courage who firſt profaned them; ſurely the immediate ſenſation conveyed to the mind by the ſight of ſuch tremendous appearances muſt be in every traveller the ſame, a ſenſation of fulneſs never experienced before, a ſatisfaction that there is ſomething great to be ſeen on earth—ſome object capable of contenting even fancy. Who he was who firſt of all people pervaded theſe fortifications, raiſed by nature for the defence of her European Paradiſe, is not aſcertained; but the great Duke of Savoy has wiſely left his name engraved on a monument upon the firſt conſiderable aſcent from Pont Bonvoiſin, as being author of a beautiful road cut through the ſolid ſtone for a great length of way, and having by this means encouraged others to aſſiſt in facilitating a paſſage ſo truly deſirable, till one of the great wonders now to be obſerved among the Alps, is the eaſe with which even a delicate traveller may croſs them. In theſe proſpects, colouring is carried to its utmoſt point of perfection, particularly at the time I found it, variegated with golden touches of autumnal tints; immenſe caſcades mean time burſting from naked mountains on the one ſide; cultivated fields, rich with vineyards, on the other, and tufted with elegant ſhrubs that invite one to pluck and carry them away to where they would be treated with much more reſpect. Little towns ſticking in the clefts, where one would imagine it was impoſſible to clamber; light clouds often ſailing under the feet of the high-perched inhabitants, while the ſound of a deep and rapid though narrow river, daſhing with violence among the inſolently impeding rocks at the bottom, and bells in thickly-ſcattered ſpires calling the quiet Savoyards to church upon the ſteep ſides of every hill—fill one's mind with ſuch mutable, ſuch various ideas, as no other place can ever poſſibly afford.

I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a chamois at a diſtance, and ſpoke with a fellow who had killed five hungry bears that made depredation on his paſtures: we looked on him with reverence as a monſter-tamer of antiquity, Hercules or Cadmus; he had the ſkin of a beaſt wrapt round his middle, which confirmed the fancy—but our ſervants, who borrowed from no fictitious records the few ideas that adorned their talk, told us he reminded *them* of *John the Baptiſt.* I had ſcarce recovered the ſhock of this too ſublime compariſon, when we approached his cottage, and found the felons nailed againſt the wall, like foxes heads or ſpread kites in England. Here are many goats, but neither white nor large, like thoſe which browze upon the ſteeps of Snowdon, or clamber among the cliffs of Plinlimmon.

Going down the Italian ſide of the Alps is, after all, an aſtoniſhing journey; and affords the moſt magnificent ſcenery in nature, which varying at every ſtep, gives new impreſſion to the mind each moment of one's paſſage; while the portion of terror excited either by real or fancied dangers on the way, is juſt ſufficient to mingle with the pleaſure, and make one feel the full effect of ſublimity. To the chairmen who carry one though, nothing can be new; it is obſervable that the glories of theſe objects have never faded—I heard them ſpeak to each other of their beauties, and the change of light ſince they had paſſed by laſt time, while a fellow who ſpoke Engliſh as well as a native told us, that having lived in a gentleman's ſervice twenty years between London and Dublin, he at length begged his diſcharge, chuſing to retire and finiſh his days a peaſant upon theſe mountains, where he firſt opened his eyes upon ſcenes that made all other views of nature inſipid to his taſte.

This charming town is the *ſalon* of Italy; but it is a finely proportioned and well-ornamented *ſalon*, happily conſtructed to call in the freſh air at the end of every ſtreet, through which a rapid ſtream is directed, that *ought* to carry off all nuiſances, which here have no apology from want of any convenience purchaſable by money; and which muſt for that reaſon be the choice of inhabitants, who would perhaps be too happy, had they a natural taſte for that neatneſs which might here be enjoyed in its purity. The arches formed to defend paſſengers from the rain and ſun, which here might have even ſerious effects from their violence, deſerve much praiſe; while their architecture, uniting our ideas of comfort and beauty together, form a traveller's taſte, and teach him to admire that perfection, of which a miniature may certainly be found at Turin, when once a police ſhall be eſtabliſhed there to prevent ſuch places being uſed for the very groſſeſt purpoſes, and polluted with ſmells that poiſon all one's pleaſure.

MILAN.

The phraſe of *miſtreſs* is here not confined to ſervants at all; gentlemen, when they addreſs one, cry, *mia padrona**, mighty ſweetly, and in a peculiarly pleaſing tone. Nothing, to ſpeak truth, can exceed the agreeableneſs of a well-bred Italian's addreſs when ſpeaking to a lady, whom they alone know how to flatter, ſo as to retain her dignity, and not loſe their own: reſpectful, yet tender; attentive, not officious; the politeneſs of a man of faſhion *here* is *true* politeneſs; free from all affectation, and honeſtly expreſſive of what he really feels, a true value for the perſon ſpoken to, without the ſmalleſt deſire of ſhining himſelf; equally removed from foppery on one ſide, or indifference on the other. The manners of the men here are certainly pleaſing to a very eminent degree, and in their converſation there is a mixture, not unfrequent too, of claſſical alluſions, which ſtrike one with a ſort of literary pleaſure I cannot eaſily deſcribe. Yet is there no pedantry in their uſe of expreſſions, which with us would be laughable or liable to cenſure: but Roman notions here are not quite extinct; and even the houſe-maid, or *donna di gros*, as they call her, ſwears by *Diana* ſo comically, there is no telling. They chriſten their boys *Fabius*, their daughters *Claudia*, very commonly. When they mention a thing known, as we ſay, to *Tom o'Styles and John o'Nokes*, they uſe the words *Tizio and Sempronio*. A lady tells me, ſhe was at a loſs about the dance yeſterday evening, becauſe ſhe had not been inſtructed in the *programma*; and a gentleman, talking of the pleaſures he enjoyed ſupping laſt night at a friend's houſe, exclaims, *Eramo pur jeri ſera in Apolline** *!* alluding to Lucullus's entertainment given to Pompey and Cicero, as I remember, in the chamber of Apollo. But here is enough of this—more of it, in their own pretty phraſe, *ſeccarebbe pur Nettunno*†.

We have all heard much of Italian

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* My miſtreſs.

* We paſſed yeſter evening as if we had been in the Apollo.

† Would dry up old Neptune himſelf.

ciciſbeiſm; I had a mind to know how matters really ſtood; and took the neareſt way to information by aſking a mighty beautiful and apparently artleſs young creature, *not noble*, how that affair was managed, for there is no harm done *I am ſure*, ſaid I: "Why no," replied ſhe, "no great *harm* to be ſure: except wearifome attentions from a man one cares little about: for my own part," continued ſhe, "I deteſt the cuſtom, as I happen to love my huſband exceſſively, and deſire nobody's company in the world but his. We are not *people of faſhion* though you know, nor at all rich; ſo how ſhould we ſet faſhions for our betters? They would only ſay, ſee how jealous he is! if *Mr. Such-a-one* ſat much with me at home, or went with me to the Corſo; and I *muſt* go with ſome gentleman you know: and the men are ſuch ungenerous creatures, and have ſuch ways with them: I want money often, and this *cavaliere ſervente* pays the bills, and ſo the connection draws cloſer—*that's all.*" And your huſband!, ſaid I—"Oh, why he likes to ſee me well-dreſſed; he is very good-natured, and very charming; I love him to my heart." And your confeſſor! cried I.—"Oh, why he is *uſed to it.*"—in the Milaneſe dialect—*è aſſuefaà.*

VENICE.

General knowledge, it muſt be confeſſed (meaning that general ſtock that every one recurs to for the common intercourſe of converſation), will be found more frequently in France, than even in England; where, though all cultivate the arts of table eloquence and aſſembly-room rhetoric, few, from mere ſhyneſs, venture to gather in the profits of their plentiful harveſt; but rather cloud their countenances with mock importance, while their hearts feel no hope beat higher in them, than the humble one of eſcaping without being ridiculed; or than in Italy, where nobody dreams of cultivating converſation at all—*as an art*; or ſtudies for any other than the natural reaſon, of informing or diverting themſelves, without the moſt diſtant idea of gaining admiration, or ſhining in company, by the quantity of ſcience they have accumulated in ſolitude. *Here* no man lies awake in the night for vexation that he miſſed recollecting the laſt line of a Latin epigram till the moment of application was loſt; nor any lady changes colour with trepidation at the ſeverity viſible in her huſband's countenance when the chickens are over-roaſted, or the ice-creams melt with the room's exceſſive heat.

Among the noble Senators of Venice, meantime, many good ſcholars, many Belles Lettres converſers, and what is more valuable, many thinking men, may be found, and found hourly, who employ their powers wholly in care for the ſtate; and make their pleaſure, like true patriots, out of *her felicity*. The ladies indeed appear to ſtudy but *one* ſcience;

> And where the leſſon taught
> Is but to pleaſe, can pleaſure ſeem a fault?

Like all ſenſualiſts, however, they fail of the end propoſed, from hurry to obtain it; and conſume thoſe charms which alone can procure them continuance or change of admirers; they injure their health too irreparably, and *that* in their earlieſt youth; for few remain unmarried till fifteen, and at thirty have a wan and faded look, *On ne goute pas ſes plaiſirs icy, on les avale**, ſaid Madame la Preſidente yeſterday, very judiciouſly; yet it is only ſpeaking popularly that one can be ſuppoſed to mean, what however no one much refuſes to aſſert, that the Venetian ladies are amorouſly inclined: the truth is, no check being put upon inclination, each acts according to immediate impulſe; and there are more devotees, perhaps, and more doating mothers at Venice than any where elſe, for the ſame reaſon as there are more females who practiſe gallantry, only becauſe there are more women there who *do their own way*, and follow unreſtrained where paſſion, appetite, or imagination lead them.

To try Venetian dames by Engliſh rules, would be worſe than all the tyranny complained of when ſome Eaſt Indian was condemned upon the Coventry act for ſlitting his wife's noſe; a common practice in *his* country, and perfectly agreeable to cuſtom and the *uſage du pays*. Here is no ſtruggle for female education as with us, no reſources in ſtudy, no duties of family-management; no bill of fare to be looked over in the morning, no account-book to be ſettled at noon; no neceſſity of reading, to ſupply without diſgrace the evening's chat; no laughing at the card-table, or tittering in the corner if a *lapſus linguæ* has produced a miſtake, which malice never fails to record. A lady in Italy is *ſure* of applauſe, ſo ſhe takes little pains to obtain it. A Venetian lady has in particular ſo ſweet a manner naturally, that ſhe really charms without any ſettled intent to do ſo, merely from that irreſiſtible good-humour and mellifluous tone of voice which ſeize the ſoul, and detain it in deſpite of Juno-like majeſty, or Minerva-like wit. Nor ever was there prince or ſhepherd, Paris I think was both, who would not have beſtowed his apple *here*.

Mean while my countryman Howel laments that the women at Venice are ſo little. But why ſo? the diminutive progeny of *Vulcan*, the *Cabirs*, myſteriouſly adored of old, were of a ſize below that of the leaſt living woman, if we believe Herodotus; and they were worſhipped with more conſtant as well as more fervent devotion, than the ſymmetrical goddeſs of Beauty herſelf.

A cuſtom which prevails here, of wearing little or no rouge, and increaſing the native paleneſs of their ſkins, by ſcarce lightly wiping the very white powder from their faces, is a method no Frenchwoman of quality would like to adopt; yet ſurely the Venetians are not behindhand in the art of gaining admirers; and they do not, like their painters, depend upon *colouring* to enſure it.

The longevity of this incomparable commonwealth is a certain proof of its temperance, exerciſe, and cheerfulneſs, the great preſervatives in every body, *politic* as well as *natural*. Nor ſhould the love of peace be left out of her eulogium, who has ſo often reconciled contending princes, that Thuanus gave her, ſome centuries ago, due praiſe for her pacific diſpoſition, ſo neceſſary to the health of a commercial ſtate, and called her city *civilis prudentiæ officina.*

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* They do not taſte their pleaſures here, they ſwallow them whole.

Another reaſon may be found for the long-continued proſperity of Venice, in her conſtant adherence to a precept, the neglect of which muſt at length ſhake, or rather looſen the foundations of every ſtate; for it is a maxim here, handed down from generation to generation, that change breeds more miſchief from its novelty, than advantage from its utility:—quoting the axiom in Latin, it runs thus: *Ipſa mutatio conſuetudinis magis perturbat novitate, quam adjuvat utilitate.* And when Henry the Fourth of France ſolicited the abrogation of one of the Senate's decrees, her ambaſſador replied, That *li decreti di Venezia raſſomigli avano poco i Gridi di Parigi* *, meaning the declaratory publications of the Grand Monarque,—proclaimed to-day, perhaps, repealed to-morrow—" for Sire," added he, " our ſenate deliberates long before it decrees, but what is once decreed there is ſeldom or ever recalled."

The patriotiſm inherent in the breaſts of individuals makes another ſtrong cauſe of this ſtate's exemption from decay: they ſay themſelves, that the ſoul of old Rome has tranſmigrated to Venice, and that every galley which goes into action conſiders itſelf as charged with the fate of the commonwealth. *Dulce et decorum eſt, pro patria mori,* ſeems a ſentence grown obſolete in other Italian ſtates, but is ſtill in full force here; and I doubt not but the high-born and high-ſouled ladies of this day, would willingly, as did their generous anceſtors in 1600, part with their rings, bracelets, every ornament, to make ropes for thoſe ſhips which defend their dearer country.

Moſt of the ſecond rank, and I believe *all* of the firſt rank among them, have ſome ſhare in governing the reſt; it is therefore neceſſary to exclude ignorance, and natural to encourage ſocial pleaſures. Each individual feels his own importance, and ſcorns to contribute to the degradation of the whole, by indulging a groſs depravity of manners, or at leaſt of principles. Every perſon lifted one degree from the loweſt, finds it his intereſt as well as duty to love his country, and lend his little ſupport to the general fabric of a ſtate they all know how to reſpect; while the very vulgar willingly perform the condition exacted, and punctually pay obedience for protection. They have an unlimited confidence in their rulers, who live amongſt them; and can deſire only their utmoſt good. *How* they are governed, comes ſeldom into their heads to enquire; " *Che ne penſa lù* *," ſays a low Venetian, if you aſk him, and humorouſly points at a Clariſſimo paſſing by while you talk. They have indeed all the reaſon to be certain, that where the power is divided among ſuch numbers, one will be ſure to counteract another if miſchief towards the whole be intended.

ROME.

This is the firſt town in Italy I have arrived at yet, where the ladies fairly drive up and down a long ſtreet, by way of ſhewing their dreſs, equipages, &c. without even a prea pretence of taking freſh air. At Turin, the view from the place deſtined to this amuſement, would tempt one out merely for its own ſake; and at Milan they drive along a planted walk, at leaſt a ſtone's throw beyond the gates. Bologna calls its ſerious inhabitants to a little riſing ground, whence the proſpect is luxuriantly verdant and ſmiling. The Lucca baſtions are beyond all in a peculiar ſtyle of miniature beauty; and even the Florentines, though lazy enough, creep out to Porto St. Gallo. But here at Roma la Santa, the ſtreet is all our Corſo; a fine one doubtleſs, and called the *Strada del Popolo*, with infinite propriety, for except in that ſtrada, there is little populouſneſs enough, God knows. Twelve men to a woman even there, and as many eccleſiaſtics to a layman: all this however is fair, when celibacy is once enjoined as a duty in one profeſſion, encouraged as a virtue in all.

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* The decrees of Venice little reſemble the *edicts* of Paris.

* Let *him* look to that.

Au reſte, as the French ſay, we muſt not be too ſure that all who dreſs like Abates are ſuch. Many gentlemen wear black as the court garb; many becauſe it is not coſtly, and many for reaſons of mere convenience and diſlike of change.

I ſee not here the attractive beauty which caught my eye at Venice; but the women at Rome have a moſt Juno-like carriage, and fill up one's idea of Livia and Agrippina well enough. The men have rounder faces than one ſees in other towns I think; bright, black, and ſomewhat prominent eyes, with the fineſt teeth in Europe. A ſtory told me this morning, ſtruck my fancy much; of an herb-woman, who kept a ſtall here in the market, and who, when the people ran out flocking to ſee the queen of Naples as ſhe paſſed, began exclaiming to her neighbours—"*Ah, povera Roma! tempo fù quando paſsò qui prigioniera la regina Zenobia; altra coſa amica, robba tutta diverſa di queſta* reginuccia*!"

St. Peter's church is inconteſtably the firſt object in this city, ſo crowded with ſingle figures: that this church ſhould be built in the form of a Latin croſs inſtead of a Greek one may be wrong for aught I know; that columns would have done better than piers inſide, I do not think; but that whatever has been done by man might have been done better, if that is all the critics want, I readily allow. This church is, after all their objections, nearer to perfect than any other building in the world; and when Michael Angelo, looking at the Pantheon, ſaid, "Is this the beſt our vaunted anceſtors could do? if ſo, I will ſhew the advancement of the art, in ſuſpending a dome of equal ſize to this up in the air." He made a glorious boaſt, and was perhaps the only perſon ever exiſting who could have performed his promiſe.

The figures of angels, or rather cherubims, eight feet high, which ſupport the vaſes holding holy water, as they are made after the form of babies, do perfectly and cloſely repreſent infants of eighteen or twenty months old; nor till one comes quite cloſe to them indeed, is it poſſible to diſcern that they are coloſſal. This is brought by ſome as a proof of the exact proportions kept, and of the prodigious ſpace occupied, by the area of this immenſe edifice; and urged by others, as a peculiarity of the *human* body to deceive ſo at a diſtance, moſt unjuſtly: for one is ſurpriſed exactly in the ſame manner by the doves which ornament the church in various parts of it. *They* likewiſe appear of the natural ſize, and completely within one's reach upon entering the door, but ſoon as approached, recede to a conſiderable height, and prove their magnitude nicely proportioned to that of the angels and other decorations.

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* "Ah, poor degraded Rome! time was, my dear, when the great Zenobia paſſed through theſe ſtreets in chains; anothergueſs figure from this little Queeney, in good time!"

The canopied altar, and its appurtenances, are likewiſe all coloſſal, I think, when they tell me of four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds weight of bronze brought from the Pantheon, and uſed to form the wreathed pillars which ſupport, and the torſes that adorn it. Yet airy lightneſs and exquiſite elegance are the characteriſtics of the fabric, not gloomy greatneſs, or heavy ſolidity. How immenſe then muſt be the ſpace it ſtands on! four hundred and ſixty-ſeven of my ſteps carried me from the door to the end. Warwick caſtle would be contained in its middle *aiſle*. Here are one hundred and twenty ſilver lamps, each larger than I could lift, conſtantly burning round the altar; and one never ſees either them, or the light they diſpenſe, till forced upon the obſervation of them, ſo completely are they loſt in the general grandeur of the whole. In ſhort, with a profuſion of wealth that aſtoniſhes, and of ſplendour that dazzles, as ſoon as you enter on an examination of its ſecondary parts, every man's *firſt* impreſſion at entering St. Peter's church, muſt be ſurpriſe at ſeeing it ſo clear of ſuperfluous ornament. Getting on the top of this ſtupendous edifice, is however the readieſt way to fill one's mind with a deſerving notion of its extent, capacity, and beauty; nor is any operation eaſier, ſo happily contrived is the aſcent. Contrivance here is an ill-choſen word too, ſo luminous, ſo convenient is the walk, ſo ſpacious the galleries beſide, that all idea of danger is removed, when you perceive that even round the undefended cornice, our king's ſtate coach might be moſt ſafely driven.

The monuments, although incomparable, ſcarcely obtain a ſhare of your admiration for the firſt ten times of your ſurveying the place; Guglielmo della Porta's famous figure, ſupporting that dedicated to the memory of Paul the Third, was found ſo happy an imitation of female beauty by ſome madman here however, that it is ſaid he was inflamed with a Pigmalion-like paſſion for it, of which the Pontiff hearing, commanded the ſtatue to be draped. The ſteps at almoſt the end of this church we have all heard were porphyry, and ſo they are; how many hundred feet long I have now forgotten:—no matter; what I have not forgotten is, that I thought as I looked at them—why ſo they *ſhould* be porphyry—and that was all. While the vaſes and ciſterns of the ſame beautiful ſubſtance at Villa Borgheſe attracted my wonder; and Clement X.'s urn, at St. John de Lateran, appeared to me an urn fitter for the aſhes of an Egyptian monarch, Buſiris or Seſoſtris, than for a Chriſtian prieſt or ſovereign, ſince univerſal dominion has been aboliſhed. Nothing, however, *can* look very grand in St. Peter's church; and though I ſaw the general benediction given (I hope partook it) upon Eaſter Day, my conſtant impreſſion was, that the people were below the place; no pomp, no glare, no dove and glory on the chair of ſtate, but what looked too little for the area that contained them. Sublimity diſdains to catch the vulgar eye, ſhe elevates the ſoul; nor can long-drawn proceſſions, or ſplendid ceremonies, ſuffice to content thoſe travellers who ſeek for images that never tarniſh, and for truths that never can decay. Pius Sextus, in his morning dreſs, paying his private devotions at the altar, without any pageantry, and with very few attendants, ſtruck me more a thouſand and a thouſand times, than when, arrayed in gold, in colours, and diamonds, he was carried to the front of a balcony big enough to have contained the conclave; and there, ſhaded by two white fans, which though really enormous, looked no larger than that a girl carries in her pocket, pronounced words which on account of the height they came from were difficult to hear.

All this is known and felt by the managers of theſe theatrical exhibitions ſo certainly, that they judiciouſly confine great part of them to the *Capella Seſtini*, which being large enough to impreſs the mind with its ſolemnity, and not ſpacious enough for the prieſts, congregation, and all, to be loſt in it, is well adapted for thoſe various functions that really make Rome a ſcene of perpetual gala during the holy week; which an Engliſh friend here proteſted to me he had never ſpent with ſo little devotion in his life before. The *miſerere* has, however, a ſtrong power over one's mind—the abſence of all inſtrumental muſic, the ſteadineſs of ſo many human voices, the gloom of the place, the picture of Michael Angelo's laſt judgment covering its walls, united with the mourning dreſs of the ſpectators—is altogether calculated with great ingenuity to give a ſudden ſtroke to the imagination, and kindle that temporary blaze of devotion it is wiſely enough intended to excite.

Account of a ſingular Cuſtom at Metelin, *with ſome Conjectures on the Antiquity of its Origin. By the Right Honourable* James *Earl of* Charlemont, *Preſident R. I. A. From the Tranſactions of the Royal* Iriſh *Academy*, 1789.

THough the extreme beauty and amenity of the Grecian iſlands, eſpecially thoſe on the Aſiatic ſide of the Egean ſea, may render it difficult to make a choice among them, yet, if I were deſired to declare a preference, I ſhould probably fix on Metelin, the ancient Leſbos.—This enchanting iſland, proud of the birth of Alcæus and of Sappho, ſtill retains thoſe charms which gave riſe and inſpiration to their poetry; and though its groves no more reſound with their ſacred ſtrains, the cauſe that inſpired them ſtill ſeems to exiſt, and love ſtill lingers in his favourite retreat.—

Spirat adhuc Amor
Vivuntque commiſſi Calores
Æoliæ Fidibus Puellæ!

Nature here reigns triumphant, and by ſhewing what ſhe can perform alone and unaſſiſted, teaches us to deſpiſe the weak efforts of her inadequate mimick.—The mountains, whoſe rugged tops exhibit a pleaſing interſperſion of rocks and of pine groves, have their green ſides, for many miles along the coaſt, covered with olives, whoſe leſs agreeable verdure is corrected, embelliſhed, and brightened by a lively mixture of bays and of laurels aſpiring to the height of foreſt trees, of myrtles, pomegranates, and of arbutes, rich at once in bloſſom and in berry, of mulberries growing wild, and laden with fruit, and of every other tree

Of nobleſt kind for ſight, ſmell, taſte!

While the luxuriant vine, climbing wild and unreſtrained even to their topmoſt branches, adorns and enriches them with its vivid green, and with its cluſtering fruit.—Winter is here unknown.—The climate forbids it.—The verdure is perpetual, and the frequency of evergreens gives to December the colour of June.—The parching heat of ſummer is never felt.—The thick ſhade of trees, and thouſands of cryſtal ſprings, which every where ariſe, and form themſelves into unnumbered rivulets, joined to the refreſhing ſea breeze, the conſtant companion and corrective of noontide heat, qualify the burning air, and render the year a never-ending May—

————————Airs, vernal airs!
Breathing the ſmell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while univerſal Pan,
Knit with the Graces, and the Hours in dance,
Leads on the eternal ſpring!—

No wonder then if the inhabitants, the better to enjoy theſe various beauties, ſhould conſtruct their houſes in the following peculiar manner:—each houſe is a ſquare tower neatly built of hewn ſtone, ſo high as to overtop the trees, and to command a view of the ſea and neighbouring iſlands.—The lower ſtories are granaries and ſtorehouſes, and the habitable apartments are all at the top, to which you aſcend by a ſtone ſtair, built, for the moſt part, on the outſide, and ſurrounding the tower, ſo that from the apartments the trees are overlooked, and the whole country is ſeen, while the habitations themſelves, which are very numerous, peering above the groves, add life and variety to the enchanting proſpect, and give an air of human population to theſe woodlands, which might otherwiſe be ſuppoſed the region of Dryads, of Naiads, and of Satyrs.

But the charms of this delightful ſpot have ſo far tranſported my imagination, that I have almoſt forgotten the ſubject of which, in this eſſay, I meant to treat, and which is no other than a remarkable and ſingular cuſtom of this iſland, peculiar, I believe, to itſelf, and, as far as I know, never yet detailed by any traveller.

The women here ſeem to have arrogated to themſelves the department and privileges of the men.—Contrary to the uſage of all other countries, the eldeſt daughter here inherits, and the ſons, like daughters every where elſe, are portioned off with ſmall dowers, or, which is ſtill worſe, turned out, pennyleſs, to ſeek their fortune.—If a man has two daughters, the eldeſt, at her marriage, is entitled to all her mother's poſſeſſions, which are by far the greater part of the family eſtate, as the mother, keeping up her prerogative, never parts with the power over any portion of what ſhe has brought into the family, until ſhe is forced into it by the marriage of her daughter, and the father alſo is compelled to ruin himſelf by adding whatever he may have ſcraped together by his induſtry.—The ſecond daughter inherits nothing, and is condemned to perpetual celibacy.—She is ſtyled a Calogria, which ſignifies properly a religious woman or nun, and is in effect menial ſervant to her ſiſter, being employed by her in any office ſhe may think fit to impoſe, frequently ſerving her as waiting maid, as cook, and often in employments ſtill more degrading.—She wears a habit peculiar to her ſituation, which ſhe can never change, a ſort of monaſtick dreſs, coarſe, and of dark brown. One advantage however ſhe enjoys over her ſiſter, that whereas the elder, before marriage, is never allowed to go abroad, or to ſee any man, her neareſt relations only excepted, the Calogria, except when employed in domeſtick toil, is in this reſpect at perfect liberty.—But when the ſiſter is married, the ſituation of the poor Calogria becomes deſperate indeed, and is rendered ſtill more humiliating by the compariſon between her condition and that of her happy miſtreſs. The married ſiſter enjoys every ſort of liberty—the whole family fortune is her's, and ſhe ſpends it as ſhe pleaſes—her huſband is her obſequious ſervant—her father and mother are dependant upon her—ſhe dreſſes in the moſt magnificent manner, covered all over, according to the faſhion of the iſland, with pearls and with pieces of gold, which are commonly ſequins *; thus continually carrying about her the enviable marks of affluence and ſuperiority, while the wretched Calogria follows her as a ſervant, arrayed in ſimple homeſpun brown, and without the moſt diſtant hope of ever changing her condition. Such a diſparity may ſeem intolerable, but what will not cuſtom reconcile? Neither are the misfortunes of the family yet at an end.—The father and mother, with what little is left them, contrive by their induſtry to accumulate a ſecond little fortune, and this, if they ſhould have a third daughter, they are obliged to give to her upon her marriage, and the fourth, if there ſhould be one, becomes her Calogria; and ſo on through all the daughters alternately. Whenever the daughter is marriageable, ſhe can by cuſtom compel the father to procure her a huſband, and the mother, ſuch is the power of habit, is fooliſh enough to join in teazing him into an immediate compliance, though its conſequences muſt be equally fatal and ruinous to both of them. From hence it happens that nothing is more common than to ſee the old father and mother reduced to the utmoſt indigence, and even begging about the ſtreets, while their unnatural daughters are in affluence; and we ourſelves have

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* This ſpecies of finery, which prevails through many of the iſlands, is never worn in Metelin, but when full dreſs is deemed neceſſary.

frequently been ſhewn the eldeſt daughter parading it through the town in the greateſt ſplendour, while her mother and ſiſter followed her as ſervants, and made a melancholy part of her attendant train.

The ſons, as ſoon as they are of an age to gain a livelihood, are turned out of the family, ſometimes with a ſmall preſent or portion, but more frequently without any thing to ſupport them; and thus reduced, they either endeavour to live by their labour, or, which is more uſual, go on board ſome trading veſſel as ſailors or as ſervants, remaining abroad till they have got together ſome competency, and then returning home to marry and to be hen-pecked. Some few there are who, taking advantage of the Turkiſh law, break through this whimſical cuſtom, who marry their Calogrias, and retain to themſelves a competent proviſion; but theſe are accounted men of a ſingular and even criminal diſpoſition, and are hated and deſpiſed as conformiſts to Turkiſh manners, and deſerters of their native cuſtoms; ſo that we may ſuppoſe they are few indeed who have the boldneſs to depart from the manners of their country, to adopt the cuſtoms of their deteſted maſters, and to brave the contempt, the deriſion, and the hatred of their neighbours and fellow-citizens.

Of all theſe extraordinary particulars I was informed by the French conſul, a man of ſenſe and of indiſputable veracity, who had reſided in this iſland for ſeveral years, and who ſolemnly aſſured me that every circumſtance was true; but indeed our own obſervation left us without the leaſt room for doubt, and the ſingular appearance and deportment of the ladies fully evinced the truth of our friend's relation. In walking through the town it is eaſy to perceive, from the whimſical manners of the female paſſengers, that the women, according to the vulgar phraſe, *wear the breeches*. They frequently ſtopped us in the ſtreets, examined our dreſs, interrogated us with a bold and manly air *, laughed at our foreign garb and appearance, and ſhewed ſo little attention to that decent modeſty, which is, or ought to be, the true characteric of the ſex, that there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe they would, in ſpite of their haughtineſs, be the kindeſt ladies upon earth, if they were not ſtrictly watched by the Turks, who are here very numerous, and would be ready to puniſh any tranſgreſſion of their ungallant laws with arbitrary fines. But nature and native manners will often baffle the efforts even of tyranny. In all their cuſtoms, theſe manly ladies ſeem to have changed ſexes with the men.—The woman rides aſtride—the man ſits ſideways upon the horſe. Nay, I have been aſſured that the huſband's diſtinguiſhing appellation is his wife's family name.—The women have town and country houſes, in the management of which the huſband never dares interfere.—Their gardens, their ſervants are all their own; and the huſband from every ciruumſtance of his behaviour, appears to be no other than his wife's firſt domeſtic, perpetually bound to her ſervice, and ſlave to her caprice. Hence it is that a tradition obtains in the country, that this iſland was formerly inhabited by Amazons, a tradition however founded upon no ancient hiſtory that I know of. Sappho indeed, the moſt renowned female that this iſland has ever produced, is ſaid to have had manly inclinations, in which, as Lucian informs us, ſhe did but conform with the ſingular manners of her countrywomen; but I do not find that the mode in which ſhe choſe to ſhew theſe inclinations is imitated by the preſent female inhabitants, who ſeem perfectly content with the dear prerogative of abſolute ſway, without endeavouring in any other particular to change the courſe of nature; yet will this circumſtance ſerve to ſhew that the women of Leſbos had always ſomething peculiar, and even peculiarly maſculine, in their manners and propenſities. But be this as it may, it is certain that no country whatſoever can afford a more perfect idea of an Amazonian commonwealth, or better ſerve to render probable thoſe ancient relations which our manners would induce us to eſteem incredible, than this iſland of Metelin. Theſe lordly ladies are, for the moſt part, very handſome in ſpite of their dreſs, which is ſingular and diſadvantageous. Down to the girdle, which, as in the old Grecian garb, is raiſed far above what we uſually call the waiſt, they wear nothing but a ſhift of thin and tranſparent gauze, red, green, or brown, through which every thing is viſible, their breaſts only excepted, which they cover with a ſort of handkerchief; and this, as we were informed, the Turks have obliged them to wear, while they look upon it as an incumbrance, and as no inconſiderable portion of Turkiſh tyranny. Long ſleeves of the ſame thin material, perfectly ſhew their arms even to the ſhoulder. Their principal ornaments are chains of pearl, to which they hang ſmall pieces of gold coin. Their eyes are large and fine; and the noſe, which we term Grecian, uſually prevails among them, as it does indeed among the women of all theſe iſlands. Their complexions are naturally fine, but they ſpoil them by paint, of which they make abundant uſe, and they diſfigure their pretty faces by ſhaving the hinder part of the eyebrow, and replacing it with a ſtrait line of hair, neatly applied with ſome ſort of gum, the brow being thus continued in a ſtrait and narrow line till it joins the hair on each ſide of their face. They are well made, of the middle ſize, and, for the moſt part, plump; but they are diſtinguiſhed by nothing ſo much and ſo univerſally, as by a haughty, diſdainful, and ſupercilious air, with which they ſeem to look down upon all mankind as creatures of an inferior nature, born for their ſervice, and doomed to be their ſlaves; neither does this peculiarity of countenance in any degree dimiuiſh their natural beauty, but rather adds to it that ſort of bewitching attraction, which the French call *piquant*.

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* In the nineteenth epiſtle of the firſt book, Horace applies an epithet to Sappho, which might with great aptneſs be given to her preſent countrywomen;

"Temperat Archilochi Muſam pede maſcula Sappho."

In the ſequel of this paper, lord Charlemont has endeavoured with great learning and ingenuity to trace the origin of this extraordinary cuſtom up to the firſt ſettlement of the iſland by the Lycians, according

ing to Diodorus, thirty or forty centuries ago; amongſt whom we have the authority of Plutarch, that the ſame uſages prevailed. It would indeed, as he adds, be whimſically curious, if we could allow ourſelves to imagine that a ſingular cuſtom at this day ſubſiſting could be traced back to an origin ſo very remote, and ſhould have taken its riſe in a period when the world was yet in its infancy; or that the relations of Diodorus and of Plutarch, which, conſidering the times of which they treat, might, with much appearance of reaſon, be deemed fabulous, ſhould be corroborated, and, as it were, authenticated by a cuſtom at this day ſubſiſting.

Curious Letter from the Teſhoo Lama *to Governor* Haſtings; *from Tranſactions of the Royal* Edinburgh *Society.*

MR. Maconochie communicated from Robert Bogle, of Daldowie, eſq. a copy of a letter, written in 1773, by the Teſhoo Lama of Thibet, to Warren Haſtings, eſquire, governor general of Bengal, while a brother of Mr. Bogle's was reſiding at the Lama's court, as envoy from Mr. Haſtings. Mr. Maconochie remarked, that the turn of thought and expreſſion rendered the letter a very great curioſity; but that it was ſtill more intereſting on two accounts: 1ſt, That it eſtabliſhed beyond all queſtion, that the Teſhoo Lama, though a pontiff of inferior rank to the Dalai Lama, is underſtood to poſſeſs the ſoul of ſaints, or divine perſonages that flouriſhed in former times, and to retain the remembrance of what happened to them in thoſe paſt periods of exiſtence. 2dly. That the ſame places which are regarded in Bengal as peculiarly ſacred, are likewiſe regarded by the religion of Fo as holy; that the Teſhoo Lama, in ſome of his former ſtates of exiſtence, is ſuppoſed to have reſided in thoſe places; that the Ganges, ſo revered among the Brahmins, is alſo revered by the worſhippers of Fo; and that the reference by the followers of that religion in Japan to ſome region in India, as the origin and holy land of their faith, is here aſcertained to belong to Bengal. Theſe circumſtances, he thought, ſuggeſted very important reflections with regard to the hiſtory of the religions of Eaſtern Aſia.

The letter is as follows:

From TESHOO LAMA to the Governor.

Received the 22d July, 1775.

"Mr. Bogle, whom, out of your kindneſs, you were pleaſed to ſend into this quarter, having (thank God) arrived here in perfect health, I had, at an auſpicious hour, the pleaſure of an interview with him, and was rendered ſo completely happy on the occaſion, that it might in reality have been thought an interview with yourſelf. The letter which you addreſſed to me, and the preſents you ſent by Mr. Bogle, I have likewiſe received ſafe. May your happineſs and proſperity daily increaſe. All the particulars which Mr. Bogle verbally repreſented to me, I perfectly underſtand. You were pleaſed to write me, that you had ſent orders for eſtabliſhing peace with the Debe Doria, agreeable to my requeſt. True; the pleaſure theſe particulars gave me, it is impoſſible to expreſs. When you, out of pure friendſhip, are induced thus readily to comply with a requeſt of mine, what return can I make you for it, but offer you my prayers? You have laid me under an obligation to you for ever; and I hope that you will every where prove victorious and ſucceſsful. What can I ſay to you of my own ſituation? In former ages, I repeatedly received my exiſtence from Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Purnea, and other places in Bengal and Oriſſa; and having ever enjoyed much happineſs from thoſe places, I have imbibed a partiality for them; and a ſincere love and affection for their inhabitants are ſtrongly impreſſed on my heart. The well-known place of Outragund gave me my laſt exiſtence; and thanks be to God, the inhabitants of this quarter are all content and ſatisfied with me. Where my ſpiritual eſſence will tranſmigrate to next, will hereafter be ſeen. At preſent, here I ſit in this icy country, in obedience and ſubjection to the emperor of China. I have long had a deſire of ſeeing you, and the dominions and people over whom you rule; but hitherto many cauſes have occurred to prevent me, whatever may happen in future. My travelling ſo far as your country, to obtain a perſonal interview with you, muſt, however, be attended with many unſurmountable difficulties, and Providence has decreed, that we ſhould be at this neceſſary diſtance from each other. From this conſideration, I am induced to requeſt that you will grant me a piece of ground near the ſeaſide, that I may build a houſe of worſhip thereupon; and for the expences of building it, I have ſent an hundred pieces of gold by Mr. Bogle, together with ſome carpets, cloths, and other neceſſaries, which he will ſhew you, for the decoration of it; and I requeſt that you will do me the favour to let the houſe be immediately built, and the things put up; and as ſoon as the cold ſeaſon ſets in, I will certainly diſpatch to you ſome of my own people, if not ſome of the family of the Lama, who is patron of the emperor of China. I hope that you will receive them with kindneſs, and ſend ſome of your own ſervants with them, to viſit every place of worſhip at Allahabad, Benares, &c. for the diſcharge of their religious duties. As this country is under the abſolute ſovereignty of the emperor of China, who maintains an active and unrelaxed control over all its affairs; and as the forming of any connection or friendſhip with foreign powers is contrary to his pleaſure, it will frequently be out of my power to diſpatch any meſſengers to you. However, it will be impoſſible to efface the remembrance of you out of my mind; and I ſhall always pray for the increaſe of your happineſs and proſperity, and, in return, I hope you will frequently favour me with accounts of your health. To avoid troubling you, and intruding longer upon your time with my incorrect ſtyle, I ſhall conclude this, but beg you will favour me with an anſwer; and I ſhall take an opportunity of addreſſing you by every perſon who goes from hence into your part of the world. I have repreſented all particulars to Mr. Bogle, who will communicate them to you, and I hope you will conſent to them."

[*On a ſeparate paper.*]

"Having, in compliance with my requeſt, put an end to hoſtilities with the Debe Raja, and eſtabliſhed a peace with him, you have thereby conferred upon me the greateſt obligation. As a teſtimony whereof, I ſend you a preſent of a few things; and, although not worth acceptance, I beg you will accept of them, merely upon this conſideration, that a green leaf is a preſent from a hermit.

Liſt of preſents.

8 Pieces of China ſatin.
1 Silver talent of China.
1 Pelong handkerchief.

"I can make no ſuitable return for your friendſhip from this part of the world, and I hope you will excuſe it. Poorun Ker Cuſhoo will have the honour of paying his reſpects to you; and I hope you will grant him your favour and protection in the buſineſs with which he is entruſted."

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of the Bouquetin, or Mountain Goat; from Coxe's *Travels in* Switzerland, vol. ii.

I Obſerved at Michael Paccard's, a guide of Chamouny, a head and horns of the male *bouquetin*, or mountain-goat, and ſtuffed ſpecimens of a female and a young one.

As this animal is extremely rare, and inhabits the higheſt and almoſt inacceſſible mountains, the deſcriptions of it have been very inaccurate and confuſed. But a new light has been lately thrown on the ſubject by Dr. Girtanner of St. Gallen, and by M. van Berchem, ſecretary to the Society of Sciences at Lauſanne; and although theſe two naturaliſts differ in ſome inſtances, yet their joint labours have aſſiſted in aſcertaining the nature and œconomy of this curious animal. The following account, therefore, of the bouquetin, is drawn principally from their obſervations in Rozier's Journal, and from additional information obligingly communicated to me by M. van Berchem himſelf.

This animal is now chiefly found upon that chain which ſtretches from Dauphiné through Savoy to the confines of Italy, and principally on the alps bordering on Mont Blanc, which is the moſt elevated part of that chain. Its particular haunts are the valley of Cormayor to the ſouth of Mont Blanc, thoſe heights which lie between Mont Blanc and the frontiers of the Vallais, and the mountains which border the Val Savarenche; but it is met with more abundantly in the mountains of the valley of Cogne, which is the frontier of the valley of Dent in Piedmont; and almoſt always frequents thoſe parts that have a ſouthern aſpect.

The ſeveral names by which the bouquetin is known in different languages, are, in Greek, by Homer and Ælian, Αιξ *αγριος*; Latin, *Ibex*, which name has been adopted by moſt modern naturaliſts; Italian, *Capra Selvatica*; German and Swiſs, *Steinboch*, or Rock-goat, the female, *Etagne*, or *Ybſchen* and *Ybſchgeiſs*, perhaps from the Latin *Ibex*; Flemiſh, *Wildgbeit*; French, *Bouquetin*, anciently *Bouc-eſtain*, the German name reverſed. Belon named it *Hircus ferus*; Briſſon, *Hircus Ibex*; Linnæus, *Capra Ibex*; Pennant, the *Ibex*; and Dr. Girtanner, *Capra Alpina*. I have adopted the name of Bouquetin, becauſe it is the provincial appellation of the animal in the Alps.

The ſyſtematic naturaliſts agree in taking the ſpecific character of the bouquetin from the beard, and the horns, which they deſcribe as knobbed along the upper or anterior ſurface, and reclining towards the back.

The male bouquetin is larger than the tame goat, but reſembles it much in the outer form. The head is ſmall in proportion to the body, with the muzzle thick, compreſſed, and a little arched. The eyes are large, round, and have much fire and brilliancy. The horns large, when of a full ſize weighing ſometimes 16 or 18 pounds, flatted before and rounded behind, with one or two longitudinal ridges, and many tranſverſe ridges; which degenerate towards the tip into knobs; the colour duſky brown. The beard long, tawny, or duſky. The legs ſlender, with the hoofs ſhort, hollow on the inſide, and on the outſide terminated by a ſalient border, like thoſe of the chamois. The body ſhort, thick, and ſtrong. The tail ſhort, naked underneath, the reſt covered with long hairs, white at the baſe and ſides, black above and at the end. Space under the tail in ſome tawny, in others white. The coat long, but not pendent, aſh-coloured, mixed with ſome hoary hairs; a black liſt runs along the back; and there is a black ſpot above and below the knees. Its colour, however, like that of other animals, muſt neceſſarily vary according to its age and local circumſtances.

The female has been little noticed among naturaliſts. She is one third leſs than the male, and not ſo corpulent: her colour is leſs tawny: her horns are very ſmall, and not above eight inches long. In theſe, and in her figure, ſhe reſembles a goat that has been caſtrated whilſt young. She has two teats, like the tame ſhe-goat, and never has any beard, unleſs, perhaps, in an advanced age. The young ones are of a dirty grey colour, and the liſt along the back is ſcarcely diſcernible.

There is a ſtuffed ſpecimen of the male bouquetin of the Alps in Mr. Parkinſon's, late Sir Aſhton Lever's, Muſeum, of which I have here given ſome of the principal dimenſions, as they are not to be found in any author that has fallen under my obſervation, except in Buffon's Hiſtoire Naturelle; and thoſe were taken by Mr. Daubenton from a young ſubject.

In a ſtate of tranquillity, the bouquetin commonly carries the head low; but in running holds it high, and even bends it a little forward. He mounts a perpendicular rock of fifteen feet at three leaps, or rather three ſucceſſive bounds of five feet each. It does not ſeem as if he found any footing on the rock, appearing to touch it merely to be repelled, like an elaſtic ſubſtance ſtriking againſt a hard body. He is not ſuppoſed to take more than three ſucceſſive leaps in this manner. If he is between two rocks which are near each other, and wants to reach the top, he leaps from the ſide of one rock to the other alternately, till he has attained the ſummit. He alſo traverſes the glaciers with rapidity; but only when purſued, for otherwiſe he avoids them.

The bouquetins feed, during the night, in the higheſt woods: but the ſun no ſooner begins to gild the ſummits, than they quit the woody region, and mount, feeding in their progreſs, till they have reached the moſt conſiderable heights. They betake themſelves to the ſides of the mountains which face the eaſt or ſouth, and lie down in the higheſt places and hotteſt expoſures: but when the ſun has finiſhed more than three quarters of its courſe, they again begin to feed, and to deſcend towards the woods; whither they retire when it is likely to ſnow, and where they always paſs the winter. The bouquetins aſſemble in flocks, conſiſting at the moſt of ten, twelve, or fifteen; but more uſually in ſmaller numbers. The males which are ſix years old and upwards, haunt more elevated places than the females and younger bouquetins; and as they advance in age are leſs fond of ſociety; they become gradually hardened againſt the effects of extreme cold, and frequently live entirely alone.

In ſummer they feed principally on the *genipi* and other aromatic plants which grow in the high alps; and in winter they eat the lichens, and brouſe on buſhes and the tender ſhoots of trees. They prefer thoſe ſpots where the dwarf birch and alpine willows grow, and where *rhododendron*, *thalictrum*, and *ſaxifrages*, abound.

The bouquetins having their fore legs ſomewhat ſhorter than the hind legs, naturally aſcend with greater facility than they deſcend; for this reaſon nothing but the ſevereſt weather can engage them to come down into the lower regions; and even in winter, if there are a few fine days, they leave the woods and mount higher.

Winter is the ſeaſon of love with them, and princpally the month of January. The females go with young five months, and conſequently produce in the laſt week of June, or the firſt of July. At the time of parturition they ſeparate from the males, retire to the ſide of ſome rill, and generally bring forth only one young, though ſome naturaliſts affirm that they occaſionally produce two.

The common cry of the bouquetin is a ſhort ſharp whiſtle, not unlike that of the chamois, but of leſs continuance: ſometimes it makes a ſnort, and when young bleats.

The ſeaſon for hunting the bouquetin is towards the end of ſummer, and in autumn, during the months of Auguſt and September, when they are uſually in good condition. None but the inhabitants of the mountains engage in the chace; for it requires not only a head that can bear to look down from the greateſt heights without terror, addreſs and ſure-footedneſs in the moſt difficult and dangerous paſſes, and to be an excellent markſman, but alſo much ſtrength and vigour, to ſupport hunger, cold, and prodigious fatigue. The moſt determined hunters of bouquetins live in the mountains of the Lower Vallais: for inſtance, the natives of Servan, a village in a wild and pictureſque ſituation, four leagues from Valorſine, and two or three from Martigny, are hunters, and the bouquetins being no longer found in their mountains, they hunt in thoſe of the valley of Aoſt, obtaining a permiſſion for that purpoſe from the inhabitants.

The female ſhows much attachment to her young, and even defends it againſt eagles, wolves, and other enemies; ſhe takes refuge in ſome cavern, and preſenting her head at the entrance of the hole, thus oppoſes the enemy.

When a bouquetin is ſhot, the hunters let it cool upon the ſpot, and then embowel it, putting the blood into one of the entrails, which is eſteemed by the peaſants a ſovereign

reign remedy in pleuriſies and ſome other diſorders. A large bouquetin thus embowelled will weigh 180 or 200 pounds. A female weighs only from 70 to 80 pounds.

Some naturaliſts are of opinion, that the diminution of the race of bouquetins in the Alps is owing to his ſize, the monſtrous length and weight of the horns, which impede him in his courſe; becauſe he is driven into places where he can ſcarcely procure ſufficient nouriſhment during great part of the year, where his ſight becomes debilitated, and is frequently loſt by the ſtrong reflection of the ſun from the ice and ſnow. They conſider this animal rather as a native of the ſubalpine regions, which are covered during ſummer with the fineſt herbage, and where the bouquetins and chamois probably paſtured in tranquillity, when only the lower vallies and plains were inhabited.

On the contrary, it is maintained by others, that the bouquetin is endued with ſtrength proportionate to his ſize; and though he is inferior to the chamois in livelineſs and agility, yet he is by no means deficient in activity; that his horns, though large and weighty, yet from their reclined poſition do not ſeem to be any impediment, but rather render him eſſential ſervice when he happens to fall, or purpoſely throws himſelf down precipices to avoid his purſuers. They add alſo, that his natural food is rather lichens than herbs; that he is particularly fond of the young ſhoots of trees and ſhrubs; and that in all the places where he inhabits, he is found in the coldeſt and rudeſt mountains, and on the ſteepeſt rocks. From theſe circumſtances, it is not improbable, that his preſent ſituation and manner of life is an effect of nature rather than neceſſity. Beſides, why do the chamois, who are more hunted than the bouquetin, ſtill inhabit the leſs elevated regions; and why are they not driven into the glaciers? To account for the preſent ſcarcity of the bouquetin, we need only conſider the number of its enemies, in men, beaſts, and birds of prey. Nor is there much cauſe for apprehenſions, that the race will be extinct even in the Alps. But allowing that the bouquetin was no longer found in his native Alps, ſtill we could not affirm with ſo much propriety that the race was extinct, as that it had migrated into a milder climate, and, with a ſtate of domeſtication and more ſucculent food, had acquired ſofter manners, a form leſs rude, ſmaller and ſmoother horns. For it is even not improbable, that the *hircus ferus* or boucеſtain of Belon, the bouquetin of the Alps, the Siberian ibex, and ægagrus, both ſo accurately deſcribed by Pallas, and the tame goat in all its different forms, are only varieties of the ſame ſpecies. Their difference in ſhape and manners may be ſufficiently accounted for from a change of climate, ſituation, and food; they are found to couple freely with each other; and are aſſerted to produce an offspring which is fertile.

They all have a beard, which ſeems to be the great characteriſtic diſtinction of this genus. They differ more or leſs from each other in the ſhape of their horns, ſize, and coat, none of which can be eſteemed certain ſpecific diſtinctions. The greateſt difference undoubtedly conſiſts in the horns, none of them, perhaps, except the bouquetin, having a longitudinal ridge, and ſome of them being even without the tranſverſe ridges. But this difference is leſs perceptible, in comparing the bouquetin with the Siberian ibex, the ibex with the ægagrus, and the ægagrus with the tame goat. Nor are the horns of the Alpine bouquetin ſo much weightier, longer, and larger, than thoſe of the above-mentioned animals, as to form a *certain* ſpecific diſtinction.

But even if this difference ſhould be ſtill greater, it could never be admitted as forming a ſpecific diſtinction. For the horns not only differ in individuals of the ſame ſpecies, but in the ſame individuals at different ages. If we were to attempt to arrange animals *ſolely* by their horns, the diſcriminations would be as endleſs as uncertain. But if, in the preſent inſtance, the Alpine bouquetin and the other ſpecies of the goat genus ſhould be excepted from this general aſſertion, we have only to add, that M. van Berchen poſſeſſes the horns of a young one, produced from the union of the bouquetin and ſhe-goat, that are exactly ſimilar to the horns of the ægagrus, which, as Pallas aſſerts, reſemble thoſe of the tame goat. Climate and nutriment muſt have a great effect upon the horns of animals. The female of the bouquetin has horns very like thoſe of the tame goat. It is no wonder therefore, if a long ſervitude, an inactive life, an exchange from the aromatic plants and pure air of the mountains to a groſs nutriment and a moiſter atmoſphere, ſhould diminiſh the horns, alter their ſhape, ſubdue the longitudinal ridge, and convert the knobs into wrinkles.

The count de Buffon extends the goat genus ſtill further, and comprehends under it even the chamois; conjecturing, that the bouquetin is the male in the original race of goats, and the chamois the female. The French naturaliſt having, at the time when he deſcribed the bouquetin, never ſeen it in a full grown ſtate, was probably induced to entertain this opinion from a faint reſemblance between the female bouquetin and the chamois. But there does not ſeem the leaſt foundation for this notion, the chamois being an animal totally diſtinct from the goats, never coupling with them, and judiciouſly claſſed by Pallas and Pennant in the genus of antelopes. His conjecture, however, that the bouquetin is the original ſource of all the tame goats, ſeems to be well founded; and has been adopted by the greateſt part of ſucceeding naturaliſts. And as, according to the juſt obſervations of Pallas, the ægagrus approaches nearer than the bouquetin to the tame goat in its form and horns, the ægagrus may be the link which unites the bouquetin and the tame goat. May not the ægagrus be conſidered as a race produced from the bouquetin and the ſhe-goat, or the goat and female bouquetin? Pallas alſo conjectures, that the tame goat may poſſibly have been propagated from the ægagrus and Siberian ibex, which is allowed by moſt naturaliſts to be the ſame as the bouquetin; and Pennant remarks, with no leſs ſagacity, that the tame goats may be derived from both, as we are aſſured that the ibex and ſhe-goat will produce a ſimilar offspring. It is alſo probable, that the bouquetin is the origin of all the goat genus, becauſe it is the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and dwells in the moſt inhoſpitable regions. For, according to the obſervation of the ſame great zoologiſt *, whom we have ſo often quoted, thoſe animals who are natives of the coldeſt mountains muſt, on deſcending into the warm plains, be liable to greater changes than thoſe who are formed for milder climates; and this circumſtance ſeems ſufficient to account for the great variety obſervable in the goat genus.

Some naturaliſts pretend, that the bouquetin cannot be the original ſtock from whence the goats have been produced, becauſe, as he inhabits only the loftieſt ſummits and rocks covered with eternal ſnow, and feeds only on plants peculiar to high regions, he cannot be domeſticated in a variety of climates. But this opinion is contradicted by fact and experience. Stumpf, the hiſtorian of Switzerland, informs us, that the Vallaiſans near Sion bred up tame bouquetins with their goats; and Belon relates, that the Cretans tamed the young bouceſtains by giving them to be ſuckled by the goats. Dr. Pallas alſo relates, that he has frequently ſeen the Siberian ibex among the tame goats, and mentions one in particular at Orenburgh, which was leader of a flock, and father of a numerous offspring more reſembling the females than himſelf. He was very different from the tame he-goats, ſcarcely inferior in ſize to a bouquetin two years old: in colour and ſtrength he reſembled the wild animal; had thick horns, knobbed, not keeled above, and a long rough coat, but no where pendent, except in the beard: the black liſt on the back was almoſt obliterated. And laſtly, Mr. van Berchem ſaw ſeveral tame bouquetins at Aigle. They were gentle and familiar; and, without being remarkably lively, were active and graceful in all their motions. They bred with different ſhe-goats, and Mr. van Berchem ſaw the young ones, which ſeemed to form a new race.

If theſe obſervations ſhould be well founded, the goat genus, or race of the bouquetin, is found in a wild ſtate along the chain of mountains that traverſes the temperate parts both of Europe and Aſia; on the Alps, Pyrenees, and Carpathian mountains; on the Taurus and Caucaſus; on the mountains of Siberia and Tartary; in Kamtſchatka; on the iſlands of the Archipelago; in Hedsjæas in Arabia; in India; perhaps in Ægypt and Lybia.

Account of the Tabaſheer, in a Letter from Patrick Ruſſell, *M.D. F.R.S. From the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol.* lxxx. *Part* 2.

TAbaſheer, a drug in high repute in many parts of the Eaſt, was, I believe, firſt introduced to the knowledge of the weſtern world through the works of the Arabian phyſicians, all of whom mention it as an important article in their Materia Medica; and, from what I could obſerve in Syria, it ſtill continues to be in much more general uſe in Turkey than in this part of India.

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* Pallas.

The genuine Tabaſheer is undoubtedly a production of the Arundo Bambos of Linnæus, the Ily of the Hortus Malabaricus, and the *Arundo Indica arborea maxima, cortice ſpinoſo*, of Herman.

The bamboo in which the Tabaſheer is found, is vulgarly called the Female Bamboo, and is diſtinguiſhed by the largeneſs of its cavity from the male, employed for ſpears or lances. They are ſaid to be ſeparate trees; but this fact I have not had it in my power to aſcertain.

Of the ſeven pieces of bamboo which accompany this paper, four are from the mountains in the vicinity of Vellore, and three from a place twenty miles from hence. The former were perfectly green on their arrival at Madras; and the others were ſelected from a large parcel, which were green alſo when they came to my hands. Theſe were all ſelected on a conjecture of their containing Tabaſheer, from a certain rattling perceived upon ſhaking the bamboo, as if ſmall ſtones were contained in the cavity.

In the month of April, one of the bamboos, conſiſting of ſix joints, received from Vellore, being cautiouſly ſplit, each joint was examined ſeparately. In two of them no veſtige of the drug was diſcovered; each of the others contained ſome, but in various quantity; the whole collected amounted to about twenty-ſeven grains.

The quality alſo was various. The particles reckoned of the firſt quality were of a bluiſh white colour, reſembling ſmall fragments of ſhells; they were harder than the others, but might eaſily be crumbled between the fingers into a gritty powder, and when applied to the tongue and palate, had a ſlight ſaline teſtaceous taſte: they did not exceed in weight four grains. The reſt were of a cineritious colour, rough on the ſurface, and more friable; and intermixed with theſe were ſome larger, light, ſpongy particles, ſomewhat reſembling pumice-ſtones.

In the month of July, forty-three green bamboos, each conſiſting of five or ſix joints, were brought from the hills, fifty miles diſtant from hence. Six, appearing to contain more Tabaſheer than the others, were ſet apart; the remaining thirty-ſeven were ſplit, and examined in the manner before mentioned. The reſult was as follows:

In nine out of the thirty-ſeven, there were no veſtiges of Tabaſheer. In twenty-eight ſome were found in one, two, or three joints of each; but never in more than three joints of the ſame bamboo. The quantity varied, but in all was inconſiderable; and the empty joints were ſometimes contiguous, ſometimes interrupted, indifferently.

The drug conſiſts of very diſſimilar particles at firſt when taken from the bamboo, as will appear in looking into the ſmall ſpecimen, No 1; which, having collected myſelf, I am certain has undergone no adulteration.

The whiter, ſmooth, harder particles, when not looſe together with the others in the cavity, were moſtly found adhering to the ſeptum that divides the joints, and to the ſides contiguous; but never to the ſides about the middle of the joints; and it may be remarked, that, inſtead of being chiefly found at the lower extremity of the joint, as might be expected from the juice ſettling there, they were found adherent indifferently to either extremity, and ſometimes to both. In this ſituation they formed a ſmooth lining, ſomewhat reſembling poliſhed ſtucco, which uſually was cracked in ſeveral places, and might eaſily be detached with a blunt knife.

In ſome joints the Tabaſheer was found thus collected at one or both extremities only, and in ſuch no rattling was perceived upon ſhaking the bamboo; but generally, while ſome adhered to the extremities of the joint, other detached pieces were intermixed with the coarſer looſe particles in the cavity.

The quantity found in each bamboo was very inconſiderable; the produce of the whole twenty-eight reeds, from five to ſeven feet long, not much exceeding two drams.

Submitting the ſpecimens to examination, I refrain from experiments on them, which may more ſucceſsfully be made in England, and ſhall proceed to offer a few obſervations on the juice of the recent bamboo ſuppoſed to form the Tabaſheer.

The exiſtence of this fluid in the bamboo is known by ſhaking the joint. In a conſiderable number of bamboos ſplit in order to procure it, I never found water in more than two joints, and generally not more than two or three drams in each; the largeſt quantity procured at one time was one ounce and a half. Very few joints in proportion contained any.

The fluid was always tranſparent, but varied in conſiſtence; when thicker, it had a whiter colour than common; when more dilute it differed little to the eye from common water, or ſometimes had a pale greeniſh caſt. Applied to the tongue and palate, it had a ſlight ſaline, ſub-aſtringent taſte, more or leſs perceptible in proportion to the conſiſtence of the fluid. After evaporation in the ſun, the reſiduum had a pretty ſtrong ſaline taſte, with leſs aſtringency. Some of the fluid, of a darkiſh colour, thickened in the reed to the conſiſtence of honey; and ſome, in another joint of the ſame reed, was perfectly white and almoſt dry: both had the ſharp ſalt taſte, which the Tabaſheer itſelf loſes in a great degree by keeping.

In the latter end of October, a green bamboo of five joints was brought to me, which appeared to contain both water and Tabaſheer. After three days, the ſound of water, upon ſhaking the reed, could hardly be perceived; on the fifth day it was intirely imperceptible.

Upon ſplitting the bamboo, about half a dram of the fluid, now thickened into a mucilage, was found at the bottom of the upper joint. The ſecond joint contained ſome perfect Tabaſheer looſe in the cavity. The third joint was empty, excepting a few particles of Tabaſheer, which adhered to the ſides near the bottom. The fourth joint, at the bottom, contained above a dram of a browniſh pulpy ſubſtance, adherent. The laſt joint, in like manner, contained half a dram of a ſubſtance thicker and harder in conſiſtence, and nearly of the colour of white wax.

This ſpecimen exhibited at one view the progreſs of the Tabaſheer through its ſeveral ſtages. The ſound diſtinctly perceived in the firſt joint on the 23d of October, was produced by the water in a fluid ſtate; on the 31ſt, having become thicker, the ſound, upon ſhaking, was very obſcure; on the 2d of November, no ſound was perceptible; and when the reed was ſplit, the water was found reduced to a mucilage. The fourth and fifth joints contained the drug in a more advanced ſtate. In the firſt, it was thicker than a mucilage, of a browniſh colour; in the ſecond, more of the fluid part having evaporated, the colour was whiter, and it wanted but little of the conſiſtence of the perfect Tabaſheer found in the ſecond joint.

I am, &c.

Vizagapatam,
Nov. 26, 1788.

P. Russell.

Four of the ſeven reeds preſented to the Society on the night this paper was read, being carefully ſplit, the contents, upon comparing them with the ſpecimens ſent from India, then on the table, were found to agree in all reſpects, as well as with the deſcription of the more recent drug given in the above paper. The ſpecimen, N° 3. ſent from Hydrabad, and reckoned the prime ſort, differed ſomewhat in hardneſs, as mentioned above, from the pureſt particles in the Tabaſheer collected by myſelf; but in the opinion of ſeveral of the members preſent, who compared them, were the ſame ſubſtance with the particles mixed, in a ſmall proportion, in ſome of the other ſpecimens, as lihewiſe with a few particles taken from the reeds opened in their preſence; which puts it beyond doubt, that the ſubſtance is produced in the cavity of the bamboo.

The ſeveral ſpecimens are now under chemical trial; and the reſult of the experiments will, I hope, be communicated to the Society.

Account of the Nardus Indica, or Spikenard. *By* Gilbert Blane, *M. D. F. R. S.* *From the ſame.*

Nardus Indica, or *Spikenard*, is a name familiar in the works of the ancient phyſicians, naturaliſts, and poets; but the identity of which has not hitherto been ſatisfactorily aſcertained. My brother ſays, in a letter dated Lucknow, December 1786, that, "travelling with the Nabob Vizier, upon one of his hunting excurſions, towards the northern mountains, I was ſurpriſed one day, after croſſing the river Rapty, about twenty miles from the foot of the hills, to perceive the air perfumed with an aromatic ſmell; and, upon aſking the cauſe, I was told it proceeded from the roots of the graſs that were bruiſed or trodden out of the ground by the feet of the elephants and horſes of the nabob's retinue. The country was wild and uncultivated, and this was the common graſs which covered the ſurface of it, growing in large tufts cloſe to each other, very rank, and in general from three to four feet in length. As it was the winter ſeaſon, there was none of it in flower. Indeed the greateſt part of it had been burnt down on the road we went, in order that it might be no impediment to the nabob's encampments.

"I collected a quantity of the roots to be dried for uſe, and carefully dug up ſome of it, which I ſent to be planted in my garden at Lucknow. It there throve exceedingly, and in the rainy ſeaſon it ſhot up ſpikes about ſix feet high. Accompanying this, I ſend you a drawing of the plant in flower, and of the dried roots, in which the natural appearance is tolerably preſerved.

"It is called by the natives *Terankus*, which means literally, in the Hindoo language, fever-reſtrainer, from the virtues they attribute to it in that diſeaſe. They infuſe about a dram of it in half a pint of hot water, with a ſmall quantity of black pepper. This infuſion ſerves for one doſe, and is repeated three times a day. It is eſteemed a powerful medicine in all kinds of fevers, whether continued or intermittent. I have not made any trial of it myſelf; but ſhall certainly take the firſt opportunity of doing ſo.

"The whole plant has a ſtrong aromatic odour; but both the ſmell and the virtues reſide principally in the huſky roots, which in chewing have a bitter, warm, pungent taſte, accompanied with ſome degree of that kind of glow in the mouth, which cardamoms occaſion."

Beſides the drawing, a dried ſpecimen has been ſent, which was in ſuch good preſervation as to enable Sir Joſeph Banks, P. R. S. to aſcertain it, by the botanical characters, to be a ſpecies of *Andropogon*, different from any plant that has uſually been imported under the name of Nardus, and different from any of that genus hitherto deſcribed in botanical ſyſtems.

There is great reaſon, however, to think, that it is the true *Nardus Indica* of the ancients. The circumſtance, in the account above recited, of its being diſcovered in an unfrequented country, from the odour it exhaled by being trod upon by the elephants and horſes, correſponds, in a ſtriking manner, with an occurrence related by Arrian, in his Hiſtory of the Expedition of Alexander the Great into India. It is there mentioned, lib. vi. cap. 22. that, during his march through the deſarts of Gadroſia, the air was perfumed by the Spikenard, which was trampled under foot by the army; and that the Phœnicians, who accompanied the expedition, collected large quantities of it, as well as of myrrh, in order to carry them to their own country, as articles of merchandiſe.

Account of ſome extraordinary Effects of Lightning. By William Withering, *M.D. F.R.S. From the ſame.*

PERMIT me to requeſt the attention of the Royal Society, whilſt I mention a few facts relative to a thunder-cloud, the lightning from which fuſed a quantity of quartzoſe matter.

This cloud formed in the ſouth, in the afternoon of Sept. 3, 1789, and took its courſe nearly due north. In its paſſage it ſet fire to a field of ſtanding corn; but the rain preſently extinguiſhed the fire. Soon afterwards the lightning ſtruck an oak tree, in the earl of Ayleſford's park at Packington.

The height of this tree is 39 feet, including its trunk, which is 13 feet. It did not ſtrike the higheſt bough, but that which projected fartheſt ſouthward. A man, who had taken ſhelter againſt the north ſide of the tree, was ſtruck dead inſtantaneouſly, his cloaths ſet on fire, and the moſs (*lichen*) on the trunk of the tree, where the back of his head had reſted, was likewiſe burnt. Two men, ſpectators of the accident, ran immediately towards him upon ſeeing him fall; and as it rained hard, and a ſmall lake had collected almoſt cloſe to the ſpot, the fire was very ſoon extinguiſhed; but the effects of the fire on one-half of his body, and on his cloaths, were ſuch as to ſhew, that the whole burning was inſtantaneous, not progreſſive.

Part of the electric matter paſſed down a walking-ſtick, which the man held in his hand, ſloping from him; and where the ſtick reſted on the ground, it made a perforation about 2½ inches in diameter, and 5 inches deep. This hole I examined ſoon afterwards, and found nothing in it but the burnt roots of the graſs. All obſervation would probably have ended here, had not lord Aylesford determined to erect a monument upon the ſpot, not merely to commemorate the event, but with an inſcription, to caution the unwary againſt the danger of ſheltering under a tree during a thunder-ſtorm. In digging the foundation for this monument, the earth was diſturbed at the perforation before mentioned, and the ſoil appeared to be blackened to the depth of about ten inches. At this depth, a root of the tree preſented itſelf, which was quite black; but this blackneſs was only ſuperficial, and did not extend far along it. About two inches deeper, the melted quartzoſe matter began to appear, and continued in a ſloping direction to the depth of 18 inches.

The ſpecimens which accompany this paper, and for which I am indebted to the attention of lord Aylesford, will demonſtrate the intenſe heat which muſt have exiſted to bring ſuch materials into fuſion.

N° 1. A quartz pebble, one corner of which has been completely fuſed.

N° 2. Sand, unmixed with calcareous matter, agglutinated by the heat. Within the hollow part of this maſs, the fuſion has been ſo perfect, that the melted quartzoſe matter has run down the hollow, and aſſumed nearly a globular figure.

N° 3. Smaller hollow pieces, and one nearly flat, but all the flat ones have ſome hollow part *.

Mr. Watt ſuggeſted to me, that the hollows had been occaſioned by the expanſion of moiſture whilſt the fuſion exiſted.

I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that judging from the damage done to the oak tree, the ſtroke was not very great; and that having now an inducement to dig where the earth has been perforated by lightning, we may probably hereafter find foſſil ſubſtances melted by it to a conſiderably greater extent.

Account of a Child with a double Head; in a Letter from Everard Home, *Eſquire, F. R. S, to* John Hunter, *Eſquire, F. R. S. From the ſame.*

THE child was born in May, 1783, of poor parents; the mother was thirty years old, and named Nooki; the father was called Hannai, a farmer at Mandalgent near Bardawan, in Bengal, and aged thirty-five.

At the time of the child's birth, the woman who acted as midwife, terrified at the ſtrange appearance of the double head, endeavoured to deſtroy the infant by throwing it upon the fire, where it lay a ſufficient time before it was removed to have one of the eyes and ears conſiderably burnt.

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* Theſe ſpecimens were laid before the ſociety when the paper was read.

The body of the child was naturally formed, but the head appeared double, there being, beſides the proper head of the child, another of the ſame ſize, and to appearance almoſt equally perfect, attached to its upper part. This upper head was inverted, ſo that they ſeemed to be two ſeparate heads united together by a firm adheſion between their crowns, but without any indentation at their union, there being a ſmooth continued ſurface from the one to the other. The face of the upper head was not over that of the lower, but had an oblique poſition, the center of it being immediately above the right eye.

When the child was ſix months old, both of the heads were covered with black hair, in nearly the ſame quantity. At this period the ſkulls ſeemed to have been completely oſſified, except a ſmall ſpace between the oſſa frontis of the upper one, like a fontinelle.

Obſervations on the ſuperior or inverted Head.

No pulſation could be felt in the ſituation of the temporal arteries; but the ſuperficial veins were very evident.

The neck was about two inches long, and the upper part of it terminated in a rounded ſoft tumor, like a ſmall peach.

One of the eyes had been conſiderably hurt by the fire, but the other appeared perfect, having its full quantity of motion; but the eyelids were not thrown into action by any thing ſuddenly approaching the eye; nor was the iris at thoſe times in the leaſt affected; but, when ſuddenly expoſed to a ſtrong light, it contracted, although not ſo much as it uſually does. The eyes did not correſpond in their motions with thoſe of the lower head; but appeared often to be open when the child was aſleep, and ſhut when it was awake.

The external ears were very imperfect, being only looſe folds of ſkin; and one of them mutilated by having been burnt. There did not appear to be any paſſage leading into the bone which contains the organ of hearing.

The lower jaw was rather ſmaller than it naturally ſhould be, but was capable of motion. The tongue was ſmall, flat, and adhered firmly to the lower jaw, except for about half an inch at the tip, which was looſe. The gums in both jaws had the natural appearance; but no teeth were to be ſeen either in this head or the other.

The internal ſurfaces of the noſe and mouth were lubricated by the natural ſecretions, a conſiderable quantity of mucus and ſaliva being occaſionally diſcharged from them.

The muſcles of the face were evidently poſſeſſed of powers of action, and the whole head had a good deal of ſenſibility, ſince violence to the ſkin produced the diſtortion expreſſive of crying, and thruſting the finger into the mouth made it ſhew ſtrong marks of pain. When the mother's nipple was applied to the mouth, the lips attempted to ſuck.

The natural head had nothing uncommon in its appearance; the eyes were attentive to objects, and its mouth ſucked the breaſt vigorouſly. Its body was emaciated.

The parents of the child were poor, and carried it about the ſtreets of Calcutta as a curioſity to be ſeen for money; and to prevent its being expoſed to the populace, they kept it conſtantly covered up, which was conſidered as the cauſe of its being emaciated and unhealthy.

The attention of the curious was naturally attracted by ſo uncommon a ſpecies of deformity; and Mr. Stark, who reſided in Bengal during this period, paid particular attention to the appearances of the different parts of the double head, and endeavoured to aſcertain the mode in which the two ſkulls were united, as well as to diſcover the ſympathies which exiſted between the two brains. Upon his return to England, finding that I was in poſſeſſion of the ſkull, and propoſed drawing up an account of the child, he very obligingly favoured me with the following particulars; and has likewiſe allowed me to have a ſketch taken from a very exact painting, made under his own inſpection from the child while alive, by Mr. Smith, a portrait-painter then in India.

At the time Mr. Stark ſaw the child, it muſt have been nearly two years old, as it was ſome months before its death, which I have every reaſon to believe happened in the year 1785. At this period the appearances differed in many reſpects from thoſe taken notice of when only ſix months old.

The burnt ear had ſo much recovered itſelf as only to have loſt about one fourth part of the looſe pendulous flap. The openings leading from the external ear appeared as diſtinct as in thoſe of the other head. The ſkin ſurrounding the injured eye, which was on the ſame ſide with the mutilated ear, was in a ſlight degree affected, and the external canthus much contracted, but the eye itſelf was perfect.

The eyelids of the ſuperior head were never completely ſhut, remaining a little open, even when the child was aſleep, and the eyeballs moved at random. When the child was rouſed, the eyes of both heads moved at the ſame time; but thoſe of the ſuperior head did not appear to be directed to the ſame object, but wandered in different directions. The tears flowed from the eyes of the ſuperior head almoſt conſtantly, but never from the eyes of the other, except when crying.

The termination of the upper neck was very irregular, a good deal reſembling the cicatrix of an old ſore.

The ſuperior head ſeemed to ſympathiſe with the child in moſt of its natural actions. When the child cried, the features of this head were affected in a ſimilar manner, and the tears flowed plentifully. When it ſucked the mother, ſatisfaction was expreſſed by the mouth of the ſuperior head, and the ſaliva flowed more copiouſly than at any other time; for it always flowed a little from it. When the child ſmiled, the features of the ſuperior head ſympathiſed in that action. When the ſkin of the ſuperior head was pinched, the child ſeemed to feel little or no pain, at leaſt not in the ſame proportion as was felt from a ſimilar violence being committed on its own head or body.

When the child was about two years old, and in perfect health, the mother went out to fetch ſome water;

er; and, upon her return, found it dead, from the bite of a *Cobra de capelo.*

Account of a Gentleman living at Milan, *in the Year* 1786, *who had the faculty of chewing the cud. From Mrs.* Piozzi's *Journey thro'* Italy, vol. ii.

BUT a natural curioſity ſeen at Milan, this 16th day of Auguſt 1786, leads my mind into another channel. I went to wait upon and thank the lady, or the relations of the lady, who lent us her houſe at Vareſe, and make our proper acknowledgments; and at that viſit ſaw ſomething very uncommon ſurely: though I remember doctor Johnſon once ſaid, that nobody had ever ſeen a very ſtrange thing; and challenged the company (about ſeventeen people, myſelf among them) to produce a ſtrange thing;—but I had not then ſeen Avvocato B——, a lawyer here at Milan, and a man reſpected in his profeſſion, who actually chews the cud like an ox; which he did at my requeſt, and in my preſence: he is apparently much like another tall ſtout man, but has many extraordinary properties, being eminent for ſtrength, and poſſeſſing a ſet of ribs and ſternum very ſurpriſing, and worthy the attention of anatomiſts: his body, upon the ſlighteſt touch, even through all his clothes, throws out electric ſparks; he can reject his meals from his ſtomach at pleaſure, and did abſolutely in the courſe of two hours, the only two I ever paſſed in his company, go through, to oblige me, the whole operation of eating, maſticating, ſwallowing, and returning by the mouth, a large piece of bread and a peach. With all this conviction, nothing more was wanting; but I obtained beſide, the confirmation of common friends, who were willing likewiſe to bear teſtimony of this ſtrange accidental variety. What I hear of his character is, that he is a low-ſpirited, nervous man; and I ſuppoſe his *ruminating* moments are ſpent in lamenting the ſingularities of his frame.

Experiments on the expanſive Force of freezing Water, made by Major Edward Williams, *of the Royal Artillery, at* Quebec, *in* Canada, *in the Years* 1784 *and* 1785. *Communicated in a Letter from* Charles Hutton, *LL. D. F. R. SS.* Lond. *&* Edin. *From the Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh, vol. ii.

SIR,

THE following is an extract of a letter to me from major Edward Williams, of the royal artillery, a learned man, and of great profeſſional merit. Being at Quebec in ſome very cold winters, among various other ingenious experiments, it occurred to him to try the force of congelation in ſome of the iron bomb-ſhells, which are uſually fired out of mortars in the practice of artillery; by filling the cavity of the ſhell with water, and then, having plugged up the fuze-hole, expoſing it to the cold to freeze the water, in order to find whether the expanſion of the ice would be capable of burſting the ſhell.

The dimenſions of the 13 inch ſhell are as follow:

	Inches.
Outer diameter of the ſhell	12.8
Inner, or diameter of the cavity - - -	9.1
Thickneſs of metal at the fuze-hole - - -	1.5
Ditto at the bottom or oppoſite part - - -	2.2
Diameter of the fuze-hole	1.7

And the dimenſions are ſimilar in the other ſhells. The fuze-hole is conical, the oppoſite ſides of which, when produced, meet at the extremity of the diameter, which paſſes through the middle of the hole.

He found, that the iron plug could hardly ever be driven ſo firmly into the fuze-hole as to reſiſt the force of the expanſion of the ice, which puſhed it out with great velocity, and a bolt or cylinder of ice, of a conſiderable length, immediately ſhot up from the hole. But when the plug was fixed in with ſprings, which laid hold of the inſide of the cavity, ſo that the plug could not poſſibly be puſhed out, the force of expanſion then ſplit the ſhell, and a fin or plate of ice ſhot out quite around.

Extract from Major Williams's *Letter.*

Theſe experiments were made on iron-ſhells, from the 13 inch ſhell to the coehorn, of 4.4 inches diameter, by filling the ſhell nearly with water, and driving in an iron plug with a ſledge hammer.

Time, 1784.	Therm.	Elev. of the Fuze.	Weight of Plug. oz.	Diſtance.
Dec. 21.	— 10	90	35	Unknown.
22.	— 3	90	37.25	22 feet.
23.	— 16	90	34.5	Unknown.
24.	— 6	80	39.25	62
31.	— 18	45	39.25	387
1785.				
Jan. 2.	— 19	45	41.75	415
4.	— 12	45	42	Burſt.
9.	— 4	45	40.5	325

REMARKS.

Dec. 21.—The fuze-axis of the ſhell lay nearly perpendicular to the horizon. On examining the effect, about 9 o'clock the following day, I obſerved the plug gone, and a cylinder of ice, of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, riſing perpendicularly from the fuze-hole, and of equal diameter. I ſearched carefully for the plug, but could not find it, as there was about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of ſnow on the ground.

Dec. 22.—I watched this ſhell about an hour, when, being called out on buſineſs, I found, on my return, three hours after, the plug gone, and the icy cylinder $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. Plug loſt.

23.—I had a plug made, and jagged or notched along the ſides, to prevent its being forced out ſo eaſily; and watched this ſhell for upwards of three hours, going into the houſe at intervals to warm myſelf. The laſt time I went in was about half an hour after twelve, when, after a few minutes, I heard a ſort of hiſſing ſound, upon which running out, the plug was gone, and a cylinder of ice ſhot up, exceeding any of the former, being 6½ inches high. Plug loſt.

Dec. 24.—A ſimilar plug to the laſt. I watched this with more ſucceſs; for although abſent at intervals; yet at half paſt four in the afternoon (therm. at 6°) I ſaw the plug ſuddenly forced out by the column of ice, accompanied by the hiſſing noiſe; and obſerving its fall, I found it at 62 feet from the ſhell. The icy cylinder was 4 inches high, and the fuze-axis of the ſhell I found lay nearly at an angle of 80° with the horizon.

31.—Concluding from the foregoing experiments, that no plug could be ſo fixed, as to render the reſiſtance at the fuze-hole greater than at the weakeſt part of the ſhell, in which caſe I ſuppoſed it would burſt (which was the primary object in theſe experiments) I thought it might be worth while to obſerve how far the force of congelation would project a plug of a given weight and figure, and forced in with the ſame number of ſtrokes of the ſledge-hammer. For this purpoſe, I placed the fuze-axis of the ſhell at an angle of 45° with the horizon, and on the 31ſt of December 1784, being the coldeſt day of this year, the plug was projected whilſt I was abſent, a cylinder was ſhot out, in the direction of the axis, of 7¼ inches, and not inclining in the leaſt from that direction to the horizon. The plug was loſt.

Jan. 2, 1785.—Being colder than 31ſt December, in order to haſten the effect, I put a mixture of common ſalt and ſal ammoniac to the water, and tied a long pack-thread, with a piece of red rag at its end, to the fuze, in order to find where it fell in the ſnow. This plug made its eſcape, like the reſt; for at half paſt ſix it was flown, and a cylinder of 8½ inches of ice ſtanding over the fuze-hole. The plug was loſt; for the red rag appeared no where on the ſurface of the ſnow.

4.—Tried a plug made with ſprings, in the manner of a ſearcher, only very ſhort and ſtrong. Added the freezing mixture. The ſhell gave a ſudden crack at a quarter after nine, and inſtantly ſhot from its ſurface two thin plates of ice, reſembling fins, about 2 inches in the higheſt parts. On examining the ſhell I found it burſt, and the plug forced up about half an inch; and, on breaking the ſhell, the ſprings were conſiderably bent, ſo as not to have recovered their firſt ſituation.

9.—Repeated the laſt experiment, with a ſimilar plug and the freezing mixture. It was thrown out, as before, and the projecting icy cylinder was 3¼ inches high.

Similar experiments were afterwards made with all the leſſer ſhells; yet, though one or more of each ſort were actually burſt, more plugs were projected than produced that effect. As ſoon as the ſnow began to diſappear from the ſurface, I ſearched carefully for the plugs, and found ſix of them; which, being all marked with notches *after* the firſt experiment, I eaſily formed from them the foregoing table.

Such was the reſult of theſe experiments,

periments, from which I leave it to you to draw concluſions. I intend to purſue them again this winter; and, if you can ſuggeſt any ideas on the ſubject, that can reach Canada before March 1786, I ſhall be glad to avail myſelf of them.

Ed. Williams.

Remarks on the preceding Extract, by Cha. Hutton, *LL. D.*

From theſe ingenious experiments, we may draw ſeveral concluſions. As,

Firſt, We hence obſerve the amazing force of the expanſion of the ice, or the water, in the act of freezing; which is ſufficient to overcome perhaps any reſiſtance whatever; and the conſequence ſeems to be, either that the water will freeze, and, by expanding, burſt the containing body, be it ever ſo thick and ſtrong; or elſe, if the reſiſtance of the containing body exceed the expanſive force of the ice, or of water in the act of freezing, then, by preventing the expanſion, it will prevent the freezing, and the water will remain fluid, whatever the degree of cold may be.

The amazing force of congelation is alſo obvious from the diſtance to which the iron plugs were projected. For, if we conſider the very ſmall time that the force of expanſion acts on the plug in puſhing it out, and that the plug, of $2\frac{5}{8}$ lb. weight, was projected with a velocity of more than 20 feet in a ſecond of time, and thrown to the diſtance of 415 feet by this force; ſo acting, the intenſity of the force will appear to be truly aſtoniſhing.

2dly, We may hence form an eſtimate of the quantity which the water expands by freezing. For the longeſt cylinder of ice was obſerved to be $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches without the hole; to this add $1\frac{1}{2}$, the thickneſs of the metal, or length of the hole, and the ſum, or 10 inches, is the whole length of the cylinder of ice, the diameter of which is $1\frac{7}{10}$ inches; and hence its ſolid content is $1.7^2 \times 10 \times .7854$ cubic inches.

But the diameter of the ſpherical cavity, filled with water, is $9\frac{1}{10}$ inches; and therefore $9.1^3 \times \frac{2}{3} \times .7854$ is the content of the water in cubic inches.

Hence then the content of the water is to the increaſe by expanſion, as $\frac{2}{3}$ of 9.1^3 to 10 times 1.7^2, or as 502.4 to 28.9, or as 174 to 10. So that the water, in this inſtance, expanded in freezing, by a quantity which is between the 17th and 18th part of itſelf.

C. H.

Caſe of a Patient who diſcharged the Pupæ of the Muſca Cibaria. By W. White, *M. D. and F. R. S. With Obſervations by* J. Church, *A. M. From Memoirs of the Medical Society of* London, vol. ii.

J. WATSON, aged about 30 years, by trade a watchmaker, ſober and temperate, but indulging a ſedentary life, having been ſome time ill, came over here to put himſelf under my care. I found him much emaciated, his complexion very yellow, he had violent pains with ſoreneſs and tenſion about the region of the liver, his body very coſtive, ſtools clayey and tenacious, urine in ſmall quantity and high-coloured, pulſe quick and tenſe, he had frequent rigors, and other ſymptoms of pyrexia. But what diſtreſſed him the moſt, was a conſtant and extreme coldneſs in the lower extremities, which neither a fire nor the warmeſt covering had power to relieve for any time together.

It is unneceſſary to give a particular detail of the means uſed for his recovery; ſuffice it to ſay, that by repeated bleedings (his blood being very ſizy) cooling purgatives, nitrous medicines, and bliſters over the hepatic region, in about a fortnight he was much recovered, and finding every complaint, except the coldneſs in his legs and feet, nearly gone, he went home about fifteen miles from this city. My preſcriptions now were powders of the columbo root, with a ſolution of *ſal diureticus*, and once a week a calomel bolus at night, with an opening draught next morning.

In about a month I had a letter from his apothecary, from which the following is an extract:

"Mr. Watſon has continued his powders regularly till within this week, when he reduced the number. He finds his appetite encreaſe even to be deemed voracious, yet is careful not to overload his ſtomach. Notwithſtanding after each meal he complains of pain about the breaſt, with a ſenſe of fulneſs. In general he is regular for ſtools, but laſt night, being more than uſually coſtive, he took the purgative, with which he had two ſtools in the morning, and diſcharged an immenſe number of worms, two or three of which at his deſire I ſend herewith, they were all very lively. His pulſe is good, and he thinks himſelf in every reſpect vaſtly better; his legs have begun to gain their natural warmth, yet he continues the additional covering and frictions. I hope the worms will reach you alive."

Thus far his apothecary. I received the worms, which were evidently a ſpecies of maggot, in a very lively ſtate; putting them out of the pill box, they crept about with ſurpriſing quickneſs, not with the wriggling motion of the common maggot, but very nimbly upon their numerous feet, in which they ſeem to differ from the common ones, which I think have no feet.

Being replaced into the box, they were depoſited in a deſk, when, after ſome weeks, examining them again, I found them metamorphoſed from a worm ſtate into beautiful inſects of the fly kind, but theſe were dead from want of nouriſhment and air. The chryſales being now become dry and empty huſks.

The following Remarks, with a Drawing of the Inſect, were communicated by Mr. Church, *One of the Council of the Medical Society.*

The inſect mentioned in Dr. White's paper, is the Muſca Cibaria of Linnæus. The larva of it is found in old culinary ſubſtances, eſpecially in old rotten cheeſe, and it ſeems highly probable that the patient had ſwallowed ſome of them with his food, which paſſed unhurt through the ſtomach, into the liver, after having entered by the biliary ducts. This I am the more readily induced to believe was the caſe from a circumſtance which happened to me in practice ſome years ago: a child diſcharged per anum, a live worm with feet, which proved to be the larva of the *Phryganea grandis*, or cadworm, uſed as a bait by anglers; now as this is an aquatic inſect, and feeds under water on other aquatic inſects, it is almoſt certain it muſt have been ſwallowed with ſome water, and paſſed unhurt through the inteſtinal tube till it was diſcharged.

That the action of the ſtomach will not always kill inſects, is evident from the circumſtance of the *Aſcaris Lumbricoides* living in it unhurt. The *phalæna pinguinalis* alſo not only lives but is nouriſhed, and undergoes ſeveral metamorphoſes in the ſtomach, till at length it produces its moth. The worms diſcharged by Dr. White's patient, appear to have been in the chryſalis ſtate, and though the circumſtance of their having feet and moving them is rather ſingular, as the *pupæ* of moſt *muſcæ* are entirely motionleſs, yet as we know that the pupæ of ſome other inſects as grylli, blattæ, &c. have the ſame power, it is poſſible that ſome muſcæ poſſeſs it alſo.

P. S. The ſuppoſition that theſe inſects were nouriſhed in the liver, and produced the diſeaſe under which the patient laboured, ſeems to be much ſtrengthened by a caſe related by Dr. Thomas Bond, of Philadelphia, in vol. i. of the London Medical Obervations and Inquiries, where he deſcribes a kind of leech of an uncommon ſize which had long had its reſidence in the liver of a patient, and was at length diſcharged per anum.

A ſimilar caſe is likewiſe related by Mr. Paiſley, in vol. ii. of the Edinburgh Medical Eſſays.

Dr. Dancer's *Account of the Cinnamon Trees growing in the Iſland of* Jamaica. *From Tranſactions of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, vol. viii.

THE cinnamon-trees of this iſland have been raiſed from a few plants taken along with a large collection of other oriental exotics in a French ſhip, bound from the Iſle of France to Hiſpaniola, and preſented to the botanic garden by lord Rodney, when he came down here, after his glorious victory of the 12th of April, 1782.

Upon comparing the parts of the tree with the deſcription and figure given by Burman and other botaniſts, it appears to be the real *Ceylon* cinnamon, and of the beſt kind, called by the natives * Raſſe Coronde: but the ſpecimens of bark taken put it out of all doubt, being, in the opinion of the beſt judges, of an equal, if not ſuperior quality to any imported from India.

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* Quaſi dicas: acre, ſuave, ac dulce cinnamomum, quod verum et præſtantiſſimum habetur cinnamomum.

Burmanni Theſaurus.

Alteræ ſpecies ſunt,

2. Cahette Coronde, ſive amarum.
3. Cappare Coronde, quia caphuræ ſaporem odoremque potentiſſimum reddit.
4. Welle Coronde, ſive arenoſum.
5. Sewel Coronde, vel mucilaginoſum.
6. Nicke Coronde.
7. Dawel Coronde, ſive tympani.
8. Catte Coronde, ſeu ſpinoſum.
9. Mace Coronde, ſive floridum.

Præter memoratas jam ſpecies, aliæ etiam cinnamomi diverſitates in Zeylona obſervantur.

The various and important uſes to which the ſeveral parts of the plant are applied, make it an invaluable acquiſition to the Weſt India colonies; and there can be no impediment, except an impolitic prohibition, to its becoming an article of general cultivation, and of the moſt lucrative commerce.

None of the botanical writers whom I have had an opportunity of conſulting, ſay much of the cultivation or propagation of the cinnamon; and we have hardly had time to make ſufficient obſervations on the ſubject of either; but, for the information of the public, to whom it is a matter of ſome importance, I ſhall venture the few remarks which my own ſhort experience enables me to offer.

The cinnamon plant, though (according to the account of travellers) it grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, is, properly ſpeaking, an arboreſcent one, and not a tree of the common kind: it puts out numerous ſide-branches, with a denſe foliage from the very bottom of the trunk; which furniſhes an opportunity of obtaining a plenty of layers, and facilitates the propagation of the tree, as it does not perfect its ſeeds in any quantity under ſix or ſeven years; when it becomes ſo plentifully loaded, that a ſingle tree is ſufficient almoſt for a colony.

The cinnamon ſeems to delight in a looſe, moiſt ſoil, and to require a ſouthern aſpect; the trees, thus planted, flouriſhing better than others growing in loam, and not ſo well expoſed to the ſun.

When healthy, it is (from layers) of a pretty quick growth, reaching in eight years the heighth of fifteen or twenty feet, is very ſpreading, and furniſhed with numerous branches, of a fit ſize for decortication. The ſeeds, however, are a long time in coming up, and the plants make ſmall progreſs for the firſt year or two *.

The beſt cinnamon bark, according to the different trials I have made, is taken from the ſmall branches, of about an inch diameter, the larger limbs not being ſo eaſily decorticated, and not yielding ſo good, or ſo ſtrong a cinnamon. The ſmaller twigs, or thoſe that have not acquired a cineritious bark, are too full of ſap and mucilage, and have little *aroma*.

It is the *liber*, or inner bark, that conſtitutes the cinnamon, from which the two external barks muſt be carefully and entirely ſeparated, or they vitiate the flavour of the cinnamon. To do this with dexterity, and to raiſe the bark from the wood, requires ſome practice; but there may perhaps be an eaſier method than that which I have made uſe of; which was that of a common pruning-knife. The bark being thus ſeparated, the ſmaller pieces are to be placed within the larger; which, by expoſure to the ſun or the air, preſently coil up, and require no further preparation.

A dry ſeaſon, I apprehend, is the proper one for taking the bark †; as I have found the cinnamon not ſo ſtrong after long or heavy rains.

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* The birds appear to be very fond of the berries, and will, probably, propagate this tree in the ſame way they do many others every where over the iſland; ſo that in a ſhort time it will grow ſpontaneouſly, or without cultivation.

† The month of May is the time for taking it in Ceylon.

Cinnamon ſeems to be much more retentive of its virtues than any of the other ſpices; but it will certainly be proper to protect it, when taken, as much as poſſible, from the air and moiſture, by cloſe packing in cedar cheſts.

Having thus communicated all that I am able from my own obſervations, reſpecting the culture and preparation of the cinnamon, I ſhall add what I know with reſpect to the uſes of its ſeveral parts.

The leaves, whether recent or dried, are ſo ſtrongly impregnated with an *aroma*, ſimilar to the cinnamon, that they are on all occaſions a good ſuccedaneum for the bark, both in cookery and medicine. Diſtilled, they give an excellent ſimple and ſpirituous water, and an eſſential oil, of the nature of oil of cloves. Powdered, they are a good aromatic ſpecies, or mareſchal perfume.

Every part of the tree, according to writers of the beſt authority, affords ſome uſeful product. To them I muſt refer, till I have had opportunity for experiment.

On the Vegetation of old Grain. From Tranſactions of the Bath *Society,* vol. v.

Gentlemen,

As the aſcertaining of uſeful facts in agriculture is the profeſſed deſign of the ſociety, any thing that may tend to ſhew how long ſeed may retain its vegetative quality, cannot be unworthy your attention.

In the year 1754, my brother, a member of the Bath Society, was at Straſburgh, and ſeeing ſome Indian corn growing, he gathered an ear or cone, and preſerved it with the flag on it. It had lain by unregarded till laſt year; when meeting with it, and the date, place, and time of growth being on it, I was induced to try if it would grow. The 28th of February, 1788, I took ſix grains, ſoaked them in water twenty-four hours, put them in earth in pots, and then in a hot-houſe. In about twenty days they began to appear, and four out of ſix grew to about three feet high; two produced the ear completely formed, a cone of which I ſend. The pots were taken out of the houſe the latter end of June, and the ears gathered the beginning of October. Six other grains were planted in the garden without ſoaking, but did not produce even ſigns of vegetation.

From this experiment is aſcertained a fact that ſeed kept dry hath vegetated at the diſtance of thirty-four years from the time of its being gathered.

I am, gentlemen, &c.

Clapham,
Dec. 27, 1789.

SAMUEL SMITH.

Deſcription of the Kanguroo. *From* Philip's *Voyage to* Botany Bay.

Claſs I. MAMMALIA.

Order III. Feræ.

Genus XVII. Didelphis.—*Lin. Syſt. Nat.* p. 71. N° 17.

Genus XXII. Opoſſum.—*Penn. Hiſt. Quadr.* p. 301.

KANGUROO.

SYNONYMA.

Jerboa Gigantea, *Zimmerm. Zool. Geogr.* 526.
Kanguroo, *Cook's Voy.* iii. p. 577. pl. 20.
Kanguru, *Hiſt. Quadr.* p. 306, pl. 35.

THIS ſingular quadruped at firſt ſight, on account of the extreme diſproportionate ſhortneſs of the fore legs, ſeems to belong to the *Jerboa* genus, but a further inſpection will immediately prove, that it is related to that of the *Opoſſum*. The length of the ſpecimens brought over to England hitherto has varied much; the longeſt eight feet five inches from the tip of the noſe to the end of the tail; and ſome have been found to weigh as far as 150 pounds, though it is generally believed, that this is by no means the largeſt ſize they will arrive at. The greateſt circumference of the animal is round the bottom of the belly and hips; being very ſmall about the head and neck, and encreaſing gradually downwards; the fore legs of the largeſt yet ſeen were nineteen inches in length; the hinder ones three feet ſeven inches; the tail two feet three quarters, pretty thick at the rump, and running tapering to the end. The ears are pretty large, and for the moſt part ſtand erect, the make of the head not inelegant, ſomewhat reſembling that of a fawn. In the upper jaw are ſix cutting teeth and four grinders, with a vacant ſpace between, as there are no canine teeth. In the under jaw are two cutting teeth, which are very long, greatly reſembling thoſe of a ſquirrel, with four grinders, to anſwer thoſe above. The fore legs are furniſhed with five toes, and as many claws, but their ſhortneſs prevents their being applied to the purpoſe of walking; and the uſe the animal makes of them is merely for digging holes, or bringing the food to its mouth. The hinder legs are very ſtrong, and when ſitting, the kanguroo reſts on them the whole of their length, the rump being elevated ſeveral inches from the ground; the under part of them is callous and bare. The toes are only three in number, the middle one exceeding the others greatly in length and ſtrength, but the inner one is of a peculiar ſtructure; at firſt ſight appearing ſingle, though on further inſpection, it is really divided down the middle, as well as the ball of the toe belonging to it, appearing as if ſeparated by a ſharp inſtrument. The tail, when the animal is at reſt, ſeems to lie at eaſe behind it, but when in motion is carried for the moſt part quite erect. The general colour of the whole ſkin is pale brown, inclining to aſh-colour, but the under parts are much paler than the upper.

We have reaſon to believe that the above is only an inhabitant of New Holland, at leaſt none have yet been met with in any other place, and it has been ſaid that there are two ſorts, a greater and a ſmaller, but the laſt we are inclined to think is not yet ſufficiently aſcertained. From the make of the animal, it is no wonder that its progreſſive motion can only be by leaps, which have been known to exceed twenty feet at a time, and this ſo often repeated, as almoſt to elude the ſwiftneſs of the beſt greyhound; beſides which, it will frequently bound over obſtacles of nine feet or more in height, with the greateſt eaſe; and if by chance it is overtaken by a dog, its ſtruggles and ſtrength are ſo great, that it ſoon releaſes itſelf to act the ſame part over again; added to which, it will often uſe the tail as a weapon of offence, ſtriking ſo hard with it as to make the dog ſhy of encountering with it. The only method therefore to obtain them, is to lie in wait with a gun, and ſhoot them. It is ſaid, however, that the natives have the art of catching them more eaſily.

The *male* is immediately known by the ſize of the ſcrotum, which is large and diſtinct. The *female*, on examination, is furniſhed with a large bag or pouch, as uſual in this genus, within which are two nipples, to which the fœtuſes after their firſt excluſion adhere, being defended in the pouch, till they arrive at full maturity; and even after this have been obſerved to run into the pouch as a place of ſhelter, on which occaſion the tender mother contracts the part ſo violently together, that it cannot be opened without the greateſt difficulty.

The dimenſions of a ſtuffed kanguroo now in England, are as follow:

	Feet.	In.
Length from the point of the noſe to the end of the tail	8	5
Length of the tail	3	1
———— head	0	11
———— fore legs	2	0
———— hind legs	3	7
Circumference of the fore part by the legs	1	9
———— lower parts	4	5
Round the thicker part of the tail, which gradually tapers to the end	1	1

The above is the largeſt kanguroo that has yet been ſeen, and there is every reaſon to believe that even this had not nearly attained its full growth.

Lieutenant Shortland deſcribes them as feeding in herds of about thirty or forty, and aſſures us, that one is always obſerved to be apparently upon the watch, at a diſtance from the reſt.

Deſcription of the Marmot. From Coxe's *Travels in* Switzerland, vol. iii.

THE marmot is extremely common in the mountains of Switzerland, and particularly in this part of the Griſons; and, as many erroneous accounts of this ſagacious little animal have been given, I ſhall ſend you the following extract, ſelected from a deſcription written in the German tongue, by Dr. Girtaner; which cannot fail being highly intereſting to all, who love to ſearch into the œconomy of nature.

The marmot inhabits the higheſt and moſt inacceſſible mountains; prefers the ſmall narrow valleys, and particularly the weſtern or ſouthern aſpect, as the warmeſt, and avoids moiſt places. On the opening of ſpring, when he iſſues from his hole, where he has ſlept during winter, he deſcends to the lower regions, where vegetation is forward. In ſummer he again aſcends to the rocky heights, and into ſolitary caverns. He feeds upon herbs and roots, and particularly on the alpine plantain, mountain ſpingel, alpine ladies mantle, mountain ſorrel, alpine toad-flax, alpine trefoil, and alpine ſtarwort. When tame, he eats almoſt every thing except fleſh. On drinking, he raiſes up his head like fowls at every ſip, looking on each ſide with a timorous watchfulneſs. He drinks but little, to which Dr. Amſtein attributes his fatneſs. He is extremely fond of butter and milk.

At break of day the old marmots come out of their holes and feed; afterwards they bring out their young ones; the latter ſcamper on all ſides, chaſe each other, ſit on their hind feet, and remain in that poſture, facing towards the ſun, with an air expreſſive of ſatisfaction. They are all particularly fond of warmth, and when they think themſelves ſecure, will baſk in the ſun for ſeveral hours. Before they collect the graſs, either for their food, or for their winter habitations, they form themſelves into a circle, ſitting on their hind legs, and reconnoitre on all ſides. On the leaſt alarm, the firſt gives inſtantly a ſhrill cry, which is communicated from one to the other, and they eſcape without repeating the noiſe. The chaſſeurs, by imitating theſe ſucceſſive whiſtlings, approach ſo near as to come within ſhot of them.

The marmot has a quick eye, and diſcovers the enemy at a conſiderable diſtance. He never does the leaſt injury to any other animal, and flies when he is purſued. In fact, when apprehenſive of being followed, whole families quit their dwellings, and wander from mountain to mountain, although they muſt again conſtruct their habitations: but when flight is impoſſible, they defend themſelves with ſpirit againſt men and dogs, and attack all who approach them with their teeth and claws.

They always live together in ſocieties. They have both ſummer and winter dwellings, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from each other. The former remain open during the whole year; whereas the latter are cloſed at the end of September. In the ſummer dwellings is found dung in great abundance, but no hay: on the contrary, the winter habitations never contain any dung, but much hay. Near the latter is perceived a more conſiderable quantity of earth, which annually increaſes, according to the ſize of the dwelling, and the augmentation of the family.

In the formation of their dwellings they ſcoop out the earth with great dexterity and expedition: a ſmall part they throw away, and by beating the remainder cloſe, render the paſſage very compact and ſolid. The opening being ſcarcely more than ſix or ſeven inches in diameter, is juſt large enough to admit the animal. The interior is from eight to twenty feet in length; it conſiſts of a paſſage, which, at about five or ſix feet from the entrance, divides into two branches: the one leading to a ſmall cavity; the other to the chamber in which they repoſe. The paſſage, and the two branches, are always carried in a ſtraight line, unleſs the intervention of a rock, or any other impediment, obliges them to take another direction. The chamber is round or oval, arched at top, and in its form reſembles the ſhape of an oven. It is from three to ſeven feet in diameter, being larger or ſmaller according to the number of the family. It is ſtrewed with hay, in which the marmots lie in a dormant ſtate during the whole winter.

On retiring to this dwelling about the beginning of October, they carefully cloſe the entrance ſo as to exclude all air, with a cement of earth mixed with ſtones and hay. On opening this chamber three weeks after it is cloſed, the marmots are diſcovered lying on the hay cloſe to each other, and rolled up like hedgehogs, without the leaſt appearance of life. Uſually from five to ſixteen are found together; ſometimes, but rarely, two families occupy the ſame dwelling; and occaſionally, but very ſeldom, one has been diſcovered alone. If expoſed to warmth they awaken. The tame marmots do not ſleep during winter; but on the approach of that ſeaſon, excited by inſtinct, they collect materials towards conſtructing their dwellings. The wild marmots occupy their winter habitation in October, and quit it towards the latter end of March or the beginning of April. In removing the cement which cloſes the opening, they do not puſh it outwards, but draw it inwards, and probably convey the materials, which would block up the principal paſſage, into the ſmall cavity.

They copulate ſoon after coming out: in June or July young ones have been obſerved, about the ſize of rats.

It is probable they do not eat during their torpid ſtate; for the ſame quantity of hay is obſerved both in ſpring and autumn in their winter habitations, and thoſe which have been dug out in that ſeaſon are thin and perfectly empty.

The fleſh of the marmot is eatable, and its ſkin is uſed for furs.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Of the Cauſe and Cure of the Diſeaſe in the Potatoe Plant called the Curl. From Tranſactions of the Society of Arts, &c. vol. viii.

THE curl in potatoes, is a diſeaſe which admits of three different ſtages or degrees.

1ſt. The half-curl.
2d. The curl.
3d. The corrupted.

1ſt. The *half-curled* plants have leaves ſomewhat long, and curled only in a moderate degree: they produce a tolerable crop, if the ſummer be not very dry; but if otherwiſe, the potatoes will be ſmall and watery.

2d. The *completely-curled* plants are ſeldom more than ſix or ſeven inches high: they ſoon ripen and die. The potatoes are generally ſmaller than a nutmeg, of a ruſty red colour, and unwholeſome as food.

3d. The *corrupted potatoes*, or thoſe in which the vegetative power is nearly deſtroyed, never appear above ground. The ſeed may be found, at Michaelmas, as *freſh*, to appearance, as when it was ſet, with a few ſmall potatoes cloſe to it.

The firſt cauſe of the curl in potatoes muſt be traced to the manner in which the ſeed was raiſed the preceding year.

If the potatoes be ſet late in the ſeaſon, that is, from the middle of May to the middle of June, in a rich ſoil, well manured, having a ſouthern aſpect; and if the ſummer ſhould be hot and dry till (we will ſuppoſe) the beginning of Auguſt, when the blow of the plants has fallen off, then the ſeed will be exhauſted in feeding the plant only; and very few potatoes will appear. Should the weather now become moiſt and genial, the plants, eſpecially if they ſhould be earthed, will blow afreſh, and a plentiful crop of very large potatoes may yet be produced.

Theſe potatoes are perfectly fit for uſe as food; but as they were produced from the ſtalk of the plant, after the ſeed itſelf was exhauſted, they will be defective in moiſture and vegetative power: and the plants which proceed from them the following year, will be found to be curled

Second cauſe.—The curl may be produced without manure or earthing, provided the potatoes be ſown (at the end of May) thick together, in a rich ſoil, and covered with green fern, or other litter, before the plants appear. The rain rots the fern or litter, and enables it to penetrate as a manure to the roots; and the plants are forced, as in the preceding experiment, to a ſecond growth and blow. The ſeed thus raiſed produced plants that were curled.

The forcing potatoes by cultivation, as above deſcribed, I find to be the cauſe of the curl, both from my own experiments, repeated for ſeveral years ſucceſſively, and alſo from the obſervations I have made upon the practice and ill ſucceſs of my neighbours.

It is well known that the flowers of many plants, ſuch as the poppy, the roſe, and many others, are much altered by cultivation; they become *double*, the ſtamina are converted into petals, the generic character is loſt, they become what botaniſts call Monſters; the parts of generation being changed, no ſeed is produced. If I may be allowed to conſider any part of a plant in which the vegetative power reſides as a ſeed, it will be found that rich cultivation produces, if not abſolutely the ſame, at leaſt a ſimilar imperfection in the potatoe; for the flower and the bulbous root are both enlarged by cultivation. In the flower, little or no ſeed is produced: in the potatoe, the vegetative power is impaired or deſtroyed, according to the degree of the diſeaſe.

It is obſervable that, wherever the vegetative power is impaired, there is always a deficiency of moiſture; which is proved by the following experiment, from which it appears, that both healthy and curled plants may be raiſed from the ſame potatoe.

Dig up, in the beginning of October, ſome potatoes raiſed as is deſcribed in the preceding pages. Amongſt the largeſt will be found ſome that have, in different parts, different degrees of moiſture, the leaſt at the butt, and the moſt at the crown end, the quantity of moiſture gradually increaſing from the butt to the crown. Take one ſet from the crown, and another from the butt: the former will produce an healthy, the latter a curled plant. The curl-producing potatoes are alſo obſerved to be drier both before and after boiling, and are boiled in a ſhorter time.

The Mode of preventing the Curl in Potatoes.

The following directions for cultivating potatoes, duly obſerved, will effectually prevent the curl; as I have found by various and repeated experiments, made with great care and attention, during theſe laſt ſeven years.

The beſt time of ſetting, is from the beginning of April to the middle of May. Make ridges a yard aſunder: put your manure firſt into the trench, and with moderation: ſet the potatoes in a triangular form, five or ſix inches aſunder; cover them with the ſoil to the thickneſs of five or ſix inches. There is but little danger of laying on too much of the ſoil: the deeper are the ſets, the better will they be protected from the ſcorching heat of the ſun, if the ſeaſon ſhould be dry. This diſtance of five or ſix inches is ſo ſmall as to prevent the plants growing too rank, and yet ſufficient for each of them to be expoſed to the ſun and the air.

2dly, When they have grown to the height of ſix or ſeven inches above the ground, you muſt not earth them, as is the uſual practice. You muſt take away the weeds, and may draw a little mould to them; but you muſt be careful to do it before the bloſſom-buds appear, which time is generally about the end of June.

They will now require no further care, excepting that of weeding.

I am of opinion that early ſetting is advantageous, on account of the greater chance of early rain, which will be very beneficial to the plants if the ſummer ſhould be dry. By this proceſs, the plants will be healthy; the young potatoes will be formed in due ſeaſon; they will grow gradually; the plant will ripen and die in due time, and will not be forced into a ſecond growth by the rain which may fall in September. The ſap being thus left in the potatoe, it becomes a *ſeed* endued with an unimpaired perfect vegetative power; and the plants which are raiſed from them will be found to be entirely free from the curl.

N. B. The potatoes may be dug as ſoon as they can be handled without cruſhing the peel, that is, about the end of September.

Sound potatoes are procured with the greateſt certainty from earth that has been peeled and burnt: the ſoil thus prepared is well ſuited to the growth of potatoes. In this they grow gradually, and are not forced beyond their natural ſize: in doubtful ſeed, it is ſafeſt to plant the ſmalleſt potatoes *whole.*

The ſoil the moſt likely to produce the curl, is that which is rich in itſelf, much manured, and has a ſouthern aſpect. In other ſituations, where the ſoil is not rich, and the garden is cold, either from its being upon the ſide of a hill, or expoſed to the north, the curl has not yet appeared; which is known to be the caſe in the mountainous parts of Radnorſhire and Montgomeryſhire. This is perfectly conſonant with my theory; for where the ſoil is poor, and the ſituation cold, the plants cannot be forced into a ſecond growth by earthing and manure.

I do not mean to diſſuade thoſe who are anxious to raiſe large crops for immediate uſe, from earthing and manuring to the utmoſt extent; I only caution them againſt uſing potatoes ſo raiſed, for ſeed. By earthing and manuring, you will doubtleſs raiſe large crops of large potatoes perfectly good, as food, but imperfect as ſeed; for the vegetative power will be impaired by this forcing cultivation. Hence it will be the intereſt of every prudent cultivator, to allot a portion of his potatoe-garden to the raiſing of ſeed-potatoes. If the directions which I have given be followed, I have not the leaſt doubt of ſucceſs; at leaſt I am certain that the curl will not make its appearance.

The potatoe is alſo liable to other diſorders: in very dry ſeaſons, excreſcences will ariſe, vulgarly called the ſcab; in moiſt ſeaſons, little holes or cavities appear, called the canker; and both theſe diſorders increaſe according to the length of time they remain in the earth, after having acquired maturity. It is more than probable, that theſe diſorders may haſten the decay, and cauſe the curl.

One method of preventing the diſeaſe, namely, by changing the ſeed, has been already mentioned: another ſource of prevention offers, from raiſing new kinds from the ſeed or apple of the plant, or the ſame kinds renewed again from the ſeed. Raiſing new kinds from ſeed, however, requires no ſmall portion of diſcernment; for the ſeed from the ſame plant will produce ſo many varieties, that it requires nice judgment of the cultivator properly to ſelect. Great numbers, from inſpection only, will be weeded out and rejected; and of thoſe retained, more will be again rejected, the ſucceeding and following years: of the remaining few, there may different characters ſtill exiſt; ſuch as ill or well flavoured, cloſe or coarſe grained, productive, non-productive, &c. &c. Each may have their reſpective value: but I think it may be generally aſſerted, that the finer kinds ſooner degenerate; the coarſe kinds, which are almoſt, if not always, more productive, retain their vigour the longeſt. The following example confirms this opinion.

Spring, 1785.—I procured a new kind of potatoe, called a DABB, lately raiſed from ſeed; where, I know not: the character of which was, large, coarſe-grained, ſtrong-flavoured, and of courſe rejected from the table; but being very productive, was uſeful for cattle. The laſt year, it was ſo much improved, as to be no longer rejected; it ſtill retains the quality of being productive, even ſo much as yielding, this preſent year, ſix buſhels from every ſtatute perch. It ſhould be obſerved, that the preſent very luxuriant crop may be in great meaſure owing to having been planted on a virgin ſoil, which was never before improved, or broken up; very little dung was uſed. Here is an evident change for the better; the plants are vigorous, and there is at preſent no appearance of decay: this new ſoil may be a means of preſerving the plant a few years longer; but a total change of ſeed will, in time, become abſolutely neceſſary.

Hence it ſhould appear, that although the diſeaſe, after the preſent ſtock has been, to a certain degree, infected, can never be cured, yet means may be taken for prevention: and that this is the caſe, in this diſtrict, is evident; few crops, of late years, having failed, by being much infected with this diſorder; for, wherever the curl has appeared, in ever ſo ſmall a degree, that ſtock has been rejected by the attentive cultivator, and new ſeed obtained.

I am the more encouraged to offer you theſe hints, for that, after having drawn them up, in the manner here ſent, I read them over to a very intelligent farmer in this neighbourhood, who ſaid that theſe thoughts totally correſponded with his own. I have ſhewn them alſo to a reſpectable clergyman, who, to his other many excellent qualities, is always ready to communicate information, and has favoured me with the following extract from a private letter.

"A labouring man in my neighbourhood has got a very good potatoe: the only fault is, that out of four plants, three of them are abominably curled; on which account, I deſired he would give me four potatoes. From each potatoe I took a *ſhoot*, not a *ſet*, in order to ſee if the ſhoots would be curled; they were not: ſo, poſſibly, their not being curled may be accidental, or poſſibly the curl may ariſe from the *ſet* planted. Another year, I will plant a dozen, or more, of theſe potatoe-ſhoots: then, if there ſhould be no curl, I ſhall be clearly of opinion, that the curl ariſes from ſome diſeaſe in the *ſet*. What I mean by a ſhoot, is—I put three or four ſets into a flower-pot; when they have ſhot to be about two inches high, and have fibres, I take the ſets up, and, with a knife, cut the ſhoots off, leaving not the leaſt piece of a ſet on the ſhoot. I then plant the ſhoots.

Hurſeley, S. H."
22d July, 1789.

It ſhould appear, from the above ingenious experiment, of which future trials will confute or confirm the fact, that it corroborates the above theory, by proving the diſeaſe in the ſet; and which, when the cauſe or ſeat of diſorder is lopped away, the cure is effected by the force of nature to heal itſelf, and the power of vegetation on the ſmall fibres, which retain newly-acquired life, though from an infected parent ſtock.

Method of cultivating and curing Turkey *Rhubarb from Seed. From the ſame.*

I HAVE uſually ſown the ſeed about the beginning of February, on a bed of good ſoil (if rather ſandy, the better) expoſed to an eaſt or weſt aſpect, in preference to the ſouth; obſerving a full ſun to be prejudicial to the vegetation of the ſeeds, and to the plants whilſt young.

The ſeeds are beſt ſown moderately thick (broad-caſt) treading them regularly in, as is uſual with parſneps and other light ſeeds, and then raking the ground ſmooth: I have ſometimes, when the ſeaſon has been wet, made a bed for ſowing the rhubarb ſeeds upon, about two feet thick, with new dung from the ſtable, covering it near one foot thick with good ſoil. The intent of this bed is not for the ſake of warmth, but ſolely to prevent the riſing of earth-worms, which, in a moiſt ſeaſon, will frequently deſtroy the young crop.

If the ſeed is good, the plants often riſe too thick; if ſo, when they have attained ſix leaves, they ſhould be taken carefully up (where too cloſe) leaving the ſtanding crop eight or ten inches apart: thoſe taken up may be planted at the ſame diſtance, in a freſh ſpot of ground, in order to furniſh other plantations. When the plants in general are grown to the ſize that cabbage-plants are uſually ſet out for a ſtanding crop, they are beſt planted where they are to remain, in beds four feet wide, one row along the middle of the bed, leaving two yards diſtance betwixt the plants, allowing an alley between the beds about a foot wide, for conveniency of weeding the plants.

In the autumn, when the decayed leaves are removed, if the ſhoveling of the alleys are thrown over the crowns of the plants, it will be found of ſervice.

Cultivation of Turkey Rhubarb by off-ſets.

On taking up ſome plants the laſt ſpring, I ſlipped off ſeveral off-ſets from the heads of large plants: theſe I ſet with a dibble, about a foot apart, in order, if I found them thrive, to remove them into other beds. On examining them in the autumn, I was ſurpriſed to ſee the progreſs they had made, and pleaſed to be able to furniſh my beds with forty plants in the moſt thriving ſtate.

Though this was my firſt experiment of its kind, I do not mean to arrogate the diſcovery to myſelf, having known it recently tried by others, but without being informed of their ſucceſs. I have reaſon to think this valuable drug will, by this method, be brought much ſooner to perfection than from ſeed.

Method of curing Rhubarb.

The plants may be taken up either early in the ſpring, or in autumn, when the leaves are decayed, in dry weather if poſſible, when the roots are to be cleared from dirt (without waſhing): let them be cut into pieces, and with a ſharp knife freed from the outer coat, and expoſed to the ſun and air for a few days, to render the outſide a little dry.

In order to accelerate the curing of the largeſt pieces, a hole may be ſcooped out with a penknife: theſe and the ſmaller parts are then to be ſtrung on packthread, and hung up in a warm room (I have always had the conveniency of ſuch a one over a baker's oven) where it is to remain till perfectly dry. Each piece may be rendered more ſightly by a common file, fixing it in a ſmall vice during that operation: afterwards rub over it a very fine powder, which the ſmall roots furniſh in beautiful perfection, for this and every other purpoſe where rhubarb is required.

Account of a new Method of generating Yeaſt; in Two Letters, from the Rev. William Maſon *of* Aſton. *From the ſame.*

LAST ſpring, I requeſted a friend to inquire of you ſome particulars concerning the premium which the ſociety had offered on the production of yeaſt, of which you obligingly gave him full information. As I found November was the month in which the matter was to be decided, I deferred troubling you any more till I had cauſed an experiment to be repeatedly tried; which a domeſtic of mine, who brews for me, had at that time firſt made.

I had juſt before, with his aſſiſtance, impregnated wort with fixed air, or rather a decoction of malt in water, according to Dr. Henry's ingenious method *, and by the yeaſt thereby obtained, produced good bread. This led him, unknown to me, to try whether the experiment would not ſucceed full as well without fixed air; which he found it did. He accordingly brought me a ſmall veſſel with a full head of yeaſt upon it, aſſuring me with ſome degree of exultation, that neither oil of vitriol with chalk, nor any portion of old yeaſt, had been employed on the occaſion. This greatly ſurpriſed me; and I then deſired he would proceed with the experiment in his own way, and endeavour to increaſe the quantity already made, by what additional decoction of malt and water he might think proper; inſiſting only that nothing but malt, water, and heat, ſhould be employed for the purpoſe. He did ſo, and in a few days increaſed the original quantity till it became ſufficient to work a hogſhead of ſmall-beer, which produced ten pounds weight of perfect yeaſt; and this, being ſoon after put on a vat for a hogſhead of ale, was found to be augmented to forty-two pounds.

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* See Annual Regiſter for the year 1786, *Uſeful Projects*, p. 74.

The diſcovery therefore is ſimply this: "that yeaſt is not (as has, I believe, been hitherto thought) ſome peculiar and unknown ſubſtance, neceſſary to be added to wort, in order to put it into a fermenting ſtate; but that malt boiled in water will generate it (as the chemiſts ſay) *per ſe*, if the following circumſtances be attended to:

"1ſt. That the proceſs be begun with a ſmall quantity of the decoction.

"2dly. That it be kept in an equal degree of heat. And,

"3dly. That, when the fermentation is begun, it ſhould be aſſiſted and augmented with freſh decoctions of the ſame liquor."

The proportions and method which my ſervant has found generally to ſucceed, I will now give you, as taken from his own words, in the form of a recipe.

Procure three earthen or wooden veſſels of different ſizes and apertures, one capable of holding two quarts, the other three or four, and the third five or ſix: boil a quarter of a peck of malt for about eight or ten minutes, in three pints of water; and when a quart is poured off from the grains, let it ſtand in a cool place, till not quite cold, but retaining that degree of heat which the brewers uſually find to be proper when they begin to work their liquor. Then remove the veſſel into ſome warm ſituation near a fire, where the thermometer ſtands between 70 and 80 degrees (Fahrenheit) and there let it remain till the fermentation begins, which will be plainly perceived within thirty hours; and then two quarts more of a like decoction of malt, when cool, as the firſt was; and mix the whole in the larger-ſized veſſel, and ſtir it well in, which muſt be repeated in the uſual way, as it riſes in a common vat: then add a ſtill greater quantity of the ſame decoction, to be worked in the largeſt veſſel, which will produce yeaſt enough for a brewing of forty gallons.

P. S. It may be proper to add, that my ſervant is of opinion, that a proper quantity of hops boiled in the liquor, makes the fermentation proceed better; but as it may, and has actually ſucceeded without ſuch addition, I would willingly wiſh them to be omitted, to prevent the bread baked with it from taſting bitter. Experience only can decide this; and farther experience is ſtill wanted, to make a perfect recipe for the operation.

Dear Sir,

ACCORDING to my promiſe, I write to inform you of the reſult of ſome more experiments which have been made here, under my direction, relative to yeaſt; and the rather, becauſe they were made by means of a very ſimple apparatus, which I think will be found very convenient on ſhip-board, and alſo in cottages, &c. It is merely a wooden box, of about twelve or fourteen inches ſquare, open on one ſide, in which a veſſel containing the wort is placed; and then the box is ſet with the open ſide cloſe to a wall, heated by a fire on the other ſide, when the thermometer indicates the wall to be about 80°: ſo that I imagine the back of a chimney in a ſhip, or behind an oven or kitchen-fire in a cottage, would be found very convenient for the proceſs; as the veſſel might be there ſurrounded with a ſmall atmoſphere of air, ſufficiently warm at the firſt, and capable of being continued at the ſame equable temperature for a ſufficient time.

A box of this kind, in which the following experiments were made, was placed on a dreſſer in my kitchen, more than eighteen feet from the kitchen-fire, but againſt a thin wall, which divides the kitchen from the ſervants hall, juſt behind the fire-place of that room; and the open ſide of the box turned to the heated wall, the veſſels themſelves uncovered. If you recollect the trouble you ſo obligingly took in heating your office, you will think this method, ſince diſcovered, of performing the ſame experiment, of conſiderable utility.

Experiment 1ſt.—Three veſſels were ſet at the ſame time in the warm box, containing a quart of liquor each, and of equal ſtrength with reſpect to malt: one was a decoction without hops, another with hops, the other a ſimple infuſion of malt: in about twenty-four hours the hopped decoction produced a fine head of yeaſt; the other decoction fermented as well, but was twenty-four hours later; the ſimple infuſion was near thirty-ſix hours later, and the yeaſt appeared dark and ill-coloured, ſo that my houſekeeper thought it ſpoiled; but this bad appearance was merely owing to its not having been boiled and cleared, for it made very light breakfaſt rolls.

This experiment, you will perceive, was made to try whether hops (as my ſervant imagined) were neceſſary; and it certainly proves that they accelerate the fermentation; but it proves alſo, that neither hops nor boiling are eſſential to the proceſs.

Experiment 2d.—Four veſſels from a common brewing of ale were placed in a box of longer dimenſions; one contained two quarts; a ſecond, one; a third, a pint; a fourth, half a pint: they all ſhewed ſigns of fermentation at the ſame time, viz. in about twenty-four hours; but that in the mug or pot holding a pint appeared the ſtrongeſt, which my ſervant thought was owing to the ſmaller diameter of the veſſel, which was ſmaller in proportion to the half-pint; but as it ſtood more centrally to the heat of the fire behind, I am perſuaded the exceſs of fermentation proceeded from that cauſe. This proves that the quantity you begin the proceſs with is not very material: though two quarts ſeem to be moſt convenient for the purpoſe of baking.

Experiment 3d, Was inſtituted merely to find whether an addition of ſugar would accelerate the fermentation; for which purpoſe, two quarts of hopped liquor were tried in ſeparate veſſels, a quart in each: and the reſult was, that the decoction, in which two large ſpoonfuls of coarſe ſugar were ſtirred in, did not ferment in the leaſt, though continued in the warm box five days and nights; the other fermented in about thirty-ſix hours. The reaſon of this later fermentation than of that in the former experiments, was, that the liquor uſed was from a brewing of ſmall-beer. Hence we may conclude, that a decoction of the ſtrength of ale, if not of ſtrong beer, is the beſt to begin with.

Account of Experiments on the Generation of Yeaſt, made under the Inſpection of the Committee of Chemiſtry, in the Month of November 1789.

FOUR quarts of ground malt were put into a new ſtone ware veſſel, and maſhed with about an equal quantity of hot water in the uſual manner for brewing. When the maſh had ſtood about an hour, the wort was drawn off, and three quarts of boiling water poured on the grains; when this had ſtood a due time, the liquor was ſuffered to run off, and the whole liquor boiled half an hour; being then ſet to cool, was poured clear from the ſediment, and then put in a room where the heat was regularly kept up to ſummer heat, or near 80° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. It ſtood in this degree of heat till ſome ſigns of fermentation appeared on the ſurface; which came on in about three days.

Another brewing was then made as above deſcribed; and, when of a due heat, ſtirred into the former liquor. In about twenty-four hours ſome yeaſt appeared, and another brewing was then made; and, when of a due heat, mixed with the two former ones, and well beat in, the heat being ſtill kept up to the degree above mentioned: in about two days more, five ounces of excellent yeaſt were collected from the ſurface of the liquor.

Some of this yeaſt being mixed with a due proportion of flour, water, and ſalt, anſwered all the purpoſes intended for bread; and might certainly have been equally well applied to brewing, in the common method. In fine, being pure and good yeaſt, it will anſwer all the intentions of that uſeful article.

Report of the Committee on Dr. Hunter *and Mr.* Hornby's *Proceſs for producing an ardent Spirit from Carrots. From Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh, vol. ii.

WE have examined the ſample of ſpirits, which was ſent by Dr. Hunter of York to the Royal Society, and we have read the account of the experiment on the fermentation and diſtillation of carrots, by which the ſaid ſpirit was produced. The experiment was made by Mr. Thomas Hornby, druggiſt in York, with one ton and eight ſtone of carrots, which, after being expoſed to the air a few days to dry, weighed 160 ſtone, and meaſured 42 buſhels; they were waſhed, topped and tailed, by which they loſt in weight 11 ſtone, and in meaſure ſeven buſhels; being then cut, they were boiled with the proportion of 24 gallons of water to one third of the above quantity of carrots, until the whole was reduced to a tender pulp, which was done in three hours boiling. From this pulp, the juice was eaſily extracted by means of a preſs, and 200 gallons of juice were produced from the whole. This juice was boiled again, with one pound of hops five hours, and then cooled to 66 of Fahrenheit, and ſix quarts of yeaſt being added, it was ſet to ferment. The ſtrong fermentation laſted 48 hours, during which time the heat abated to 58 of Fahrenheit; 12 gallons of unfermented juice, which had been reſerved, were then heated and added to the liquor, the heat of which was thus raiſed again to 66, and the fermentation was renewed for 24 hours more, the air of the brewhouſe being all this time at 46 and 44. The liquor was now turned, and continued to work three days from the bung; and, laſtly, it was diſtilled, and the firſt diſtillation was rectified next day without any addition. The produce was twelve gallons, of the ſame quality with the ſample.

In our examination of this ſample, we found it reſembled a corn ſpirit in flavour, but was equal to a corn ſpirit of the beſt kind, and it was a proof ſpirit.

The refuſe of the carrots weighed 48 ſtone, which, added to the tops and tails, made proviſion for hogs, beſide the waſh from the ſtill, which meaſured 114 gallons.

From this experiment, Dr. Hunter draws the following compariſon between the diſtillation of carrots and that of grain.

Twenty tons of carrots, which will make 200 gallons of proof ſpirits, may be bought for 16l.

Eight quarters of malt, or rather the materials for diſtillation, conſiſting of malt, wheat and rye, may be bought for 16l. and will alſo make 200 gallons of proof ſpirit.

The refuſe from the carrots will be 960 ſtone, which, at 1 d. per ſtone, will ſell for 4l.

The refuſe or grains from the malt, &c. will be 64 buſhels, each buſhel weighing about three ſtone, which, at 1 d. per ſtone, will ſell for 16s.

The Doctor, however, ſuppoſes, that the manufacturing of the ſpirit from carrots, may be attended with more expence than the manufacturing of it from malt; but imagines that the greater value of the refuſe may compenſate for that expence, and that the ſaving of corn for other purpoſes, is an object worthy of attention and of encouragement.

(Signed) Joseph Black.
James Russell.
19th May, 1788. James Hutton.

Succeſsful Experiment of rearing Calves without Milk. From Tranſactions of the Bath *Society,* Vol. v.

Tytherton, Dec. 3, 1789.

SIR,

THE following is as near a calculation of the expences of rearing my calves without milk, as I can at preſent aſſert. In the year 1787, I weaned ſeventeen calves, in 1788 twenty-three, and in 1789, fifteen ditto. I bought in 1787, three ſacks of linſeed; I put one quart of the ſeed to ſix quarts of water, which, by boiling ten minutes, became a good jelly; this jelly is mixed with a ſmall quantity of the tea of the beſt hay ſteeped in boiling water.

Having my calves drop at different times, I did not make an exact calculation of the expence of this hay tea, but out of my three ſacks of ſeed, I had better than two buſhels left at laſt. I gave them the jelly and hay tea three times a day; to the boy who looked after them 6 d. per day; the price of the linſeed was 4s. 6 d. per buſhel; the whole three years ſeed 2l. 5s.

My calves are kept in a good growing ſtate, and are much better at this time than my neighbours' that are reared by milk; they do not fall off ſo much when they come to graſs.

I am your obedient ſervant,
Thomas Crook.

General Rules for the Choice of Spectacles, and for the Preſervation of the Sight. From Adam's *Eſſay on Viſion.*

THE moſt general, and perhaps the beſt rule that can be given, to thoſe who are in want of aſſiſtance from glaſſes, in order ſo to chooſe their ſpectacles, that they may ſuit the ſtate of their eyes, is to prefer thoſe which ſhew objects neareſt their natural ſtate, neither enlarged nor diminiſhed, the glaſſes being near the eye, and that give a blackneſs and diſtinctneſs to the letters of a book, neither ſtraining the eye, nor cauſing any unnatural exertion of the pupil.

For no ſpectacles can be ſaid to be properly accommodated to the eyes, which do not procure them eaſe and reſt; if they fatigue the eyes, we may ſafely conclude, either that we have no occaſion for them, or that they are ill made, or not proportioned to our ſight.

Though, in the choice of ſpectacles, every one muſt finally determine for himſelf, which are the glaſſes through which he obtains the moſt diſtinct viſion; yet ſome confidence ſhould be placed in the judgment of the artiſt, of whom they are purchaſed, and ſome attention paid to his directions. By trying many ſpectacles the eye is fatigued, as the pupil varies in ſize with every different glaſs, and the eye endeavours to accommodate itſelf to every change that is produced. Hence, the purchaſer often fixes upon a pair of ſpectacles, not the beſt adapted to his ſight, but thoſe which ſeem to relieve him moſt, while his eyes are in a forced and unnatural ſtate; and conſequently, when he gets home, and they are returned to their natural ſtate, he finds what he has choſen fatiguing and injurious to his ſight.

Of Preſervers, and Rules for the Preſervation of the Sight.

Though it may be impoſſible to prevent the abſolute decay of ſight, whether ariſing from age, partial diſeaſe, or illneſs, yet by prudence and good management, its natural failure may certainly be retarded, and the general habit of the eyes ſtrengthened, which good purpoſes will be promoted by a proper attention to the following maxims.

1. Never to ſit for any length of time in abſolute gloom, or expoſed to a blaze of light. The reaſons on which this rule is founded, prove the impropriety of going haſtily from one extreme to the other, whether of darkneſs or of light, and ſhew us, that a ſouthern aſpect is improper for thoſe whoſe ſight is weak and tender.

2. To avoid reading a ſmall print.

3. Not to read in the duſk; nor, if the eyes be diſordered, by candle-light. Happy thoſe who learn this leſſon betimes, and begin to preſerve their ſight, before they are reminded by pain, of the neceſſity of ſparing them; the frivolous attention to a quarter of an hour of the evening, has coſt numbers the perfect and comfortable uſe of their eyes for many years: the miſchief is effected imperceptibly, the conſequences are inevitable.

4. The eye ſhould not be permitted to dwell on glaring objects, more particularly on firſt waking in a morning; the ſun ſhould not of courſe be ſuffered to ſhine in the room at that time, and a moderate quantity of light only be admitted. It is eaſy to ſee, that for the ſame reaſons, the furniture of a bed ſhould be neither altogether of a

white or red colour; indeed, thoſe whoſe eyes are weak, would find conſiderable advantage in having green for the furniture of their bed-chamber. Nature confirms the propriety of the advice given in this rule: for the light of the day comes on by ſlow degrees, and green is the univerſal colour ſhe preſents to our eyes.

5. The long-ſighted ſhould accuſtom themſelves to read with rather leſs light, and ſomewhat nearer to the eye, than what they naturally like; while thoſe that are ſhort-ſighted, ſhould rather uſe themſelves to read with the book as far off as poſſible. By this means, both would improve and ſtrengthen their ſight; while a contrary courſe will increaſe its natural imperfections.

There is nothing which preſerves the ſight longer, than always uſing, both in reading and writing, that moderate degree of light which is beſt ſuited to the eye; too little ſtrains them, too great a quantity dazzles and confounds them. The eyes are leſs hurt by the want of light, than by the exceſs of it; too little light never does any harm, unleſs they are ſtrained by efforts to ſee objects, to which the degree of light is inadequate; but too great a quantity has, by its own power, deſtroyed the ſight. Thus many have brought on themſelves a cataract, by frequently looking at the ſun, or a fire; others have loſt their ſight, by being brought too ſuddenly from an extreme of darkneſs into the blaze of day. How dangerous the looking upon bright luminous objects is to the ſight, is evident from its effects in thoſe countries which are covered the greater part of the year with ſnow, where blindneſs is exceeding frequent, and where the traveller is obliged to cover his eyes with crape, to prevent the dangerous, and often ſudden effects of too much light: even the untutored ſavage tries to avoid the danger, by framing a little wooden caſe for his eyes, with only two narrow ſlits. A momentary gaze at the ſun will, for a time, unfit the eyes for viſion, and render them inſenſible to impreſſions of a milder nature.

The following caſes from a ſmall tract on the "*Fabric of the Eye*," are ſo applicable to the preſent article, as to want no apology for their inſertion here; though, if any were neceſſary, the uſe they will probably be of to thoſe whoſe complaints ariſe from the ſame or ſimilar cauſes, would, I preſume, be more than ſufficient.

"A lady from the country, coming to reſide in St. James's Square, was afflicted with a pain in her eye, and a decay of ſight. She could not look upon the ſtones, when the ſun ſhone upon them, without great pain. This, which ſhe thought was one of the ſymptoms of her diſorder, was the real cauſe of it. Her eyes, which had been accuſtomed to the verdure of the country, and the green of the paſture grounds before her houſe, could not bear the violent and unnatural glare of light reflected from the ſtones; ſhe was adviſed to place a number of ſmall orange trees in the windows ſo that their tops might hide the pavement, and be in a line with the graſs. She recovered by this ſimple change in the light, without the aſſiſtance of any medicine; though her eyes were before on the verge of little leſs than blindneſs."

"A gentleman of the law had his lodgings in Pall Mall, on the north ſide, his front windows were expoſed to the full noon ſun, while the back room, having no opening, but into a ſmall cloſe yard, ſurrounded with high walls, was very dark; he wrote in the back room, and uſed to come from that into the front room to breakfaſt, &c. His ſight grew weak, and he had a conſtant pain in the balls of his eyes; he tried viſual glaſſes, and ſpoke with oculiſts, equally in vain. Being ſoon convinced, that the coming ſuddenly out of his duſky ſtudy, into the full blaze of ſun-ſhine, and that very often in the day, had been the real cauſe of his diſorder; he took new lodgings, by which, and forbearing to write by candle-light, he was very ſoon cured."

Blindneſs, or at leaſt miſerable weakneſſes of ſight, are often brought on by theſe unſuſpected cauſes. Thoſe who have weak eyes, ſhould therefore be particularly attentive to ſuch circumſtances, ſince prevention is eaſy, but the cure may be difficult, and ſometimes impracticable.

When the eye ſenſibly flattens, all delay is dangerous; and the longer thoſe who feel the want of aſſiſtance, defer the uſe of ſpectacles, the more they will increaſe the failure of the eye; there are too many who procraſtinate the uſe of them, till at laſt they are obliged to uſe glaſſes of ten or twelve inches focus, inſtead of thoſe of 36 or 40, which would otherwiſe have ſuited them; thus preferring a real evil, to avoid one that is imaginary. Mr. Thomin mentions ſeveral deplorable caſes of this kind, particularly one of a lady, who, through falſe ſhame, had abſtained from wearing ſpectacles ſo long a time, that at laſt it was impoſſible to ſuit her, but with thoſe adapted to eyes that have been couched. Whereas the inſtances are numerous of thoſe who, by uſing glaſſes of a long focus at the firſt approaches of long-ſightedneſs, have brought back their eyes to their natural ſight, and been able to lay aſide their ſpectacles for years.

ANTIQUITIES.

Obſervations on the late continuance of the uſe of Torture in Great Britain; *by* George Chalmers, *Eſq*; *from* Archæologia, vol. x.

I Preſumed to think, that whatever had a tendency to trace the modes of our government, or to mark the improvement of our freedom, would not be deemed by you altogether unworthy of your learned curioſity. And I was thus induced to communicate to you a copy of a warrant of the privy council, as late as 1620, for *uſing torture* on a perſon, who was ſuſpected of treaſon; which, as a link connecting former practice with ſubſequent diſſuetude, may be regarded as an inſtructive document.

The following is an authentic copy from the record:

"To the Lieutenant of the
"Tower of London.

"Whereas Samuel Peacock was "heretofore committed priſoner to "the Marſhalſea, and that now it is "thought fit upon vehement ſuſpicion of high treaſon againſt his "majeſty's ſacred perſon to remove "him thence, and to commit him "to the Tower; theſe ſhall be "therefore to will and require you "to repair to the priſon of the "Marſhalſea, and there to receive "from the keeper of that houſe the "perſon of the ſaid Samuel Peacock, and him ſafely to convey "under your cuſtody unto the "Tower of London, where you are "to keep him cloſe priſoner until "further order. And whereas we "have thought meet to nominate "and appoint Sir Henry Montagu, "Knt. Lord Chief Juſtice of the "King's Bench, Sir Thomas Coventry, Knt. his Majeſty's Solicitor General, and yourſelf, to "examine the ſaid Peacock, for the "better diſcovery of the truth of "this treaſon; this ſhall be likewiſe to authorize you, or any "two of you, whereof yourſelf to "be one, to examine the ſaid Peacock from time to time, and to "put him, as there ſhall be cauſe, "for the better manifeſtation of the "truth, to the torture, either of the "manacles, or the rack; for which "this ſhall be your warrant. And "ſo, &c. The 19th of February, "1619."

Allow me to ſubjoin a few obſervations. The Lieutenant of the Tower, who was thus entruſted, was Sir Allen Apſley. The privy counſellors, who directed that meaſure, and ſigned that warrant, were the lord chancellor Bacon, the earl of Worceſter, who was then lord privy ſeal, the earl of Arundell, the lord Carew, lord Digby, Mr. Secretary Naunton, and Sir Edward Coke, who, after he had ceaſed to be chief juſtice, as a privy councellor ſometimes ſanctioned practices, which he lived to condemn as a writer.

But the ſilence of the record does not allow us to ſuppoſe, that the king was either preſent, or knew of this tranſaction.

When Sir Edward Coke publiſhed his ſecond Inſtitute, he gave it as his opinion, that torture was prohibited by the following words of the great Charter: "*Nullus liber homo aliquo modo deſtruatur niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum, aut per legem terrae.*" Nevertheleſs I fear, that if our criminal proceedings, from that great epoch to the acceſſion of the Tudor family, were ſearched with malicious diligence, many inſtances of torture would be found, though Magna Charta was, meanwile, confirmed by ſeveral ſtatutes. During the reigns of the Tudors, torture was often uſed upon ſlight occaſions. Lord Bacon relates of queen Elizabeth, that when ſhe could not be perſuaded that a book was really written by the perſon whoſe name it bore, ſhe ſaid with great indignation, that ſhe would have him racked, to produce his author. I replied, "Nay, Madam, he is a doctor, never rack his perſon, rack his ſtyle; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue his ſtory, and I will undertake, by collating the ſtyles, to judge whether he were the author." The rack was ſhewn to Guy Fawkes on his examination, as king James himſelf relates. Torture was uſed on Peacock in 1620, as the warrant beforementioned evinces. When Felton aſſaſſinated Buckingham in 1628, and the queſtion was propoſed for diſcovering his accomplices, the judges declared, that conſiſtent with law torture could not be uſed, as Ruſhworth has recorded.

Such was the former practice; and ſuch the happy diſuſe of torture in England! Yet, in Scotland, the rack continued to terrify and debaſe the people for ages afterwards. Sir George Mackenzie has a whole chapter *Of Torture*; ſhewing that the privy council, or the ſupreme judges, could only uſe the rack; how thoſe were puniſhed who inflicted torture unjuſtly; and who were the perſons that the law exempted: and he inſiſts, that all lawyers were of opinion, that even after ſentence criminals might be tortured, for knowing their accomplices. Yet, he ſhews incidentally, that though the practice of torture continued in Scotland till the revolution, yet the privy council refuſed in 1666, to order the covenanters to be racked after condemnation; aſſigning as a reaſon: "*Nam poſt condemnationem, judices functi ſunt officio.*" The learned lord Stair confirms what Sir George Mackenzie had thus laid down before him.

It is very remarkable, that when the parliament of Scotland framed their claim of right, in April 1689, they only declared, that the uſing torture, without evidence, or in ordinary crimes, is contrary to law. It requires no elaborate commentary to prove, that when there was evidence of extraordinary crimes, torture might ſtill be lawfully uſed in Scotland ſubſequent to the revolution. It was the union, and the ſalutary ſpirit which that happy meaſure brought with it, that freed Scotland from the danger and reproach of uſing torture in any caſe. And it was the act of the Britiſh parliament which was paſſed, in 1708, *for improving the union of the two kingdoms*, that put an end to torture, by enacting, among other favourable regulations, that no perſon accuſed of any crime in Scotland ſhall be liable to torture.

Deſcription of the Great Pagoda of Madura, *and the Choultry of* Trimul Naik, *by* Mr. Blackader. *From the ſame.*

DURING my reſidence in India, I was ſtationed for ſeveral years at *Madura*, on the Coromandel coaſt, about three hundred miles from fort St. George, and about ſeventy miles from the ſea.

In this diſtrict there are ſituated ſome of the moſt magnificent buildings now to be met with in India, whether we conſider their immenſe ſize, or the richneſs of the workmanſhip; and theſe edifices are rendered objects of great curioſity to the European obſerver, by the ſingularity of their architecture, which is different from any thing to be ſeen in other countries. I was much ſtruck with theſe remarkable monuments of the Hindoo taſte and grandeur. What added to my aſtoniſhment was the incredible labour which muſt have attended their erection, from the ignorance of the natives in the application of the mechanical powers; ſo that I became particularly ſolicitous to have it in my power to convey ſome idea of them to thoſe who make antiquities more particularly their ſtudy.

The religion of the Hindoos conſiſts of the worſhip of only one deity, but the names by which he is known in different diſtricts are very numerous, as are alſo the various forms under which he is repreſented. In honour of this deity an edifice or temple is erected; in the centre is placed his image, before which the religious ceremonies of the prieſts are performed. The building is in general ſmall, and ſituated in an area or open ſpace, encloſed by one or more walls of a ſufficient height almoſt wholly to conceal it. Beſides the temple, there is a very large and high building which makes a part of the wall, being half encloſed by it, through which is the entrance into the area. This may be conſidered as a ſteeple, not being intended for any other purpoſe than that of attracting the public attention, having only a ſmall apartment in each ſtory, and a ſtaircaſe leading to the top. Theſe two buildings are ſimilar in ſhape externally, differing only in ſize. The ſmaller building contains the apartment for the adoration of the deity, which is lighted by lamps, there being no openings to admit the light; and the larger one at the lower part forms a magnificent gateway or entrance quite through it, each ſtory having a ſmall lateral window.

The inſide of the wall encloſing the area has ſometimes a ſingle or double colonade all round; which being covered over, the top forms a parapet for the purpoſes of defence in time of war.

As the temples are by much too ſmall to contain the great concourſe of people who come to celebrate the public feſtivals and worſhip the deity, there is in general a large building for that purpoſe attached to it, called a *choultry*, which is compoſed of a number of columns at certain diſtances, and covered with a flat roof; theſe vary in number and magnificence according to the richneſs of the church.

The relative ſituation which theſe buildings have to each other being explained, I ſhall proceed to a more particular deſcription of the temple and choultry at Madura.

The temple is ſacred to the deity under the name of *Chocalingam*; and indeed the ſame name (that of *Lingam*) is adopted all over India.

The image or repreſentation of the deity is placed in the middle of the apartment facing the door. It is a block of black granite, about four feet high, of a conic ſhape, with the outlines of a human face on the top, and a gold arch over it, carved in open work, reſembling the glory.

This figure is never moved from its place; but the bramins upon particular occaſions bring out a repreſentation of the deity to gratify the public, at which time he is ſuppoſed to have aſſumed a human form, of about three feet in height, with four arms, made of gold, and in a very ſingular manner richly ornamented with jewels and ſilks.

This image is carried on men's ſhoulders in this form ſeated on a throne, attended by the bramins as his ſervants, and ſeldom appears in public without being accompanied by his wife *Minachie*.

The temple is four ſtories high, and meaſures about ſixty-eight feet, and at the baſe forty-three feet ſquare, is built in the form of a pyramid; the firſt ſtory is of ſtone, being much the largeſt; the others are of brick, covered over with a particular kind of plaiſter called *chunam**, becoming ſmaller as they grow up; the upper ſtory being covered with copper very richly gilt. The external ſurface is ornamented every where with different repreſentations of the deity and *pandarams*, or religious beggars, interſperſed with animals. The baſe of the figures is brick, and the other part plaiſter, or *chunam*, which takes a fine poliſh, and is very durable. Moſt of the ſtories are very obſcure and fabulous.

The temple is ſufficiently large for the performance of the religious ceremonies, which is the buſineſs of the bramins, and conſiſts chiefly in waſhing the figure with water, anointing it with oil, burning perfumes, and decorating it with flowers. Theſe ceremonies are performed daily, with muſic and dancing †.

All thoſe who come to pay their devotions do not enter the temple; but ſome make their applications in the area, being ſatisfied if they ſee the figure.

Heretics are never admitted into the temple, nor even into the area; and, ſhould it ever happen, the place is defiled, and to purify it the bramins perform certain ceremonies, which conſiſt in rubbing the walls with cow dung, ſprinkling them with the urine, and making an offering.

The outer building or ſteeple is

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* Mortar made of pounded alabaſter or ſhells beat, mixed with thin ſyrup to make it adhere.

† Every temple, whoſe revenues can afford it, has a ſet of dancing girls and muſic men dependent on it, who are ſlaves to the pagodas, and bear the mark of the temple, which is a trident burnt on their right arm. They do not reſide in the temple, but muſt attend whenever required. The number of girls attached to this temple at Madras is about 300.

built in the ſame manner, and has the ſame ornaments as the temple; it is 162 feet high, 116 broad at the baſe, and 64 in thickneſs. There is no particular purpoſe to which it is appropriated that I could ever find out; yet there is this curious circumſtance reſpecting it, that, in the diſputes between the church and the government, which are of a ſerious nature, ſome enthuſiaſt goes up in great form with muſic to the top of it, and makes a vow, that, if the diſpute is not ſettled in a certain time, he will throw himſelf from the pinnacle. The dread of having this man's blood upon their heads generally brings about an accommodation; and I have only heard of one inſtance where he was under the neceſſity of fulfilling his vow.

The area which contains the temple is nearly 500 yards ſquare.

The age and founder of theſe buildings is not to be aſcertained, as the bramins conceal the dates, from an idea that their great antiquity increaſes the veneration of the people.

Choultries are not only annexed to temples, but built in different places for the accommodation of travellers, and are frequently endowed with revenues by charitable perſons for the purpoſe of diſtributing proviſions. They are generally built of ſtone, with a flat or terraced roof of the ſame materials; they have commonly three ſides ſhut out from the weather, and the one left open is generally that facing the ſouth or north, but more commonly the north, by which means neither the ſun, nor the unwholeſome winds that blow in March and April, can incommode the inhabitants.

The great choultry of *Timul Naik* was begun in the ſecond year of his reign, in the year 1623, and was finiſhed in twenty-two years, and is ſaid to have coſt above a million ſterling; but it is to be underſtood, that every village was obliged to ſend a certain number of wo kmen, according to the number of inhabitants, who were ſubſiſted, but received no wages, which conſiderably diminiſhed the expence.

It is built of an oblong ſquare form, and conſiſts of 124 pillars of ſtone placed in four rows. The manner of executing it was as follows. They dug pits at ſtated diſtances down to ſand for a foundation, in which they placed their pillars, which are compoſed only of one ſtone roughly cut before they were fixed in theſe pits; and when they were all arranged, the different figures were carved upon them. When they did not find ſand or gravel, they put in ſand, and rammed it well down before they placed the columns.

The pillars are twenty feet high; over theſe pillars were placed the capitals, that are compoſed of a number of ſtones geometrically placed, ſo as to leſſen the breadth of roof, which they do conſiderably.

The roof itſelf is compoſed of long ſtones, reaching from capital to capital, which being very heavy, and from their length liable to accidents, they were raiſed to their places in the following manner: the ſpace between the pillars, as high as the top of the capital, was ſo filled with earth, as to form an inclined plane, along which the ſtones were rolled up to their ſituation, and the earth afterwards removed. Theſe ſtones are again covered with a layer of bricks cemented by chunam.

The pillars are curiouſly carved with different figures, repreſenting ſtories connected with their religion, and the family of the founder of the choultry, with a number of devices of the workmen's own invention.

I took the trouble of procuring copies of the deſcriptions of the different columns, as regiſtered in the accounts of the temple, and of having them literally tranſlated; and ſhall annex a deſcription of two or three of the pillars, as affording a ſpecimen of their ridiculous and abſurd notions reſpecting religious hiſtory.

Deſcription of the Founder's Pillar.

This pillar repreſents Trimul Naik with his four wives, two on each ſide, in a ſupplicating poſture; the firſt was daughter to Ergi Raguah, king of Tanjour; the ſecond was daughter to the king of Travencore; the other two were daughters to independent polligars. The firſt has a mark on her thigh, which was a wound ſhe received from her huſband by a creeſe, for ſaying, when he aſked her opinion of his palace, that it was not equal to her father's neceſſary. There are two other figures behind of young women betrothed to him. They are all richly dreſſed, and as large as life. Below theſe are ſome figures of the women of his haram, of which he had 360, with attendants.

Another pillar repreſents the rajah Pundi, when he reigned in Madura. He went a hunting to the weſtward, to a village ten miles from Madura, in a wood abounding with wild hogs, where he met a boar and a ſow, with twelve pigs. The boar killed ſeveral of his attendants, upon which the rajah ſhot him with an arrow, which enraged the female, who wounded ſeveral of his people, and was herſelf likewiſe killed by the rajah; the young pigs being deſtitute, Menachie, wife to Chocalingam, begged her huſband to ſupport the pigs, which he agreed to do, and gave them ſuck under the form of a ſow. The effect of the god's milk was ſuch as made them reaſonable beings, and their bodies became as men, but ſtill retaining the heads of pigs. Chocalingam afterwards made the rajah ſupport theſe twelve pigs as princes in his palace.

Another pillar repreſents Abiche Pundiam, rajah of Madura, paying his devotions to Chocalingam, which pleaſed the ſwamy (or deity) ſo much, that he metamorphoſed himſelf into a pandaram, who came and performed miracles in Madura; making the old young, and the young old; giving ſight to the blind; and moving large trees, &c. The rajah, hearing of this, ſent for the pandaram, who refuſed to come to him, but met the rajah in one of the paſſages coming from his devotions; when the rajah aſked him of the miracles he could perform, of which he had heard ſo much; and begged him to make the ſtone elephant come down and eat the ſugar-cane he held in his hand, which the pandaram immediately did. The rajah, much ſurprized, confeſſed the preſence of Chocalingam.

There are not only in the choultries, but alſo on the pagodas, many indecent figures, which are not connected with religion, but carved purpoſely to divert the attention, and prevent the mind of the beholders from being envious, as their ſuperſtition leads them to ſuppoſe that envy can hurt the building.

It is a curious circumſtance, that, if any perſon, having begun one of theſe public buildings, ſhould die before the completion, nobody will afterwards add a ſingle ſtone, as it would not convey his name to poſterity, but that of the original founder.

The founder of this choultry lived to compleat four of the largeſt buildings in India. This choultry, a pagoda, a tank three quarters of a mile ſquare, twenty feet deep, and faced with ſtone, and a grand palace ornamented with beautiful black granite pillars, ſome of which are twenty feet high, cut out of one ſtone.

Of the Antiquity of the City of London; *from Mr.* Pennant'*s Account.*

IT was from the merchants who frequented our ports that Cæſar received the firſt intelligence of the nature of our country, which induced him to undertake the invaſion of Britain, and which in after-times layed the foundation of its conqueſt by the Romans.

There is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt but that London exiſted at that period, and was a place of much reſort. It ſtood in ſuch a ſituation as the Britons would ſelect, according to the rule they eſtabliſhed. An immenſe foreſt originally extended to the river ſide, and even as late as the reign of Henry II. covered the northern neighbourhood of the city, and was filled with various ſpecies of beaſts of chace. It was defended naturally by foſſes; one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet-ditch, the other, afterwards known by that of Walbrook, The ſouth ſide was guarded by the Thames. The north they might think ſufficiently protected by the adjacent foreſt.

Near St. Swithin's church is a remnant of antiquity, which ſome have ſuppoſed to have been Britiſh; a ſtone, which might have formed a part of a Druidical circle, or ſome other object of the ancient religion, as it is placed near the center of the Roman precincts. Others have conjectured it to have been a milliary ſtone, and to have ſerved as a ſtandard, from which they began to compute their miles. This ſeems very reaſonable, as the diſtances from the neighbouring places coincide very exactly. At all times it has been preſerved with great care, was placed deep in the ground, and ſtrongly faſtened with bars of iron. It ſeems preſerved like the Palladium of the city. It is at preſent caſed like a relique, within free-ſtone, with a hole left in the middle, which diſcovers the original. Certainly ſuperſtitious reſpect had been payed to it; for when the notorious rebel Jack Cade paſſed by it, after he had forced his way into the city, he ſtruck his ſword on London ſtone, ſaying, "Now is Mortimer lord of this citie;" as if that had been a cuſtomary ceremony of taking poſſeſſion.

There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Romans poſſeſſed themſelves of London in the reign of Claudius; under whom Aulus Plautius took Camalodunum, the preſent Maldon, in Eſſex, and planted there a colony, conſiſting of veterans of the fourteenth legion, about a hundred and five years after the firſt invaſion of our iſland by Cæſar. This was the firſt footing the Romans had in Britain. It ſeems certain that London and Verulam were taken poſſeſſion of about the ſame time; but the laſt clames the honor of being of a far earlier date, more opulent, populous, and a royal ſeat before the conqueſt of Britain. Camalodunum was made a Colonia, or a place governed entirely by Roman laws and cuſtoms; Verulamium, a Municipium, in which the natives were honored with the privileges of Roman citizens, and enjoyed their own laws and conſtitutions; and Londinum only a Præfectura, the inhabitants, a mixture of Romans and Britons, being ſuffered to enjoy no more than the name of citizens of Rome, being governed by præfects ſent annually from thence, without having either their own laws or magiſtrates. It was even then of ſuch concourſe, and ſuch vaſt trade, that the wiſe conquerors did not think fit to truſt the inhabitants with the ſame privileges as other places, of which they had leſs reaſon to be jealous.

There is no mention of this important place, till the reign of Nero; when Tacitus ſpeaks of it as not having been diſtinguiſhed as a colony, but famous for its great concourſe of merchants, and its vaſt commerce: this indicates, at leſt, that London had been at that time of ſome antiquity as a trading town, and founded long before the reign of that emperor. The exports from hence were cattle, hides, and corn; dogs made a ſmall article; and, let me add, that ſlaves were a conſiderable object. Our internal parts were on a level with the African ſlave coaſts; and wars among the petty monarchs were promoted for the ſake of a traffic now ſo ſtrongly controverted. The imports were at firſt ſalt, earthen ware, and works in braſs, poliſhed bits of bones emulating ivory, horſe-collars, toys of amber, and glaſſes, and other articles of the ſame material. We need not inſiſt on the commerce of this period, for there was a great trade carried on with the Gauls in the days of Cæſar: that celebrated invader aſſigning, as his reaſon for attempting this iſland, the vaſt ſupplies which we gave to his Gauliſh enemies, and which interrupted his conqueſts on the continent.

When the Romans became maſters of London, they enlarged the precincts, and altered their form. It extended in length from Ludgate-hill to a ſpot a little beyond the Tower. The breadth was not half equal to the length, and at each end grew conſiderably narrower. The time in which the wall was built is very uncertain. Some aſcribe the work to Conſtantine the great. Maitland, to Theodoſius, governor of Britain in 369. Poſſibly their founder might have been Conſtantine, as numbers of coins of his mother Helena have been diſcovered under them, placed there by him in compliment to her. To ſupport this conjecture, we may ſtrengthen it by ſaying, that in honor of this empreſs, the city, about that time, received from her the tilte of Auguſta; which, for ſome time, ſuperſeded the antient one of Londinium. Long before this period, it was fully Romanized, and the cuſtoms, manners, buildings, and arts of the conqueror adopted. The commerce of the empire flowed in regularly; came in a direct channel from the ſeveral parts then known, not as in the earlier days (when deſcribed by Strabo) by the intervention of other nations; for till the ſettlement of the Roman conqueſt,

queſt, nothing could come immediately from Italy. The antient courſe of the walls was as follows: —It began with a fort near the preſent ſite of the Tower, was continued along the Minories, and the back of Houndſditch, acroſs Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, in a ſtrait line by London-wall to Cripplegate; then returned ſouthward by Crowder's Well Alley, (where ſeveral remnants of lofty towers were lately to be ſeen) to Alderſgate; thence along the back of Bull-and-mouth-ſtreet to Newgate, and again along the back of the houſes in the Old Bailey to Ludgate; ſoon after which it probably finiſhed with another fort, where the houſe, late the king's printing houſe, in Black Friars, now ſtands: from hence another wall ran near the river-ſide, along Thames-ſtreet, quite to the fort on the eaſtern extremity. In another place I ſhall have occaſion to mention that the river at preſent is moved conſiderably more to the ſouth, than it was in the times in queſtion.

That the Romans had a fort on the ſpot at preſent occupied by the Tower, is now paſt doubt, ſince the diſcovery of a ſilver ingot, and three golden coins; one of the emperor Honorius, the others of Arcadius. Its weight is ten ounces eight grains of the troy pound. In the middle is ſtruck, in Roman letters,

EX OFFIC
HONORII

This is ſuppoſed to have come from the royal mint, then at Conſtantinople, and intended to aſcertain the purity of the ſilver coin, that might have been ſent over with it, Honorius reigning over the empire of the weſt, as Arcadius did over that of the eaſt. This was at the expiration of the Roman power in Britain. The coins were ſuppoſed to have been part of the money ſent to pay the laſt legion which was ever ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Britons. The Tower was the treaſury in which the public money was depoſited. The coins are in fine preſervation. On the reverſe is an armed man treading on a captive, with the legend VICTORIA AVGGG, and at the bottom CONOB. The firſt alludes to the ſucceſs of the legion againſt the Picts and Scots. CONOB. may intend Conſtantinopoli obſignata *.

The walls were three miles a hundred and ſixty-five feet in circumference, guarded at proper diſtances, on the land ſide, with fifteen lofty towers; ſome of them were remaining within theſe few years, and poſſibly may ſtill. Maitland mentions one, twenty-ſix feet high, near Gravel-lane, on the weſt ſide of Houndſditch; another, about eighty paces ſouth-eaſt towards Aldgate; and the baſes of another, ſupporting a modern houſe, at the lower end of the ſtreet called the Vineyard, ſouth of Aldgate. But ſince his publication, they have been demoliſhed, ſo that there is not a trace left. The walls, when perfect, are ſuppoſed to have been twenty-two feet high, the towers, forty. Theſe, with the remnants of the wall, proved the Roman ſtructure, by the tiles and diſpoſition

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* See the learned dean Milles's eſſay on theſe ſubjects in the Archaelogia, v. p. 291, tab. xxv.

of the maſonry. London-wall, near Moorfields, is now the moſt entire part left of that antient precinct.

I muſt not omit the Barbican, the ſpecula or watch-tower belonging to every fortified place. This ſtood a little without the walls, to the north-weſt of Cripplegate.

The gates, which received the great military roads, were four. The Prætorian way, the Saxon Watling-ſtreet, paſſed under one, on the ſite of the late Newgate; veſtiges having been diſcovered of the road in digging above Holborn-bridge: it turned down to Dowgate, or more properly Dwr-gate or Water-gate, where there was a trajectus or ferry, to join it to the Watling-ſtreet, which was continued to Dover. The Hermin-ſtreet paſſed under Cripplegate; and a vicinal way went under Aldgate, by Bethnal Green, towards Oldford, a paſs over the river Lee to Duroleiton, the modern Leiton, in Eſſex.

In moſt parts of antient London, Roman antiquities have been found, whenever it has been thought neceſſary to dig to any conſiderable depth. Beneath the old Saint Mary le Bow were found the walls, windows, and pavement of a Roman temple; and not far from it, eighteen feet deep in adventitious ſoil, was the Roman cauſeway. The great elevation of the preſent ground above its former ſtate, will be taken notice of in another place.

In digging the foundation for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, was found a vaſt cemetery: firſt lay the Saxons, in graves lined with chalk ſtones, or in coffins of hollowed ſtones; beneath them had been the bodies of the Britons, placed in rows. Abundance of ivory and boxen pins, about ſix inches long, marked their place. Theſe were ſuppoſed to have faſtened the ſhrouds in which the bodies were wrapped. Theſe periſhing, left the pins entire. In the ſame row, but deeper, were Roman urns intermixed, lamps, lacrymatories; fragments of ſacrificial veſſels were alſo diſcovered, in digging towards the north-eaſt corner; and in 1675, not far from the eaſt corner, at a conſiderable depth, beneath ſome flinty pavement, were found numbers of veſſels of earthen ware, and of glaſs, of moſt exquiſite colours and beauty, ſome inſcribed with the names of deities, heroes, or men of rank. Others ornamented with variety of figures in bas relief, of animals and of roſe-trees. Teſſerulæ of jaſper, porphyry, or marble, ſuch as form the pavement we ſo often ſee, were alſo diſcovered. Alſo glaſs beads and rings, large pins of ivory and bone, tuſks of boars, and horns of deer ſawn through. Alſo coins of different emperors, among them ſome of Conſtantine; which at once deſtroys the conjecture of Mr. Maitland, who ſuppoſes that this collection were flung together at the ſacking of London by our injured Boadicia.

The choice of the ſituation of this great city was moſt judicious. It is on a gravelly ſoil; and on a declivity down to the borders of a magnificent river. The ſlope is evident in every part of the ancient city, and the vaſt modern buildings. The antient city was defended in front by the river; on the weſt ſide by the deep ravine, ſince known by the name of Fleet-ditch; on the north by moraſſes; on the eaſt, as I ſuſpect, by another ravine. All the land round Weſtminſter Abbey was a flat fen, which continued beyond Fulham: but a riſe commences oppoſite to it, and forms a magnificent bend above the curvature of the Thames, even to the Tower. The Surry ſide was in all probability a great expanſe of water, a lake, a *Llyn*, as the Welſh call it; which an ingenious countryman of mine *, not without reaſon, thinks might have given a name to our capital; Llyn Din, or the city on the lake. This moſt probably was the original name: and that derived from *Llong* a ſhip, and *din* a town, might have been beſtowed when the place became a ſeat of trade, and famous for the concourſe of ſhipping. The expanſe of water might have filled the ſpace between the riſing grounds at Deptford, and thoſe at Clapham; and been bounded to the ſouth by the beautiful Surry Hills. Lambeth Marſh, and the Bankſide, evidently were recovered from the water. Along Lambeth are the names of Narrow Walls, or the mounds which ſerved for that purpoſe; and in Southwark, Bankſide again ſhews the means of converting the antient lake into uſeful land: even to this day the tract beyond Southwark, and in particular that beyond Bermondſey-ſtreet, is ſo very low, and beneath the level of common tides, that the proprietors are obliged to ſecure it by embankments.

Antiquity of Billingſgate, *and antient Prices of Fiſh and other Articles. From the ſame.*

AFTER the Cuſtom-houſe, the firſt place of note is Billingſgate, or, to adapt the ſpelling to conjectures of antiquaries, "who go beyond the realms of Chaos and old night," Belin's-gate, or the gate of Belinus king of Britain, fellow-adventurer with Brennus king of the Gauls, at the ſacking of Rome, three hundred and ſixty years before the Chriſtian æra: and the Beli mawr, who graces the pedigrees of numbers of us antient Britons. For fear of falling on ſome inglorious name, I ſubmit to the etymology; but muſt confeſs there does not appear any record of a gate at this place: his ſon Lud was more fortunate, for Ludgate preſerves his memory to every citizen, who knows the juſt value of antiquity. *Gate* here ſignifies only a place where there was a concourſe of people; a common quay or wharf, where there is a free going in and out of the ſame. This was a ſmall port for the reception of ſhipping, and, for a conſiderable time, the moſt important place for the landing of almoſt every article of commerce. It was not till the reign of king William that it became celebrated as a fiſh-market; who, in 1699, by act of parlement made it a free port for fiſh, which might be ſold there every day in the week except Sunday. The object of this has long been fruſtrated, and the epicure who goes (as was a frequent practice) to Billingſgate to eat fiſh in perfection, will now be cruelly diſappointed.

I cannot give a liſt of the fiſh moſt acceptable in the Saxon ages; but there is a liſt left of thoſe which were brought to market in that of Edward I. who deſcended even to regulate the prices, that his ſubjects might not be left to the mercy of the venders.

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* Mr. William Owen, of Barmouth, now reſident in London.

	s.	d.
The beſt plaice	0	1½
A dozen of beſt ſoles	0	3
Beſt freſh mulvil, i. e. Molva, either cod or ling	0	3
Beſt haddock	0	2
Beſt barkey	0	4
Beſt mullet	0	2
Beſt dorac, John Doree?	0	5
Beſt conger	1	0
Beſt turbot	0	6
Beſt bran, ſard, and betule	0	3
Beſt mackrel, in Lent	0	1
And out of Lent	0	0½
Beſt gurnard	0	1
Beſt freſh merlings, i. e. merlangi, whitings, four for	0	1
Beſt powdered ditto, 12 for	0	1
Beſt pickled herrings, twenty	0	1

This ſhews that the invention of pickling was before the time of William Benkelen, who died in 1397. See Brit. Zool. iii. article Herring.

	s.	d.
Beſt freſh ditto, before Michaelmas, ſix for	0	1
Ditto, after Michaelmas, 12 for	0	1
Beſt Thames, or Severn lamprey	0	4
Beſt freſh oyſters, a gallon for	0	2
A piece of rumb, groſs and fat, I ſuſpect holibut, which is uſually ſold in pieces, at	0	4
Beſt ſea-hog, i. e. porpeſſe	6	8
Beſt eels, a ſtrike, or ¼ hundred	0	2
Beſt lampreys, in winter, the hundred	0	8
Ditto, at other times	0	6

Theſe, by their cheapneſs, muſt have been the little lampreys now uſed for bait.

	s.	d.
But we alſo imported lampreys from Nantes: the firſt which came in was ſold for not leſs than	1	4
A month after, at	0	8
Beſt freſh ſalmon, from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, for	5	0
Ditto, after ditto	3	0
Beſt ſmelts, the hundred	0	1
Beſt roche, in ſummer	0	1
Beſt lucy, or pike, at	6	8

By the very high price of the pike, it is very probable that this fiſh had not yet been introduced into our ponds, but was imported at this period as a luxury, pickled, or ſome way preſerved.

Among theſe fiſh, let me obſerve, that the conger is, at preſent, never admitted to any good table; and to ſpeak of ſerving up a porpeſſe whole, or in part, would ſet your gueſts a ſtaring. Yet, ſuch is the difference of taſte, both theſe fiſhes were in high eſteem. King Richard's maſter cooks have left a moſt excellent receipt for *congur in ſawſe*; and as for the other great fiſh, it was either eaten roaſted, or ſalted, or in broth, or *furmente with porpeſſe*. The learned doctor Caius even tells us the proper ſauce, and ſays, that it ſhould be the ſame with that for a dolphin; another diſh unheard of in our days. From the great price the lucy or pike bore, one may reaſonably ſuſpect that it was at that time an exotic fiſh, and brought over at a vaſt expence.

I confeſs myſelf unacquainted with the words *barkey*, *bran*, and *betule*: *ſard* was properly the ſardine or pilchard: I am equally at a loſs about *croplings* and *rumb*: but the pickled *balenes* were certainly the *pholas dactylus* of Linnæus,

næus, 1110; the *balanus* of Rondeletius de Teſtaceis, 28; and the *dattili* of the modern Italians, which are to this day eaten, and even pickled.

To this liſt of ſea-fiſh, which were admitted in thoſe days to table, may be added the ſturgeon, and ling; and there is twice mention, in archbiſhop Nevill's great feaſt, of a certain fiſh, both roaſted and baked, unknown at preſent, called a *thirl-poole*.

The ſeal was alſo reckoned a fiſh, and, with the ſturgeon and porpeſs, were the only freſh fiſh which, by the 33d of Henry VIII. were permitted to be bought of any ſtranger at ſea, between England and France, Flanders, and Zealand.

On April 11th of the preſent year, I paſſed through Billingſgate, and obſerved, on the ground, ſome large pieces of ice, in which I was told the ſalmon from Berwick, and others of our northern fiſhery, was packed in boxes. The ice is preſerved in ice-houſes throughout the winter entirely for that purpoſe.

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Price of proviſions given at a dinner of the wax-chandler's company, in the year 1478.

	£.	s.	d.
Two loins of mutton, and two loins of veal -	0	1	4
A loin of beef - -	0	0	4
A leg of mutton - -	0	0	2½
A pig - - -	0	0	4
A capon - - -	0	0	6
A coney - - -	0	0	2
One dozen of pigeons -	0	0	7
A hundred eggs -	0	0	8½
A gooſe - - -	0	0	6
A gallon of red wine -	0	0	8
A kilderkin of ale -	0	0	8
	£. 0	7	0

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Price of proviſions provided for a dinner given by certain ſerjeants at law, in the year 1531.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought to the ſlaughter-houſe 24 beeves, each -	1	6	8
One carcaſe of an oxe from the ſhambles -	1	4	0
One hundred fat muttons, each - - -	0	2	10
Fifty-one great veales, at	0	4	8
Thirty-four porkes, at -	0	3	3
Ninety-one pigs, at -	0	0	6
Capons of Greece, of one poulter (for he had three) ten dozens, at (apiece) - -	0	1	8
Capons of Kent, nine dozen and ſix, at -	0	1	0
Cocks of groſe, ſeven dozen and nine, at -	0	0	8
Cocks courſe xiii dozen, at 8 *d.* and 3 *d.* apiece.			
Pullets, the beſt 2½ *d.* each. Other pullets -	0	0	2
Pigeons, 37 dozen, each dozen - - -	0	0	2
Swans xiii dozen.			
Larkes 340 dozen, each dozen - - -	0	0	5

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Remarks on ſome Paſſages of the ſixth Book of the Eneid, *by* James Beattie, LL. D. *&c. from Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh.

THERE is nothing in Virgil more explicit than the account of Tartarus; and I know not why it has been ſo generally miſunderſtood. Dr. Warburton ſays, in one place, that Eneas ſaw the ſights of Tartarus at a diſtance, and in another, that Eneas paſſed through Tartarus. In fact, he did neither. He could not paſs through without entering; and this, we are told, was to him impoſſible: "Nulli fas caſto ſceleratum inſiſtere limen." And though he had been permitted to enter, he could not paſs through, without firſt croſſing a river of fire, and then deſcending into an immenſe gulph, twice as deep beneath the level of the other regions of darkneſs, as thoſe are remote from heaven. It was equally impoſſible for him to ſee from a diſtance what was doing in ſuch a gulph, even though the gate that led to it had been open, which, however, at this time, happened to be ſhut. "You ſee, ſaid the Sybil, what a centinel ſits without in the porch, (meaning Tiſiphone); another, ſtill more dreadful, has her ſtation within;" which, as he could not ſee it, ſhe informs him is a huge ſerpent, or hydra, with fifty heads. An opening of the gate is indeed mentioned, which Rueus underſtands to have taken place at the very time when the Trojan and the Sybil were looking at it. But that is a miſtake. The Sybil only tells her companion, that, when Rhadamanthus has made the criminals confeſs their guilt, then at length (*tum demum*) the gate opens for their reception into the place of torment. It is ſtrange that Rueus and Dr. Warburton did not ſee that this is the obvious import of the words of Virgil; and that, if we do not underſtand them in this ſenſe, the paſſage muſt appear confuſed, if not ungrammatical. In a word; of the inſide of Tartarus the Trojan hero ſaw nothing; he ſaw the outſide only, the walls, the gates, the tower of iron, &c. and theſe he ſaw at ſome diſtance. What was paſſing within he learns from the Sybil's information.

"And now," ſays ſhe, "let us be going. Yonder, on the right hand, is the palace of Proſerpine, where, in the vaulted porch that fronts us, we are commanded to depoſit the golden bough." This ceremony Eneas performs, after having ſprinkled himſelf with pure water; which was cuſtomary with thoſe who made offerings to the gods.

They then went onward to Elyſium, the gay ſcenery of which, immediately ſucceeding the gloom of purgatory and the horrors of Tartarus, is ſo charming, that every reader feels himſelf refreſhed by it. Here were groves, and plains, and meadows, clothed with perpetual verdure, the abodes of tranquillity and joy, and illuminated by a ſun and ſtars of the moſt refulgent beauty. Here were feaſting, and dancing, and muſic, and poets accompanying their verſes with the harmony of the lyre. Here thoſe warlike exerciſes were renewed, in which the heroes while on earth had ſo much delighted; and here were horſes, and chariots, and arms, and every thing that could gratify an heroic mind. It muſt be owned, that all this is very inadequate to the deſires and the capacity of an immortal ſoul: but Virgil had heard of nothing better; and it was impoſſible for him to deſcribe what he could not conceive.

In this Elyſium, which, with all its imperfection, is, as well as the infernal world, founded on the beſt ideas of retributive juſtice that could be expected from a pagan, the poet places in a ſtate of endleſs felicity "the ſhades of the pure and the pious; of heroes who have died in defence of their country; of ingenious men who have employed their talents in adorning human life with elegant arts, or in recommending piety and virtue; and of all who, by acts of beneficence, have merited the love and the gratitude of their fellow-creatures."

To a company of theſe happy beings, who had flocked round the two ſtrangers, and eſpecially to the poet Muſeus, whom ſhe knew, the Sybil addreſſed herſelf, deſiring to be informed where Anchiſes reſided. We have no certain habitations, returned the poet; we wander about, and amuſe ourſelves wherever we pleaſe; but follow me to yonder riſing ground, and I ſhall put you in a path that will conduct you to him.

Some writers blame Virgil for not making Eneas find Homer in this part of Elyſium; and inſinuate, that the Roman poet muſt have been both invidious and ungrateful, in neglecting ſuch an opportunity of doing honour to his great maſter, to whom he owed ſo much. Thoſe critics do not conſider that Eneas was dead an hundred years before Homer was born. Our poet has been cenſured for a *ſuppoſed* anachroniſm, in making Eneas and Dido contemporary; and here he is found fault with for having judiciouſly avoided a *real* anachroniſm.

It chanced that Anchiſes was at this time in a remote valley, reviewing, in their ſtate of pre-exiſtence, ſome of his poſterity, who were afterwards to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the Roman republic. When he ſaw his ſon advancing towards him, he held forth both his hands, gave him an affectionate welcome, and wept for joy. The hero would have embraced his father; but found that the ſhade, though viſible, eluded the touch.

After a ſhort converſation, Eneas happening to ſee, in a grove through which a river was flowing, an innumerable multitude of human beings flying about, aſked his father who they were, and what river it was. The river, ſaid he, is Lethe, of which thoſe ſouls are taking a draught, being about to return to the upper world, in order to animate new bodies. Is it to be imagined, exclaims Eneas, that ſouls ſhould ever leave this happy place, and go back to the impriſonment of the body, and all the wretchedneſs of mortality? I will explain the whole matter to you, replies Anchiſes.

Know, then, that all the parts of this viſible univerſe, the heavens, and earth, and ſky, the ſun, moon, and ſtars, are, like one vaſt body, animated by an univerſal ſpirit, whereof the ſouls, or vital principles, of all animals, of men and beaſts, of fiſhes and fowl, are emanations. This vital principle is, in every animal, the ſource of ſenſation and motion; but, from the influence that the body has over it, becomes ſubject to inordinate paſſions, and forgetful of its heavenly original. The ſoul of man, in particular, (for nothing further is ſaid of the other animals) contracts, while ſhut up in the dark priſon of the body, a degree of debaſement which does not leave it at death, and from which the ſufferings of a ſubſequent ſtate of purgation are neceſſary to purify it. Theſe are of different kinds and degrees, according to the different degrees and kinds of guilt or impurity which the ſoul has contracted. Some ſouls are expoſed to the beating of winds, ſome are waſhed in water, and ſome purified by fire. Every one of *us* (ſays Anchiſes, including himſelf) ſuffers his own peculiar pains of purification. Then we are ſent into this vaſt Elyſium, and a few of us remain in the eternal poſſeſſion of it [*]. The reſt continue here, till by the air and tranquillity of the place, they have entirely got the better of the impurity contracted in the world, have had every impreſſion of the pains of purgatory worn out, and are reſtored to their original ſimplicity of nature. Thus refined, they are, at the end of a thouſand years [†], ſummoned by a divine agent, or god, to meet in one great aſſembly, where they drink of Lethe to waſh away remembrance, and then, in compliance with their own inclination, are ſent back to the earth to animate new bodies.

Having ended this account, Anchiſes, with his ſon and the Sybil, paſſes to a riſing ground, and points out in a ſtate of pre-exiſtence, a proceſſion of Roman heroes, who were in due time to deſcend from him; briefly deſcribing their ſeveral characters, in a moſt ſublime ſtrain of poetical prophecy.

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[*] I ſuppoſe the words *Et pauci læta arva tenemus*, to be a parentheſis; which, in my opinion, clears the text of all obſcurity. By the change of the perſon, in the four laſt lines of the ſpeech,—*Has omnes*,—*volvere*,—*incipiant*,—*reviſant*, it appears, that Anchiſes does not include himſelf among thoſe who were to return to the world; which aſcertains ſufficiently the import of *tenemus*. The learned Rueus conſtrues the paſſage in a way ſomewhat different; but his general account of the poet's doctrine differs not eſſentially from mine.

[†] More literally, "When they have rolled the wheel, or circle, for a thouſand years;" that is, when the revolution of a thouſand years is completed. For this interpretation we are indebted to Servius, who tells us further, that this ſingular phraſe was taken from Ennius. Anciently perhaps *rota* might mean a *circle*, as well as a *wheel*,) and poetically a *year*; ſo that, in Ennius's time, *volvere rotam* might be a figurative phraſe of the ſame import with *annum peragere, to paſs a year*. The original meaning of *annus* is *a circle*, whence the diminutive *annulus*, *a ring*. The ſame reference to the circular nature of the year, may be ſeen in the Greek ἐνιαυτος, which Virgil certainly had in his mind when he wrote, "Atque *in ſe* ſua per veſtigia volvitur annus." When this is attended to, our author's uſe of the phraſe in queſtion will appear not ſo harſh as it might otherwiſe be thought to be, and not at all too figurative in this very ſolemn part of the poem.

I ſhall ſubjoin a few remarks on the concluding ſcene of this noble epiſode;—on the gates of horn and ivory. Theſe gates have given no little trouble to critics, both ancient and modern; who, after all, ſeem to have been not very fortunate in their conjectures. This is owing, not to obſcurity in the poet, but to the refinement of thoſe interpreters, who miſtook a plain paſſage for a profound allegory, and were determined to find a ſecret meaning in it. The gate of ivory, ſay they, tranſmits falſe dreams, and that of horn true ones; and Eneas and his companion are diſmiſſed from Elyſium, and let into the upper world, through the ivory gate. What can this imply, but that the poet meant to inſinuate, that every thing he had ſaid concerning a ſtate of future retribution, was nothing more than a fallacious dream? And, in ſupport of this conjecture, they generally quote from the Georgic three verſes to prove, that Virgil was in his heart an Epicurean, and conſequently diſbelieved both a future ſtate and a providence. The verſes are—"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas, Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum, Subjecit pedibus, ſtrepitumque Acherontis avari."

Now, in the *firſt* place, it does not appear to me, that theſe lines can prove their author ever to have been an Epicurean, or that he meant to ſay more than "Happy is the man whoſe mind philoſophy has raiſed above the fear of death, as well as above all other fears." For, in the Georgic, he not only recommends religion and prayer, which Epicureans could not do conſiſtently with their principles, but again and again aſſerts a providence; and, in terms equally elegant and juſt, vindicates the Divine wiſdom in eſtabliſhing phyſical evil as the means of improving and elevating the mind of man. But does he not, in his ſixth eclogue, give an account of the formation of the world according to the Epicurean theory? He does; and he makes it part of the ſong of a drunkard: no proof that he held it in very high eſteem.

But, *2dly*, Suppoſing our poet's admiration of Lucretius might have made him formerly partial to the tenets of Epicurus, it does not follow that he continued ſo to the end of his life, or that he was ſo while employed upon the Eneid. The duties of religion, and the ſuperintending care of providence, are by no other Pagan author ſo warmly enforced as in this poem; and the energy with which, in the ſixth book, and in one paſſage of the eighth, (v. 666,) he aſſerts a future retribution, ſeems to prove, that he was ſo far in earneſt with regard to this matter, as to believe, that it was not, as the Epicureans affirmed, either abſurd or improbable.

Let it be remarked, in the *third* place, that no poet ever thought of ſo prepoſterous a method of pleaſing and inſtructing his readers, as firſt to employ all his ſkill in adorning his fable, and then tell them, that they ought not to believe a word of it. The true poet's aim is very different. He adapts himſelf to the opinions that prevail among the people for whom he writes, that they may the more eaſily acquieſce in his narrative; or he is careful, at leaſt, to make his fable conſiſtent with itſelf, in order to give it as much as poſſible the *appearance* of ſerioufneſs and truth. *We* know, that the ſcenery of the ſixth book is wholly fictitious; but the Romans did not certainly know how far it might be ſo: founded as it was on ancient tradition, which no hiſtory they had could overturn; and on philoſophical opinions, which they had never heard confuted, and which, where Revelation was unknown, might ſeem reſpectable, on account of the abilities of Pythagoras, Plato, and other great men who had taught them.

To which I may add, *4thly*, as an argument deciſive of the preſent queſtion, That if Virgil wiſhed his countrymen to believe him to have been *not* in earneſt in what he had told them of a pre-exiſtent and future ſtate, he muſt alſo have wiſhed them to underſtand, that the compliments he had been paying to the moſt favourite characters among their anceſtors were equally inſincere; and that what he had ſaid of the virtues of Camillus, Brutus, Cato, Scipio, and even Auguſtus himſelf, was altogether viſionary, and had as good a right to a paſſage through the ivory gate, as any other falſehood. Had Octavia underſtood this to be the poet's meaning, ſhe would not have rewarded him ſo liberally for his matchleſs encomium on the younger Marcellus. Had this indeed been his meaning, all the latter part of the ſixth book would have been a ſtudied inſult on Auguſtus, and the other heroes there celebrated, as well as on the whole Roman people. Strange, that the moſt judicious writer in the world ſhould commit ſuch a blunder in the moſt elaborate part of a poem which he had conſecrated to the honour of his country, and particularly to that of his great patron Auguſtus!

We muſt therefore admit, either that Virgil had loſt his ſenſes, or, which is more probable, that, in ſending Eneas and the Sybil through the ivory gate, he intended no ſarcaſtic reflection either on his country or on his poetry. In a word, we muſt admit, that, in this part of his fable, he was juſt as much in earneſt as in any other; and that there was no more *joke* in Eneas's *aſcent* through the gate of ivory, than in his *deſcent* through the cave of Avernus. How then are we to underſtand this adventure of the gate? I anſwer, By making the poet his own interpreter, and not ſeeking to find things in his book which we have no good reaſon to think were ever in his head.

In the nineteenth book of the Odyſſey, Penelope, ſpeaking of dreams, ſays to her nurſe, that there are two gates by which they are tranſmitted to us; one made of horn, through which the true dreams paſs, and the other of ivory, which emits falſe dreams. This thought Homer probably derived from ſome Egyptian cuſtom or tradition, which one might diſcuſs with many quotations and much appearance of learning; and this, no doubt, gave Virgil the hint of the paſſage now before us. But Virgil's account differs from Homer's more than the commentators ſeem to be aware of. Homer does not ſay in what part of the world his gates are; Virgil's are in Italy, not far from Cumæ, and are ſaid to be the outlet from Elyſium into the upper world: a wild fiction no doubt, but not more wild than that of making the cave of Avernus the inlet from the upper world into the nether. Homer's gates are the gates of dreams; Virgil calls his the gates of ſleep. The former are not ſaid to tranſmit any thing but dreams; of the latter, one tranſmits dreams, and the other *real ghoſts* or *ſhades*. For thus, though all the commentators are againſt me, I muſt underſtand the words *umbris veris*; becauſe in Virgil *umbra* often ſignifies a *ghoſt*, but never in him, nor in any other good writer, (ſo far as I know) a *dream*. If it be aſked, what ghoſts they were that uſed to paſs this way; the anſwer is eaſy: they were thoſe who, after having been a thouſand years in Elyſium, and taken a draught of Lethe, were ſent back to the upper world to animate new bodies. If again it were aſked, whether ſuch beings might not be of ſo ſubtle a nature as to work their way into the upper world without paſſing through a gate; I ſhould anſwer, that viſible ſubſtances, which might be purified by fire, or waſhed in water, and could not get over the river Styx but in a boat, muſt be ſo far material at leaſt, as to be capable of confinement, and conſequently of being ſet at liberty.

The *falſa inſomnia* that go out by the ivory gate may mean, either *deceitful dreams*, or *dreams in general*, that is, unſubſtantial things, as oppoſed to realities; which laſt I take to be the preferable ſignification. Be this, however, as it will, Eneas and the Sybil were neither ghoſts nor dreams, but human fleſh and blood; and could no more be ſuppoſed to partake of the qualities alluded to in the *name* of the gate by which Anchiſes diſmiſſed them, than a man is ſuppoſed to be lame for having paſſed through Cripplegate, or than the Lord Mayor of London, by entering in proceſſion through *Temple*-bar, is ſuppoſed to have become a better churchman than before, or a better lawyer. Through one or other of the gates of ſleep the Trojan and his guide muſt paſs, or they never could return to the upper world at all: and that gate the poet probably made choice of, which firſt occurred to him; and that probably would firſt occur which ſounded beſt in his verſe: or perhaps one might ſay, in the way of conjecture, that he thought fit to open the ivory gate, becauſe the other, being appropriated to the purified ghoſts, might not be ſo well ſuited to mere mortals. This is certain, that, though the ablative *eburna* ſtands very gracefully in the 898th line, the ablative *cornea* could not: becauſe, being the foot *amphimacer*, it can have no place in a regular hexameter.

As to the analogy that ſome critics have fancied between horn and truth, and between falſehood and ivory, it is ſo whimſical, and ſo abſurd, that I need not mention it.

And now, by removing the miſt of allegory from Virgil's gates, I flatter myſelf, that I have made theſe verſes ſomewhat more intelligible than they have been generally ſuppoſed to be; that I have proved the latter part of this epiſode to be conſiſtent with the reſt of it; and that I have vindicated a favourite author from the heavy charges of impiety and ill-manners, whereof, however repugnant to his general character, it would not be eaſy for thoſe to clear him who follow the common, though leſs obvious, interpretations.

Extract from an Account of the German *Theatre, by* Henry Mackenzie, Eſq. *From the ſame.*

IN examining theſe pieces in detail, and appropriating them to their reſpective authors, one is immediately ſtruck with the name of Leſſing, whom Germany ſo much reveres as one of the founders of her drama. He is the author of the firſt piece in Friedel's collection, *Emilie de Galotti*, another tragedy in one act called *Philotas*, a third called *Sara Samſon*, and a drame entitled *Nathan le Sage.* He is author alſo of ſeveral other plays contained in the Theatre Allemand of Junker, one of which, *Minna de Barnhelm*, is reckoned the *chef d'œuvre* of German comedy. I have peruſed it with all the attention to which its high character entitled it, and indeed with a great degree of the pleaſure, though not with all the admiration which that high character led me to expect. It is of the graver or ſentimental kind of comedy, where the characters maintain a war of generoſity, from which the embarraſſments and implications of the plot, not very intricate nor artificial ones, reſult. The principal perſon is a Major Telheim, a diſbanded officer, whoſe merits his country had ill rewarded; a man of the moſt conſummate bravery, generoſity and virtue, for whom thoſe qualities have gained the love of every ſoldier and domeſtic around him. They have procured him a ſtill more valuable attachment, the love of the heroine of the piece, Minna of Barnhelm, who, on hearing of the Major's regiment being diſbanded, comes to Berlin to ſeek him, and to make him happy. The rival nobleneſs of mind of theſe two characters produces the principal incidents of the piece, which however are not always natural, nor very happily imagined; and beſides, as Fielding jocularly ſays, when comparing a ſhallow book to a ſhallow man, may be eaſily ſeen through. But, with all theſe defects, and that want of comic force which the turn and ſituation of the principal characters naturally occaſions, the play muſt pleaſe and intereſt every reader. There is ſomething in the conſtitution of the human mind ſo congenial to diſintereſtedneſs, generoſity and magnanimity, that it never fails to be pleaſed with ſuch characters, after all the deductions which critical diſcernment can make from them. Amidſt the want of comic humour which I have obſerved in this play, I muſt not omit, however, doing juſtice to a ſerjeant-major of Telheim's regiment, and to Juſtin his valet, who are drawn with a ſtrong and natural pencil. The ſtory of the ſpaniel, told by the latter, when his maſter's poverty makes him wiſh to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, is one of the beſt imagined, and beſt told, I remember to have met with. There is a good deal of comic character and lively dialogue in ſome of Leſſing's leſs celebrated pieces in the collection of Junker; but the plots are in general extravagant and farcical.

In judging of Leſſing as a tragic writer, one will do him no injuſtice by making the tragedy of *Emilie de Galotti* the criterion of that judgment. The others in theſe volumes are very inferior to this, which is certainly, in point of compoſition, character and paſſion, a performance of no ordinary kind. Leſſing was well acquainted with the ancient drama, and wiſhed to bring the theatre of his country to a point of regularity nearer to that of the ancients. He publiſhed, for ſome time, a periodical criticiſm on theatrical compoſition, called, "Le

Dramaturgie de Hambourg." His plays, accordingly, though not exactly conformable to the Ariſtotelian ſtandard, approach pretty near to it in the obſervation of the unities. He is ſaid to have got into a diſpute with Goethé on this ſubject, in which, from a degree of timidity in his nature, he rather yielded to his antagoniſt. I am not ſure if he has profited by confining himſelf more than ſome other of his countrymen within the bounds of the regular drama. The fable of *Emilie de Galotti*, as well as of his other tragedies, is more regular than happy, and the denouement neither natural nor pleaſing. It is founded on circumſtances ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe in the ſtory of *Virginia*. A prince of Guaſtalla is deſperately enamoured of Emilie de Galotti, who is juſt about to be married to a man of rank and fortune, the Count Appiani. On the day of his marriage, he is way-laid by order of a wicked miniſter of the prince, and murdered. His bride is brought to the prince's country-ſeat, where, to prevent any chance of her diſhonour, her father kills her.

After the firſt reading of *Emilie*, I was diſpoſed to wonder at the reputation it had acquired; but a ſecond placed it higher in my eſtimation. This was naturally the caſe in a performance where the whole was neither ſo perfect nor ſo intereſting as ſome of the ſcenes in detail were forcible and ſtriking. The heroine Emilie de Galotti is but imperfectly drawn, and not very well ſupported. Indeed, it may in general be obſerved in theſe pieces, that the characters of the female perſonages are by much the moſt defective, both in beauty and in force. This may perhaps be aſcribed to the ſtate of ſociety in Germany, where the ſex is leſs an object of conſideration and reſpect than in France, and ſome other parts of the Continent. But there is another lady in this tragedy, the *Counteſs d'Orſina*, the betrayed and abandoned miſtreſs of the prince, whoſe character the poet has delineated with great ability; and one ſcene, in which ſhe is introduced along with the father of Emilie, in genuine expreſſion of paſſion, and pointed force of dialogue, may be compared to ſome of the beſt which the modern ſtage can boaſt.

In the developement of the ſecret foldings of the heart, Leſſing ſeems deeply ſkilled, and the opening ſcenes of this tragedy contain ſome of thoſe little incidents that mark an intimacy with human nature, which genius alone can claim. But in its progreſs we find, in ſome degree, a want of that ſtrong and juſt delineation and ſupport of character, but chiefly of that probable conduct and intereſting ſituation, which are the great and peculiar requiſites of dramatic excellence. It ſeems alſo defective in the pathetic, for which certainly the ſubject afforded very great room, and which, in a ſimilar ſituation, our countryman Rowe has contrived ſo ſtrongly to excite.

Of Leſſing's performances in theſe volumes, the next in merit, though, in my opinion, at a conſiderable diſtance, is *Sara Samſon*, an Engliſh ſtory, of which the idea ſeems chiefly taken from *Clariſſa*, though one character in it, that of a violent and profligate woman, is evidently borrowed from *Millwood* in *George Barnwell*. I muſt venture to doubt, whether a character of this ſort be proper for filling a principal place in tragedy. There is a degree of infamy in the vice of ſuch a perſon that is ſcarcely ſuitable to the dignity of the higher drama, and which diſguſts us with its appearance. The *Marwood* of Leſſing is introduced in ſuch a manner as to heighten that diſguſt. The amiable female of the piece, *Sara Samſon*, is no exception from the general defect of female character in this collection. And her father, who is placed in the tender ſituation of which ſeveral authors have made ſo affecting a uſe, the parent of a child ſeduced from honour, though ſtill alive to virtue, is inſipidly drawn, and awkwardly introduced. In this tragedy, is an incident, of which Leſſing ſeems to be fond, as he has repeated it with very little variation in another tragedy called *L'Eſprit Fort*, a dream, related by the heroine, predictive of the cataſtrophe. This, as it anticipates the concluſion, is always faulty. No part of the conduct of a play is more nice and difficult than that degree of information which the author is to give the audience in the courſe of it. In general, he ſhould certainly not foreſtal their expectations, by opening his plot too ſoon. But there is an admirable theatrical effect which often reſults from letting the audience know what the perſons of the drama are ignorant of, which ſtretches, if I may uſe the expreſſion, the cords of fear, anxiety and hope in the ſpectators to the higheſt pitch, through ſcenes which otherwiſe would produce theſe feelings in an inferior, as well as in a momentary degree. This knowledge in the audience, of *Merope*'s ſon, while ſhe, in ignorance of his perſon, is on the point of putting him to death, is one of the moſt intereſting ſituations which dramatic invention has ever produced; and there is nothing on the French ſtage which equals the horror of that ſcene of Crebillon's *Atree et Thyeſte*, where the devoted brother attempts to diſguiſe himſelf from *Atreus*, while the terrified ſpectators know him all the while, and tremble at every look and word which they think will diſcover him.

Next to Leſſing, in point of name, is Goethé, the author of two tragedies in this collection, *Goetz de Berliching* and *Clavidgo*, and of a drame entitled *Stella*. The firſt I have already mentioned as highly irregular in its plan, being a life thrown into dialogue rather than a tragedy. The *coſtume* of the age in which the events are ſuppoſed to have happened, is very well preſerved. The ſimple manners, the fidelity, the valour and the generoſity of a German knight, are pourtrayed in a variety of natural ſcenes. This national quality, I preſume, has been the cauſe of its high fame in Germany, to which it ſeems to me to have otherwiſe not a perfectly adequate claim. His *Clavidgo* is founded on an incident which happened to the celebrated Caron de Beaumarchais in Spain, who is introduced as a perſon of the drama, under the name of *Ronac*, an anagram of *Caron*, with the letters a little tranſpoſed. The diſtreſs of the play ariſes from the falſehood of a lover, who leaves his miſtreſs after being engaged to marry her. Neither the delineation of the characters, nor the management of the plot in the firſt two acts, is entitled to much applauſe; but the laſt act, which paſſes in ſight of the corpſe of *Maria*, is wrought up with uncommon force, and muſt, on the ſtage, be productive of high effect. His third performance, *Stella*, is ſtrongly marked with that enthuſiaſtic ſentiment and refined ſenſibility, which, in the *Sorrows of Werter*, he has ſo warmly indulged; and in point of immoral effect, the drama is equally reprehenſible with the novel. Its concluſion is in the boldeſt ſtyle of this ſentimental refinement; ſince it gives to the hero two wives, with whom he is to ſhare that heart, to which the incidents of the play have ſhewn the claims of both.

Extract from Maxims addreſſed to Young Ladies, by the Counteſs Dowager of Carliſle.

HAbituate yourſelf to that way of life moſt agreeable to the perſon to whom you are united: be content in retirement, or with ſociety, with the town or the country.

If he ſhould prefer the country during your earlier years, a period when diverſions are moſt attractive, it may at firſt be painful; you may be ſenſible of the privation;—but your chance for durable happineſs is infinitely greater there, than where each ſide is ſurrounded with continual dangers to domeſtic tranquillity.

Make choice of ſuch amuſements as will attach him to your company: ſtudy ſuch occupations as will render you of conſequence to him; ſuch as the management of his fortune, and the conduct of his houſe; yet, without aſſuming a ſuperiority unbecoming your ſex.

If his turn of mind leads him to the inſpection and care of his eſtate, avoid to interfere with a branch of government, not properly your ſphere.

Should he be neglectful of his family interests, ſupply his place with redoubled attention.

If public employment demand frequent abſences from home, make his ſuppoſed intentions there to be as much reſpected as if he were preſent, by your own deference to them.

If the contagion of example gain too ſtrong an empire over him, if miſled by pleaſures, or hurried by paſſion, let not your impatience prevent his return to reaſon.

Let an early examination of his temper, prepare you to bear with inequalities, to which all are more or leſs ſubject.

Do not attempt to deſtroy his innocent pleaſures by pretexts of œconomy; retrench rather your own expences to promote them.

Should he ſometimes delight in trivial occupations, treat ſuch with complaiſance; as few but the idle have leiſure to be very ill-tempered.

Diſturb not the hours he may have allotted for amuſement, with the recital of domeſtic grievances.

Watch for, and profit of ſuch moments of his leiſure, as will allow him, without pain or chagrin, to redreſs them.

Let your attentions be ſo continued, accompanied by no affectation; yet ſo eaſy, as may prove they flow from the heart.

The leaſt appearance of flattery, mingled with aſſiduity, conveys a ſuſpicion of intereſt.

If abſolute neceſſity, or free choice, call him often from home (ſuppoſe it to be too often) when he ſhall reviſit that home, make it ſo agreeable, as it ſhall finally acquire the preference.

Show the greateſt reſpect to his near relations; obſerve a conſtant civility towards the more diſtant; let there be no marked diſtinction between thoſe, on either ſide, in your own breaſt: natural affection may, nay, ought to prevail.

During the education of men in ſchools, colleges, and academies, friendſhips are formed, perhaps too early ſometimes to be judicious, but equally hard to diſſolve: if, in conſequence, you behold ſuch with pain, do not attempt to break them with precipitation.

When a perſon ſhall ſee his friends coolly received in his own houſe, he will naturally ſeek occaſions to meet them abroad: maintain, therefore, your intereſt with him, by a polite behaviour to thoſe he ſo prefers, although you may not.

Jealouſy is oft ideal; it is capricious, its dictates inconſiderate, its ſuggeſtions fatal to mutual repoſe.

The delicate, but firm counſels of a friend, of religion, and, if poſſible, a ſpeedy retreat for a while, are the ſafeſt remedies againſt the artful, but ſoothing attentions of real, or ſeeming admirers, at moments when the mind is irritated by reproach, or the ſeverities inflicted by unjuſt ſuſpicions.

Should your union be attended with greater felicity than is the uſual lot of our ſex, govern your juſt affections to preſerve it: by too much anxiety you may deſtroy it.

Sufficient are the real difficulties we have each to encounter, in the courſe of our lives; create none therefore: uſe your reaſon in combating the former; and be ſilent if the weakneſs of your frame prevent an entire ſuppreſſion of fictitious ones.

If afflicted with bad health, ſtudy to avoid complaint; it is an encreaſing habit, affording no eſſential relief to the ſufferer, and apt to make the lives of others as irkſome as your own.

You will contract indelicacy by a deſcription of your infirmities: you may perhaps excite compaſſion from a humane diſpoſition, but you riſque a diminution of affection.

Whatever diſſentions may ariſe (how much ſoever your conduct and underſtanding may juſtify the part you take in them) ſuffer the interference of no *third* perſon; but more eſpecially if you ſuppoſe their partiality would lead them to decide in your favour.

Thoſe friendſhips which are early produced between two very young women, in the theatre of the great world, and where both are equally engaged in all the frivolities of faſhion, are uſually very ſlightly cemented, and are as briefly diſſolved.

If your fortune be moderate, œconomy is abſolutely neceſſary.

If conſiderable, method and prudence will render it doubly beneficial.

Obſerve the utmoſt regularity in the keeping of your houſehold accounts; it is tranquillity to you, juſtice to your dependents.

The luxury of this age exacts from the miſtreſs of a great houſe, or indeed a ſmaller, ſome attention to a table; diſdain not therefore to give a proper application to that ſtudy.

With regard to dreſs, do not aſpire to be a leader in faſhions, nor exceſſive in point of ornament.

Follow faſhions at a moderate diſtance, nor blindly adopt ſuch as may expoſe you to ridicule; for ſervile imitation makes no diſtinctions.

Should a plentiful fortune enable you to indulge a diſpoſition to give, compleat the happineſs of the receivers by the manner of beſtowing.

If naturally bleſſed with a good memory, exerciſe it continually.

Reſt not contented with the plea of a bad memory; it is but another name for negligence among young perſons.

There are certainly degrees of memory; ſome more feeble, ſome more perfect than others: for the one, there are many helps; the other muſt be ſupported properly.

Reſolution and perſeverance are correctives to an indolent memory.

Repeat to yourſelf, or tranſcribe what is neceſſary to retain for your inſtruction.

Materials which memory ſhall collect, ought to be of the benevolent kind; and when re-produced, let diſcretion and charity diſtribute them.

Employ the powers of memory in the recollection of the favours of Providence, of the bleſſings and eſcapes we have received from that all-giving hand.

If the love of admiration, in your youthful days, ſhall bear no part in your attachment to the amuſements of the theatre, there are none more inſtructive, nor more eligible for relaxation.

When you can fix your mind on the ſcenes before you, when the eye ſhall not wander to, nor the heart flutter at, the ſurrounding objects of the ſpectacle, you will return home inſtructed and improved.

The great utilities you may reap from well-acted Tragedy are, the exciting your compaſſion to real ſufferings, the ſuppreſſion of your vanity in proſperity, and the inſpiring you with heroic patience in adverſity.

In Comedy, you will receive continual correction, delicately applied to your errors and foibles; be impartial in the application, and divide it humbly with your acquaintance and friends, and even with your enemies.

A very few precepts, and much good example, to perſons deſtitute of education, are the ſureſt methods of encouraging virtue among them.

Profit by others' misfortunes, or miſtakes, as a correction to your pride, and as a guard to your ſteps.

Extend your kindneſs, and continue your affections to all that ſhall remain of thoſe you loved, if worthy; it is the only ſure mode of conſolation you can have recourſe to.

In grief, ſickneſs, and danger, make your firſt and conſtant ſupplication to that Power, who alone can relieve and ſave.

Let your conduct be ſuch to all around you, as ſhall lead them to the ſame path without affright.

If your ſtrength of mind ſubſiſts during your malady, if it gives you time for the exertion of rational power, let it check, as much as poſſible, thoſe encroaching indulgencies which ſickneſs is prone to exact.

Be aſſured, that when able to exert your chearfulneſs, it is nowiſe contrary to the precepts of religion.

Fix your eye habitually on immortality, to paſs more lightly thro' the pangs of mortality.

A continued and humble reſignation will ſecure your peace in the moſt aweful of moments—that of your diſſolution.

Hiſtory of Walter Wormwood, *an envious Defamer. From the Obſerver,* vol. v.

To the OBSERVER.

AS I have lived long enough to repent of a fatal propenſity, that has led me to commit many offences, not the leſs irkſome to my preſent feelings for the ſecrecy, with which I contrived to execute them; and as theſe can now be no otherwiſe atoned for than by a frank confeſſion, I have reſolved upon this mode of addreſſing myſelf to you. Few people chuſe to diſplay their own characters to the world in ſuch colours as I ſhall give to mine, but as I have mangled ſo many reputations in my time without mercy, I ſhould be the meaneſt of mankind if I ſpared my own; and being now about to ſpeak of a perſon, whom no man loves, I may give vent to an acrimony, at which no man can take offence. If I have been troubleſome to others, I am no leſs uncomfortable to myſelf, and amidſt vexations without number the greateſt of all is, that there is not one, which does not originate from myſelf.

I entered upon life with many advantages natural and acquired; I am indebted to my parents for a liberal education, and to nature for no contemptible ſhare of talents: my propenſities were not ſuch as betrayed me into diſſipation and extravagance: my mind was habitually of a ſtudious caſt; I had a paſſion for books, and began to collect them at an early period of my life: to them I devoted the greateſt portion of my time, and had my vanity been of a ſort to be contented with the literary credit I had now acquired, I had been happy; but I was ambitious of convincing the world I was not the idle owner of weapons, which I did not know the uſe of; I ſeized every ſafe opportunity of making my pretenſions reſpected by ſuch dabblers in the belles lettres, who paid court to me, and as I was ever cautious of ſtepping an inch beyond my tether on theſe occaſions, I ſoon found myſelf credited for more learning, than my real ſtock amounted to. I received all viſitors in my library, affected a ſtudious air, and took care to furniſh my table with volumes of a ſelect ſort; upon theſe I was prepared to deſcant, if by chance a curious friend took up any one of them; and as there is little fame to be got by treading in the beaten track of popular opinion, I ſometimes took the liberty to be eccentric and paradoxical in my criticiſms and cavils, which gained me great reſpect from the ignorant, (for upon ſuch only I took care to practiſe this chicanery) ſo that in a ſhort time I became a ſovereign dictator within a certain ſet, who looked up to me for ſecond-hand opinions in all matters of literary taſte, and ſaw myſelf inaugurated by my flatterers cenſor of all new publications.

My trumpeters had now made ſuch a noiſe in the world, that I began to be in great requeſt, and men of real literature laid out for my acquaintance; but here I acted with a coldneſs, that was in me conſtitutional as well as prudential: I was reſolved not to riſk my laurels, and throw away the fruits of a triumph ſo cheaply purchaſed: ſolicitations that would have flattered others, only alarmed me; ſuch was not the ſociety I delighted in; againſt ſuch attacks I entrenched myſelf with the moſt jealous caution: If however by accident I was drawn out of my faſtneſſes, and trapped unawares into an ambuſcade of wicked wits, I armed myſelf to meet them with a triple tier of ſmiles; I primed my lips with ſuch a ready charge of flattery, that when I had once engaged them in the pleaſing contemplation of their own merits, they were ſeldom diſpoſed to ſcrutinize into mine, and thus in general I contrived to eſcape undetected. Though it was no eaſy matter to extort an opinion from me in ſuch companies, yet ſometimes I was unavoidably entangled in converſation, and then I was forced to have recourſe to all my addreſs; happily my features were habituated to a ſmile of the moſt convertible ſort, for it would anſwer the purpoſes of affected humility as well as thoſe of actual contempt, to which in truth it was more congenial: my opinion, therefore, upon any point of controverſy, flattered both parties and befriended neither; it was calculated to impreſs the company with an idea that I knew much more than I profeſt to know; it was in ſhort ſo inſinuating, ſo ſubmitted, ſo heſitating, that a man muſt have had the heart of Nero to have perſecuted a being ſo abſolutely inoffenſive: but theſe ſacrifices coſt me dear, for they were foreign to my nature, and, as I hated my ſuperiors, I avoided their ſociety.

Having ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed myſelf as a critic, I now began to meditate ſome ſecret attempts as an author; but in theſe the ſame caution attended me, and my performances did not riſe above a little ſonnet, or a parody, which I circulated through a few hands without a name, prepared to diſavow it, if it was not applauded to my wiſhes: I alſo wrote occaſional eſſays and paragraphs for the public prints, by way of trying my talents in various kinds of ſtile; by theſe experiments I acquired a certain facility of imitating other people's manner and diſguiſing my own, and ſo far my point was gained; but as for the ſecret ſatisfaction I had promiſed myſelf in hearing my productions applauded, of that I was altogether diſappointed; for though I tried both praiſe and diſpraiſe for the purpoſe of bringing them into notice, I never had the pleaſure to be contradicted by any man in the latter caſe, or ſeconded by a living ſoul in the former: I had circulated a little poem, which coſt me ſome pains, and as I had been flattered with the applauſe it gained from ſeveral of its readers, I put it one evening in my pocket, and went to the houſe of a certain perſon, who was much reſorted to by men of genius: an opportunity luckily offered for producing my manuſcript, which I was prepared to avow as ſoon as the company preſent had given ſentence in its favour: it was put into the hands of a dramatic author of ſome celebrity, who read it aloud, and in a manner as I thought that clearly anticipated his diſguſt: as ſoon therefore as he had finiſhed it and demanded of me if I knew the author, I had no heſitation to declare that I did not—Then I preſume, rejoined he, it is no offence to ſay I think it the mereſt traſh I ever read—None in life, I replied, and from that moment held him in everlaſting hatred.

Diſguſted with the world, I now

began to dip my pen in gall, and as ſoon as I had ſingled out a proper object for my ſpleen, I looked round him for his weak ſide, where I could place a blow to beſt effect, and wound him undiſcovered: the author abovementioned had a full ſhare of my attention; he was an irritable man, and I have ſeen him agonized with the pain, which my very ſhafts had given him, whilſt I was foremoſt to arraign the ſcurrility of the age, and encourage him to diſregard it: the practice I had been in of maſking my ſtile facilitated my attacks upon every body, who either moved my envy, or provoked my ſpleen.

The meaneſt of all paſſions had now taken entire poſſeſſion of my heart, and I ſurrendered myſelf to it without a ſtruggle: ſtill there was a conſciouſneſs about me, that ſunk me in my own eſteem; and when I met the eye of a man, whom I had ſecretly defamed, I felt abaſhed, ſociety became painful to me; and I ſhrunk into retirement, for my ſelf-eſteem was loſt; though I had gratified my malice, I had deſtroyed my comfort; I now contemplated myſelf a ſolitary being at the very moment when I had every requiſite of fortune, health, and endowments to have recommended me to the world, and to thoſe tender ties and engagements, which are natural to man, and conſtitute his beſt enjoyments.

The ſolitude I reſorted to made me every day more moroſe, and ſupplied me with reflections that rendered me intolerable to myſelf and unfit for ſociety. I had reaſon to apprehend, in ſpite of all my caution, that I was now narrowly watched, and that ſtrong ſuſpicions were taken up againſt me; when, as I was feaſting my jaundiced eye one morning with a certain newſpaper, which I was in the habit of employing as the vehicle of my venom, I was ſtartled at diſcovering myſelf conſpicuouſly pointed out in an angry column as a cowardly defamer, and menaced with perſonal chaſtiſement, as ſoon as ever proofs could be obtained againſt me; and this threatening denunciation evidently came from the very author, who had unknowingly given me ſuch umbrage, when he recited my poem.

The ſight of this reſentful paragraph was like an arrow to my brain: habituated to ſkirmiſh only behind entrenchments, I was ill prepared to turn into the open field, and had never put the queſtion to my heart, how it was provided for the emergency. In early life I had not any reaſon to ſuſpect my courage, nay it was rather forward to meet occaſions in thoſe days of innocence; but the meanneſs I had lately ſunk into had ſapped every manly principle of my nature, and I now diſcovered to my ſorrow, that in taking up the lurking malice of an aſſaſſin, I had loſt the gallant ſpirit of a gentleman.

There was ſtill one alleviation to my terrors: it ſo chanced that I was not the author of the particular libel, which my accuſer had imputed to me; and though I had been father of a thouſand others, I felt myſelf ſupported by truth in almoſt the only charge, againſt which I could have fairly appealed to it. It ſeemed to me therefore adviſeable to loſe no time in diſculpating myſelf from the accuſation; yet to ſeek an interview with this iraſcible man was a ſervice of ſome danger: chance threw the opportunity in my way, which I had probably elſe wanted ſpirit to invite; I accoſted him with all imaginable civility, and made the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations of my innocence: whether I did this with a ſervility that might aggravate his ſuſpicions, or that he had others impreſſed upon him beſides thoſe I was labouring to remove, ſo it was, that he treated all I ſaid with the moſt contemptuous incredulity, and elevating his voice to a tone that petrified me with fear, bade me avoid his ſight, threatening me both by words and actions in a manner too humiliating to relate.

Alas! can words expreſs my feelings? Is there a being more wretched than myſelf? to be friendleſs, an exile from ſociety, and at enmity with myſelf, is a ſituation deplorable in the extreme: let what I have now written be made public; if I could believe my ſhame would be turned to others' profit, it might perhaps become leſs painful to myſelf; if men want other motives to divert them from defamation, than what their own hearts ſupply, let them turn to my example, and if they will not be reaſoned, let them be frightened out of their propenſity.

I am, Sir, &c.
WALTER WORMWOOD.

Obſervations on the various Sorts of Stile. From the ſame.

THE celebrated author of the *Rambler* in his concluding paper ſays, *I have laboured to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbariſms, licentious idioms and irregular combinations: ſomething perhaps I have added to the elegance of its conſtruction, and ſomething to the harmony of its cadence.* I hope our language hath gained all the profit, which the labours of this meritorious writer were exerted to produce: in ſtile of a certain deſcription he undoubtedly excels; but though I think there is much in his eſſays for a reader to admire, I ſhould not recommend them as a model for a diſciple to copy.

Simplicity, eaſe and perſpicuity ſhould be the firſt objects of a young writer: Addiſon and other authors of his claſs will furniſh him with examples, and aſſiſt him in the attainment of theſe excellencies; but after all, the ſtile, in which a man ſhall write, will not be formed by imitation only; it will be the ſtile of his mind; it will aſſimilate itſelf to his mode of thinking, and take its colour from the complexion of his ordinary diſcourſe, and the company he conſorts with. As for that diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, which the ingenious eſſayiſt terms very properly *the harmony of its cadence*; that I take to be incommunicable and immediately dependant upon the ear of him who models it. This *harmony of cadence* is ſo ſtrong a mark of diſcrimination between authors of note in the world of letters, that we can depoſe to a ſtile, whoſe modulation we are familiar with, almoſt as confidently as to the handwriting of a correſpondent. But though I think there will be found in the periods of every eſtabliſhed writer a certain peculiar tune, (whether harmonious or otherwiſe) which will depend rather upon the natural ear than upon the imitative powers, yet I would not be underſtood to ſay that the ſtudy of good models can fail to be of uſe in the firſt formation of it. When a ſubject preſents itſelf to the mind, and thoughts ariſe, which are to be committed to writing, it is then for a man to chuſe whether he will expreſs himſelf in ſimple or in elaborate diction, whether he will compreſs his matter or dilate it, ornament it with epithets and robe it in metaphor, or whether he will deliver it plainly and naturally in ſuch language as a well-bred perſon and a ſcholar would uſe, who affects no parade of ſpeech, nor aims at any flights of fancy. Let him decide as he will, in all theſe caſes he hath models in plenty to chuſe from, which may be ſaid to court his imitation.

For inſtance; if his ambition is to glitter and ſurprize with the figurative and metaphorical brilliancy of his period, let him tune his ear to ſome ſuch paſſages as the following, where *Doctor Johnſon* in the character of critic and biographer is pronouncing upon the poet *Congreve.* "His ſcenes exhibit not much of humour, imagery or paſſion: his perſonages are a kind of intellectual gladiators; every ſentence is to ward or ſtrike; the conteſt of ſmartneſs is never intermitted; his wit is a meteor playing to and fro with alternate coruſcations." If he can learn to embroider with as much ſplendor, taſte and addreſs as this and many other ſamples from the ſame maſter exhibit, he cannot ſtudy in a better ſchool.

On the contrary, if ſimplicity be his object, and a certain ſerenity of ſtile, which ſeems in uniſon with the ſoul, he may open the *Spectator,* and take from the firſt paper of Mr. *Addiſon* the firſt paragraph, that meets his eye—the following for inſtance—"There is nothing that makes its way more directly to the ſoul than *Beauty,* which immediately diffuſes a ſecret ſatisfaction and complacency through the imagination, and gives a finiſhing to any thing that is great or uncommon: the very firſt diſcovery of it ſtrikes the mind with an inward joy, and ſpreads a chearfulneſs and delight through all its faculties." Or again in the ſame eſſay: "We no where meet with a more glorious or pleaſing ſhow in nature than what appears in the heavens at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, which is wholly made up of thoſe different ſtains of light, that ſhow themſelves in clouds of a different ſituation." A florid writer would hardly have reſiſted the opportunities, which here court the imagination to indulge its flights, whereas few writers of any ſort would have been tempted on a topic merely critical to have employed ſuch figurative and ſplendid diction, as that of Doctor Johnſon; theſe little ſamples therefore, though ſelected with little or no care, but taken as they came to hand, may ſerve to exemplify my meaning, and in ſome degree characterize the different ſtiles of the reſpective writers.

Now as every ſtudent, who is capable of copying either of theſe ſtiles, or even of comparing them, muſt diſcern on which ſide the greater danger of miſcarrying lies, as well as the greater diſgrace in caſe of ſuch miſcarriage, prudence will direct him in his outſet not to hazard the attempt at a florid diction. If his ear hath not been vitiated by vulgar habitudes, he will only have to guard againſt mean expreſſions, whilſt he is ſtudying to be ſimple and perſpicuous; he will put his thoughts into language naturally as they preſent themſelves, giving them for the preſent little more than mere grammatical correction; afterwards, upon a cloſer review, he will poliſh thoſe parts that ſeem rude, harmonize them where they are unequal, compreſs what is too diffuſive, raiſe what is low, and attune the whole to that general cadence, which ſeems moſt grateful to his ear.

But if our ſtudent hath been ſmitten with the turbulent oratory of the ſenate, the acrimonious declamation of the bar, or the pompous eloquence of the pulpit, and ſhall take the lofty ſpeakers in theſe ſeveral orders for his models, rather than ſuch as addreſs the ear in humbler tones, his paſſions will in that caſe hurry him into the florid and figurative ſtile, to a ſublime and ſwelling period; and if in this he excels, it muſt be owned he accompliſhes a great and arduous taſk, and he will gain a liberal ſhare of applauſe from the world, which in general is apt to be captivated with thoſe high and towering images, that ſtrike and ſurprize the ſenſes. In this ſtile the Hebrew prophets write, "whoſe diſcourſe" (to uſe the words of the learned *Doctor Bentley*) "after the genius of the Eaſtern nations, is thick ſet with metaphor and allegory; the ſame bold compariſons and dithyrambic liberty of ſtile every where occurring—For when *the Spirit of God came upon them*, and breathed a new warmth and vigour through all the powers of the body and ſoul; when by the influx of divine light the whole ſcene of Chriſt's heavenly kingdom was repreſented to their view, ſo that their hearts were raviſhed with joy, and their imaginations turgid and pregnant with the glorious ideas; then ſurely, if ever, their ſtile would be ſtrong and lofty, full of alluſions to all that is great and magnificent in the kingdoms of this world." (*Commencement Sermon.*)—And theſe flights of imagination, theſe effuſions of rapture and ſublimity will occaſionally be found in the pulpit eloquence of ſome of our moſt correct and temperate writers; witneſs that brilliant apoſtrophe at the concluſion of the ninth diſcourſe of *Biſhop Sherlock*, than whom few or none have written with more didactic brevity and ſimplicity—"Go," (ſays he to the Deiſts) "go to your natural religion: Lay before her Mahomet and his diſciples arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the ſpoils of thouſands and tens of thouſands, who fell by his victorious ſword: Shew her the cities which he ſet in flames, the countries which he ravaged and deſtroyed, and the miſerable diſtreſs of all the inhabitants of the earth. When ſhe has viewed him in this ſcene, carry her into his retirements; ſhew her the prophet's chamber, his concubines and wives; let her ſee his adultery, and hear him alledge revelation and his divine commiſſion to juſtify his luſt and oppreſſion. When ſhe is tired with this proſpect, then ſhew her the bleſſed Jeſus, humble and meek, doing good to all the ſons of men, patiently inſtructing both the ignorant and perverſe; let her ſee him in his moſt retired privacies; let her follow him to the mount, and hear his devotions and ſupplications to God; carry her to his table to view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly diſcourſe: Let her ſee him injured but not provoked; let her attend him to the tribunal, and conſider the patience with which he endured the ſcoffs and reproaches of his enemies: Lead her to his croſs, and let her view him in the agony of death, and hear his laſt prayer for his perſecutors—*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*"

This is a lofty paſſage in the high imperative tone of declamation; it is richly coloured, boldly contraſted and replete with imagery, and is amongſt the ſtrongeſt of thoſe inſtances, where the orator addreſſes himſelf to the ſenſes and paſſions of his hearers: But let the diſciple tread this path with caution; let him wait the call, and be ſure he has an occaſion worthy of his efforts before he makes them.

Allegory, perſonification and metaphor will preſs upon his imagination at certain times, but let him ſoberly conſult his judgment in thoſe moments, and weigh their fitneſs before he admits them into his ſtile. As for allegory, it is at beſt but a kind of fairy form; it is hard to naturalize it, and it will rarely fill a graceful part in any manly compoſition. With reſpect to perſonification, as I am ſpeaking of proſe only, it is but an exotic ornament, and may be conſidered rather as the loan of the muſes than as the property of proſe; let our ſtudent therefore beware how he borrows the feathers of the jay, leſt his unnatural finery ſhould only ſerve to make him pointed at and deſpiſed. Metaphor, on the other hand, is common property, and he may take his ſhare of it, provided he has diſcretion not to abuſe his privilege, and neither ſurfeits the appetite with repletion, nor confounds the palate with too much variety: Let his metaphor be appoſite, ſingle and unconfuſed, and it will ſerve him as a kind of rhetorical lever to lift and elevate his ſtile above the pitch of ordinary diſcourſe; let him alſo ſo apply this machine, as to make it touch in as many points as poſſible; otherwiſe it can never ſo poiſe the weight above it, as to keep it firm and ſteady on its proper center.

To give an example of the right uſe and application of this figure, I again apply to a learned author already quoted—"Our firſt parents having fallen from their native ſtate of innocence, the tincture of evil, like an hereditary diſeaſe, infected all their poſterity; and the leaven of ſin having once corrupted the whole maſs of mankind, all the ſpecies ever after would be ſoured and tainted with it; the vitious ferment perpetually diffuſing and propagating itſelf through all generations."—(*Bentley*, *Com. Sermon.*)

There will be found alſo in certain writers a profuſion of words, ramifying indeed from the ſame root, yet riſing into climax by their power and importance, which ſeems to burſt forth from the overflow and impetuoſity of the imagination; reſembling at firſt ſight what *Quintilian* characteriſes as the *Abundantia Juvenilis*, but which, when tempered by the hand of a maſter, will upon cloſer examination be found to bear the ſtamp of judgment under the appearance of precipitancy. I need only turn to the famous *Commencement Sermon* before quoted, and my meaning will be fully illuſtrated—"Let them tell us then what is the chain, the cement, the magnetiſm, what they will call it, the inviſible tie of that union, whereby matter and an incorporeal mind, things that have no ſimilitude or alliance to each other, can ſo ſympathize by a mutual league of motion and ſenſation. No; they will not pretend to that, for they can frame no conceptions of it: They are ſure there is ſuch an union from the operations and effects, but the cauſe and the manner of it are too ſubtle and ſecret to be diſcovered by the eye of reaſon; 'tis myſtery, 'tis divine magic, 'tis natural miracle."

Political Effects of the Junction between the great monied Intereſt and the philoſophical Cabals of France. *From* Burke's *Reflexions on the Revolution in* France.

IN the mean time, the pride of the wealthy men, not noble or newly noble, encreaſed with its cauſe. They felt with reſentment an inferiority, the grounds of which they did not acknowledge. There was no meaſure to which they were not willing to lend themſelves, in order to be revenged of the outrages of this rival pride, and to exalt their wealth to what they conſidered as its natural rank and eſtimation. They ſtruck at the nobility through the crown and the church. They attacked them particularly on the ſide on which they thought them the moſt vulnerable, that is, the poſſeſſions of the church, which, thro' the patronage of the crown, generally devolved upon the nobility. The biſhopricks, and the great commendatory abbies, were, with few exceptions, held by that order.

In this ſtate of real, though not always perceived warfare between the noble antient landed intereſt, and the new monied intereſt, the greateſt becauſe the moſt applicable ſtrength was in the hands of the latter. The monied intereſt is in its nature more ready for any adventure; and its poſſeſſors more diſpoſed to new enterprizes of any kind. Being of a recent acquiſition, it falls in more naturally with any novelties. It is therefore the kind of wealth which will be reſorted to by all who wiſh for change.

Along with the monied intereſt, a new deſcription of men had grown up, with whom that intereſt ſoon formed a cloſe and marked union; I mean the political men of letters. Men of letters, fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, are rarely averſe to innovation. Since the decline of the life and greatneſs of Lewis the XIVth, they were not ſo much cultivated either by him, or by the regent, or the ſucceſſors to the crown; nor were they engaged to the court by favours and emoluments ſo ſyſtematically as during the ſplendid period of that oſtentatious and not impolitic reign. What they loſt in the old court protection, they endeavoured to make up by joining in a ſort of incorporation of their own; to which the two academies of France, and afterwards the vaſt undertaking of the Encyclopædia, carried on by a ſociety of theſe gentlemen, did not a little contribute.

The literary cabal had ſome years ago formed ſomething like a regular plan for the deſtruction of the Chriſtian religion. This object they purſued with a degree of zeal which hitherto had been diſcovered only in the propagators of ſome ſyſtem of piety. They were poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of proſelytiſm in the moſt fanatical degree; and from thence, by an eaſy progreſs, with the ſpirit of perſecution according to their means. What was not to be done towards their great end by any direct or immediate act, might be wrought by a longer proceſs thro' the medium of opinion. To command that opinion, the firſt ſtep is to eſtabliſh a dominion over thoſe who direct it. They contrived to poſſeſs themſelves, with great method and perſeverance, of all the avenues to literary fame. Many of them indeed ſtood high in the ranks of literature and ſcience. The world had done them juſtice; and in favour of general talents forgave the evil tendency of their peculiar principles. This was true liberality; which they returned by endeavouring to confine the reputation of ſenſe, learning, and taſte to themſelves or their followers. I will venture to ſay that this narrow, excluſive ſpirit has not been leſs prejudicial to literature and to taſte, than to morals and true philoſophy. Theſe Atheiſtical fathers have a bigotry of their own; and they have learnt to talk againſt monks with the ſpirit of a monk. But in ſome things they are men of the world. The reſources of intrigue are called in to ſupply the defects of argument and wit. To this ſyſtem of literary monopoly was joined an unremitting induſtry to blacken and diſcredit in every way, and by every means, all thoſe who did not hold to their faction. To thoſe who have obſerved the ſpirit of their conduct, it has long been clear that nothing was wanted but the power of carrying the intolerance of the tongue and of the pen into a perſecution which would ſtrike at property, liberty, and life.

The deſultory and faint perſecution carried on againſt them, more from compliance with form and decency than with ſerious reſentment, neither weakened their ſtrength, nor relaxed their efforts. The iſſue of the whole was, that what with oppoſition, and what with ſucceſs, a violent and malignant zeal, of a kind hitherto unknown in the world, had taken an entire poſſeſſion of their minds, and rendered their whole converſation, which otherwiſe would have been pleaſing and inſtructive, perfectly diſguſting. A ſpirit of cabal, intrigue, and proſelytiſm, pervaded all their thoughts, words, and actions. And as controverſial zeal ſoon turns its thoughts on force, they began to inſinuate themſelves into a correſpondence with foreign princes; in hopes, through their authority, which at firſt they flattered, they might bring about the changes they had in view. To them it was indifferent whether theſe changes were to be accompliſhed by the thunderbolt of deſpotiſm, or by the earthquake of popular commotion. The correſpondence between this cabal, and the late king of Pruſſia, will throw no ſmall light upon the ſpirit of all their proceedings *. For the ſame purpoſe for which they intrigued with princes, they cultivated, in a diſtinguiſhed manner, the monied intereſt of France; and partly thro' the means furniſhed by thoſe whoſe peculiar offices gave them the moſt extenſive and certain means of communication, they carefully occupied all the avenues to opinion.

Writers, eſpecially when they act in a body, and with one direction, have great influence on the public mind; the alliance therefore of theſe writers with the monied intereſt had no ſmall effect in removing the

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* I do not chuſe to ſhock the feeling of the moral reader with any quotation of their vulgar, baſe, and profane language.

popular odium and envy which attended that ſpecies of wealth. Theſe writers, like the propagators of all novelties, pretended to a great zeal for the poor, and the lower orders, whilſt in their ſatires they rendered hateful, by every exaggeration, the faults of courts, of nobility, and of prieſthood. They became a ſort of demagogues. They ſerved as a link to unite, in favour of one object, obnoxious wealth to reſtleſs and deſperate poverty.

As theſe two kinds of men appear principal leaders in all the late tranſactions, their junction and politics will ſerve to account, not upon any principles of law or of policy, but as a *cauſe*, for the general fury with which all the landed property of eccleſiaſtical corporations has been attacked; and the great care which, contrary to their pretended principles, has been taken, of a monied intereſt originating from the authority of the crown. All the envy againſt wealth and power, was artificially directed againſt other deſcriptions of riches. On what other principles than that which I have ſtated can we account for an appearance ſo extraordinary and unnatural as that of the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, which had ſtood ſo many ſucceſſions of ages and ſhocks of civil violences, and were guarded at once by juſtice, and by prejudice, being applied to the payment of debts, comparatively recent, invidious, and contracted by a decried and ſubverted government?

POETRY.

ODE on NO ODE.

By PETER PINDAR, *Eſq.*

[*See* CHRONICLE, p. 193.]

WHAT! not a ſprig of annual metre,
Neither from Thomas nor from Peter
Who has ſhut up the laureat's *ſhop?*
Alas! "poor *Tom*'s a-cold," I fear;
For ſack "poor Tom" muſt drink ſmall-beer,
And lo!—of that a ſcanty drop!

St. James's, happy, happy court,
Where luxury is thought to ſport,
No more his tent ſhall Thomas pitch in;
Can Odes of praiſe and wiſdom cloy?
Shall Cæſar's bard no more enjoy
The run of mighty Cæſar's kitchen?

Loud roar of Helicon the floods,
Parnaſſus ſhakes through all his woods,
To think immortal verſe ſhould thus be ſlighted.
I ſee, I ſee the God of *Lyric* fire—
Drop ſuddenly his *jaw*, and *lyre*—
I hear, I hear the Muſes ſcream affrighted!

And now I mark the *Delphic* god
Prepare to ſpeak on this *no* Ode!
Hark to his ſolemn ſpeech: "Alas! alas!"
(He cries) "ſhall proſe record the glorious things
"Perform'd by glorious queens and kings?
"'Tis really ſetting *gems* in *braſs*."

Perchance the royal pair have puk'd with praiſe,
So lullabied, like children in the cradle!
Determin'd now to end the Laureat's days,
Who gives Fame's pap, the glutton! with a ladle.

Indeed, it is a generous mode of ſinning,
Yet ſets, unluckily, the world a grinning!
Perchance (his pow'rs for future actions hoarding)
George thinks the year boaſts nothing worth recording.

Yet what of that?—Tho' nought hath been *effected*,
Tom might have told us what might be *expected*;
Have ſaid that civil liſt ſhould ſigh no more,
And Charlotte give—a ſixpence to the poor!

ODE *for his* MAJESTY'S BIRTH DAY, *June* 4, 1790.

Written by the late Rev. Mr. T. WARTON.

I.

WITHIN what fountain's craggy cell
Delights the goddeſs Health to dwell?
Where from the rigid roof diſtils
Her richeſt ſtream in ſteely rills?
What mineral gems entwine her humid locks?
Lo, ſparkling high from potent ſprings,
To Britain's ſons her cup ſhe brings!
Romantic Matlock! are thy tufted rocks,
Thy fring'd declivities, the dim retreat
Where the coy Nymph has fix'd her favourite ſeat,
And hears, reclin'd along the thundering ſhore,
Indignant Darwent's deſultory tide
His rugged channel rudely chide?
Darwent, whoſe ſhaggy wreath is ſtain'd with Daniſh gore!

II.

Or does ſhe dreſs her Naiad-cave
With coral-ſpoils from Neptune's wave,
And hold ſhort revels with the train
Of nymphs that tread the neighb'ring main?
And from the cliffs of Avon's cavern'd ſide
Temper the balmy beverage pure,
That, fraught with "drops of precious cure,"
Brings back to trembling hope the drooping bride;
That in the virgin's cheek renews the roſe,
And wraps the eye of Pain in quick repoſe!
While oft ſhe climbs the mountain's ſhelving ſteeps,
And calls her votaries wan, to catch the gale
That breathes o'er Aſhton's elmy vale,
And from the Cambrian hills the billowy Severn ſweeps.

III.

Or broods the nymph with watchful wing
O'er ancient Badon's myſtic ſpring?
And ſpeeds from its ſulphureous ſource
The ſteamy torrent's ſecret courſe;
And fans th' eternal ſparks of hidden fire,
In deep unfathom'd beds below
By Bladud's magic taught to glow,

Bladud, high theme of fancy's Gothic lyre!
Or opes the healing Power her choſen fount
In the rich veins of Malvern's ample mount?
From whoſe tall ridge the noontide wanderer views
Pomona's purple realm, in April's pride,
Its blaze of bloom expanding wide,
And waving groves array'd in Flora's faireſt hues.

IV.

Haunts ſhe the ſcene, where Nature lowers
O'er Buxton's heath in lingering ſhowers?
Or loves ſhe more, with ſandal fleet,
In mattin dance the nymphs to meet
That on the flowery marge of Chelder play?
Who, boaſtful of the ſtately train
That deign'd to grace this ſimple plain,
Late, with new pride, along his reedy way,
Bore to Sabrina wreaths of brighter hue,
And mark'd his paſtoral urn with emblems new.—
Howe'er theſe ſtreams ambroſial may detain
Thy ſteps, O genial Health, yet not alone
Thy gifts the Naiad-ſiſters own;
Thine too the briny flood, and Ocean's hoar domain.

V.

And lo! amid the watery roar,
In Thetis' car ſhe ſkims the ſhore;
Where Portland's brows, embattled high
With rocks, in rugged majeſty
Frown o'er the billows, and the ſtorm reſtrain,
She beckons Britain's ſcepter'd pair
Her treaſures of the deep to ſhare!—
Hail then, on this glad morn, the mighty Main!
Which lends the boon divine of lengthen'd days
To Thoſe who wear the nobleſt regal bays:
That mighty Main, which on its conſcious tide,
Their boundleſs commerce pours on every clime,
Their dauntleſs banner bears ſublime;
Which wafts their pomp of war, and ſpreads their thunder wide!

PROLOGUE *to* KING JOHN, *performed by the Boys of Weſtminſter School. Spoken by Mr.* BOURKE.

HAVE you ne'er ſeen (a quaint device 'tis reckon'd),
In Dodſley's Poems, vol. I. page the ſecond,
A troop of *boys*, in ſportive guiſe, who bear
The arms of *Mars*, and attributes of war,
Aſſay the ſword to draw, the ſpear to wield,
And raiſe, with force combin'd, the maſſy ſhield

Whilſt one o'erwhelm'd, yet dreadful to the reſt,
Nods the dire plumes that threaten o'er his creſt!
Not quite ſo young, yet, as we hope, more fit,
Lo! we attempt, before this crowded pit,
In feudal arms, and royal robes, to ſtalk
With tragic dignity of mien and walk;
And, deck'd with terrors from *theatric ſhelves*,
Start at the *phantoms* we have *rais'd ourſelves*.
Yet, let not harſh ſeverity deride
Theſe early efforts of ingenuous pride:
Think, but how oft, with more inglorious art,
Men *mimick* us, and *act a boyiſh part.*
Whoe'er in trifles, or in traſh delights—
In truant ſport conſumes his days and nights—
Is *ſtill a boy*, however he may brag,
And well deſerves to ride on *Buſby's nag.*
Heavens, how they *multiply* by this *new rule!*
England itſelf is one great *public ſchool!*
With *many wicked boys*—O! dire diſaſter!—
Spite of the *good example of its Maſter!*—
Pardon our flippant wit—the ſcene, the ſtage
Inſpire, perhaps, this pert ſatyric rage—
We laſh not you, whom rather we muſt court,
To ſtoop your manly judgments to our ſport!
Nor wiſh you puniſhment, as things now ſtand,
Except a little *clapping* on the hand.

PROLOGUE *to* HIGH LIFE BELOW STAIRS, *performed by the ſame.* *Spoken by Mr.* BUNBURY.

WHEN firſt theſe ſcenes our author's pen deſign'd,
The *force* of *ton* was partial and confin'd;
Yet, even then, while faſhion yet was young,
Her rage was catching, and her influence ſtrong—
Swift from the travell'd beau and titled dame
Lacquies and Abigails confeſs'd the flame.
The vaſt ambition fires the menial band,
And *retail folies* bloom at *ſecond-hand.*
Does *Lovelace* drink or game? The *fop* beſtows
His *caſt-off vices* with his *caſt-off clothes.*
Does he redeem his loſſes at Duke's-place,
And raiſe ſupplies from *Iſrael*'s flinty race?
His gentleman purſues the ſame career—
And, "Damme—is diſtreſs'd like any peer;"
Follows thro' diſſipation's various ſtages,
Takes *money* on *reverſionary wages:*
Like *Lovelace*' ſelf, his waſting purſe recruits,
And grants *poſt-obits* upon *birth-day ſuits.*

“ High Life's the word!” The rage of imitation
Burns high in every breaſt throughout the nation,
The phrenzy rages wide each paſſing hour,
Exhibits growing *Ton*'s encreaſing pow'r:
On ev'ry brain the changeful Dæmon flies,
Now bids *toupees* to *fall*—now *capes* to riſe;
Now, at his word, th' obedient muſlin ſwells,
And beaux, with “ Monſtrous Craws,” peep out at pouting belles:
No longer now confin'd to courtly air,
Taſte ſweeps reſiſtleſs on thro' Temple Bar;
Above, below, the wild contagion ſpreads,
And dreams of faſhion float round city heads.
Sir *Balaam*'s toils have realiz'd a plum!
My lady's ſpirit kindles at the ſum.
“ Lard, *lovey*, who can live in Lombard-ſtreet?
“ Haſte, let us quit the mercantile retreat.
“ Here we grub on—while wealth no fame beſtows—
“ We're *nobody* that *any-body* knows.
“ How vain the cumb'rous pride of opulence!
“ Let faſhion rule, and taſte direct expence.”
Thus ſpeaks the glory of my *Lord Mayor's ball*,
The pond'rous *Hilligſberg* of *Grocers-hall*.
Thus ſpeaks the fair, and gives her wiſhes vent,
The paſſive huſband nods a gruff aſſent.
Now civic joys, and *Lombard-ſtreet* farewel,
My lady quits you all, for dear *Pall-Mall*.
By brilliant equipage and depth of play,
At length to certain ſets ſhe makes her way;
And gains the point her heart deſir'd ſo long,
To flounce and flounder in exceſs of *ton*.
Yet ſome there are, and thoſe high life can boaſt,
With nobler claims than thoſe of wit or toaſt;
Whoſe rank and faſhion are their Virtue's foils— [*Bowing to the Audience.*]
Their approbation may o'er-pay our toils.

EPILOGUE *to the* CONSTANT COUPLE. *Written by Mr.* BLACKSTONE. *Spoken by Mrs.* GOODALL, *in the Character of Sir* HARRY WILDAIR, *at Lord* BARRYMORE's *private Theatre at* Wargrave.

“ FAREWEL th' impaſſion'd vow, the tender war,
“ The well-feign'd frown, the nail-indented ſcar,
“ The ſong of triumph, and the melting tone,
“ Farewel—poor *Wildair*'s occupation's gone!”
Each *Fopling*'s rival, and each *fair one*'s flame,
To a mere *huſband* dwindled, dull and tame!
No more the charmers liſp, “ Dear, ſweet ſir *Harry!*”
'Sdeath! what could tempt a *Beau Garçon* to marry?
'Tis true that I no mighty hazard ran,
The *conſtant* colonel was the bolder man;

My lovely mate's to no exceſs inclin'd,
Her name the faithful index of her mind;
But my friend's ſpouſe is quite *au fait* at jilting;
Her fav'rite ſport, two rival lovers tilting.
'Twas boldly ventur'd, faith!—but come what will,
Three thouſand pounds a year may gild the pill.
Well, we *may* boaſt, yet ſtill the fair, with eaſe,
Can wind us mighty men which way they pleaſe:
Late rav'd the colonel, "Woman's form'd to vex!"
Behold him now the champion of the ſex;
Ready, in their defence, to yield his life;
I almoſt think he'd riſque it for his wife:
Hence—that the honey-moon's but young, 'tis plain,
He'll alter ſtrangely ere 'tis in the wane.
Confeſs, ye fair, this ſoldier pleaſes you;
You've *ſeen* him *brave*,—and therefore *know* him *true*;
For *cowards* only wrong the ſacred truſt,
But the *brave ſpirit* DARES NOT be unjuſt.
Oft has one tender plaint, one deep-drawn ſigh,
One anxious tear, diſtream'd from beauty's eye,
Diſſolv'd to infant tenderneſs the heart
Which, undiſmay'd, ſuſtain'd the *Roman*'s part;
And, 'mid th' enſanguin'd field of honour, roſe
Sternly ſuperior to a hoſt of foes;
While the pale coward ſhrinks from *manly* ſtrife,
And proves *his* courage on his helpleſs wife.
But tho' my friend's the *hero* of the play,
He muſt not bear the honour *all* away!
With *him* our whole dramatic band agree,
In praiſe, and practice too—of conſtancy.
He's true to love, but *Clincher* * is as true,
As ſteady to his wiſh of pleaſing you.
Kindly indulgent too, yourſelves, ere-while,
Amply repaid *Scrub*'s † efforts with a ſmile;
And in good humour, ſure, you'll conſtant be,
And *Clincher*, then, here finds the *Jubilee!*

* * * * * * *

‡ But ſhould you ſcan us with too nice an eye,
And, judging hardly, all applauſe deny;
Againſt your natures, *fickle* prove,—and frown,
Where we had hop'd your favour would be ſhown;
Still, ſtill, will every heart exulting join
In *conſtant* fealty to the *BRUNSWICK* line.

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* Lord Barrymore himſelf performed the part of *Beau Clincher*.

† The laſt theatrical repreſentation at Wargrave was "The Beaux Stratagem," in which his lordſhip played *Scrub*.

‡ The laſt ſix lines were written for the evening on which his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales honoured the performance with his preſence.

EPILOGUE *to* EUDORA, *a Tragedy.*

By Mr. HAYLEY.

OH, what a ſubject's here for modern ſpleen!
The curtain drops upon a bloodleſs ſcene!
No ſcatter'd daggers here appal the ſight,
No heroes the unduſted carpet bite,
Nor broken groans eke out the dying rant,
And leave the ſpeaker when ſtone dead, to pant!
The heroine too—how ſpiritleſs and poor!
Cut from her wonted graces—on the floor!
'Twas her's "in airy threads to ſpin her breath,
"And like the ſilk-worm ſpin herſelf to death.
"On lap of confidant, her eye-lids clos'd,"
In ſatin folds her rage-tir'd limbs compos'd;
Till in her trance prepar'd, with change of feature,
She ſtarts again to life, a new-form'd creature:
Each look, each geſture of a former kind
Left, with the ſkin of Tragedy, behind;
Pert, flippant, playful, pat for comic vogue,
Behold the butterfly—an Epilogue—
See how on fancy's wing ſhe flits away,
And culls the opening humours of the day!
Heav'ns! what a growth this rich parterre ſupplies!
How faſhion ſhoots! how whim diverſifies!
What buds of folly on the ſtem of reaſon!
'Tis all unnatural bloom this open ſeaſon;
And Nature, baffled in her plaſtic power,
The extract mocks, the promiſe of the flower.
Thus may the maiden-bluſh that faireſt ſhows
Prove, on the teſt, an artificial roſe;
And full-blown widows breathing ſweets—of money,
When taſted, yield—ſtrange compound!—bitter honey.
Now into critic heads the rover dips—
How our poor author trembles as ſhe ſips!
Speak for yourſelves, dread ſirs! ſevere or placid!
Will you diſpenſe your ſugar—or your acid?
Some ſmile, propitious as the genial morn,
And others ſhake their heads—of withering thorn.
Here ceaſe the trifling of this gew-gaw worm—
The ſerious Muſe reſumes her priſtine form.
The ſcenes of guilt from foreign climes ſhe drew,
But for the virtues kept this ſoil in view,
Where cultur'd honour blooms, in manly youth,
And beauty's boſom proves the bed of truth.

EPILOGUE *to the* WONDER. *Spoken by Mrs.* CRESPIGNY, *in the Character of* VIOLANTE, *at the Cloſe of her Theatricals.*

THO', in this play, I've borne the heroine's part,
Its fooliſh title rankles in my heart.
A *woman keeps a ſecret*—THIS THE WONDER!
O, I ſhall prove it an egregious blunder!
In ages paſt, indeed, when woman's power
Was circumſcrib'd, juſt like her ſcanty dower;
When pin-money—dear bleſſing! was unknown,
And we had nothing we could call our own;
In ſome dull Gothic hall we paſs'd our lives,
And work'd, and walk'd, and pros'd with farmers' wives;
Then ſcarce a carriage did the doors approach,
And Sunday, only, ſaw the great old coach.
A *ſecret then*—O, 'twas a charming thing
To whiſper till it made the village ring!
But times are ſweetly chang'd—our manners, faſhions,
Conduct, behaviour, nay, our very paſſions!
And *tell-tale women* often now *conceal*
Events, which *men* are anxious to *reveal*;
For, when quick circling bowls their ſpirits raiſe,
In fancy's borrow'd beams they fondly blaze;
The wink, the nod, the ſhrug, they call to aid,
And boaſt of conqueſts they have never made.—
Secrets indeed!—'tis now become THE WONDER,
If *man* can keep his *boaſting* paſſion under.
The world's quite chang'd—things go a different way—
Now *women* tyrannize, and *men* obey—
Yet, we can all find ſome good-natur'd friend,
Who lets us know how very few commend.
E'en *here*, perhaps, ſome, with a ſhrug, will own,
"They think this acting better let alone."
If there are any ſuch wiſe cenſors here,
I fain would whiſper ſomething in their ear—
"What motive prompts this genius-damping ſneer?"
If it be judgment from all envy free,
They then ſhall make a convert too of me:
But while from each dramatic bard I learn
The genuine form of Virtue to diſcern;
While, hid in ſhapes that captivate all eyes,
Inſtruction comes in Pleaſure's luring guiſe,
My heart forbids me to be ſway'd by fears
Which blaſt the joys that Innocence uprears:
But a thought riſes which muſt damp my fire,
And make each kindling ſpark at once expire—

Deteſted thought! It paints a parting ſcene,
And proves our pleaſures but a tranſient dream.
Tho' Fame to Aſia's ſhore for laurels ſped,
And twines them round our Iſabella's head;
Tho' Frederick, *here*, has Roſcius' fires renew'd,
And we, in him, a ſecond Garrick view'd;
Tho' Felix with ſuch energy complains,
And tells his love in ſuch pathetic ſtrains;
Nay, did ſo meltingly for pardon ſue,
One almoſt wiſh'd the ſweet deluſion true:
Tho' to our ſprightly Colonel's taſte, you know,
My ſtage, my ſcenes, and all that's *here* I owe;
Save theſe Aonian Nymphs—for whom I bend
To Iſabella's all-accompliſh'd friend:
Tho' at Liſſardo's birth Thalia ſmil'd,
And own'd him for her lov'd and favourite child;
Tho' Flora, *here*, and Inis ſcold and cry,
Till laughter ſits in each *beholder*'s eye;
Tho' Lopez and Don Pedro, in good truth,
Have age's wiſdom blended with their youth;
Tho' Violante's trueſt ſmiles appear,
When ſocial Mirth and partial *friends* are *here*;
Yet 'tis a fact—and ſure this is "THE WONDER,"
That ties like theſe muſt now be broke aſunder!

PROLOGUE *to* BETTER LATE THAN NEVER, *a Comedy, by* Mr. ANDREWS.

Written by his Grace the Duke of LEEDS.

And ſpoken by Mr. BANNISTER, jun.

CUSTOM commands a Prologue to each Play;
But Cuſtom hath not told us what to ſay:
No form preſcrib'd, 'tis difficult to find,
How to conciliate the public mind.
The baſhful Bard—the modeſt Muſe's fears,
So long have jingled in your patient ears,
That now, perhaps, you'll ſcarce vouchſafe to ſtay,
To hear both their Apology—and Play.
No! Better ſure on him at once to call,
With—"Sir, if frighten'd thus, why write at all?
We're not reduc'd yet to a trembling pen!
Zounds! Bards will croud us ſoon, like—Gentlemen."
Something like this, I heard a friend once ſay,
Who wiſh'd (poor ſoul) to hear a new-launch'd Play:

Box'd ſnug at firſt, completely to his mind,
With only one grave auditor behind;
Ere the third act had ſtruggled to its end,
In reel'd three critics, each the author's friend—
On praiſe determin'd—wit confirm'd by wine;
Each And! and If! was chaſte—correct—damn'd fine.
To taſte ſo mark'd, my friend, of courſe, gave way;
But ſqueez'd, thump'd, kick'd—ſtill liſten'd to the play;
Till by repeated plaudits grown ſo ſore,
Nor fleſh nor blood could bear one comment more.
Such boiſt'rous friends they ſurely cannot need,
Who wiſh by merit only to ſucceed.
To-night we offer to the public view,
A character, you'll own, perhaps, is new;
From Doctor's Commons we the model draw;
A promiſing elève of Civil Law;
And Civil ſure that Law which can provide
Or (ſhou'd need be) releaſe you from a bride.
Thrice bleſs'd the manſion where, in ſpite of ills,
Alive or *dead*, you ſtill can have your wills.
Much could I offer in our Author's cauſe;
Nay, prove his firſt great object—your applauſe;
But, leſt dull Friendſhip ſhould his genius wrong,
I'll ſtop—before the Prologue grows too long,
And *Better late than never* hold my tongue.

PROLOGUE, *ſpoken in* 1781, *at the Theatre in* WINCHESTER, *which adjoins to, or is over the Shambles.*

By the late THOMAS WARTON.

WHOE'ER our houſe examines, muſt excuſe
The wond'rous ſhifts of the Dramatic Muſe;
Then kindly liſten, while the Prologue rambles
From wit to beef; from Shakeſpeare to the Shambles.
Divided only by a flight of ſtairs,
The Monarch ſwaggers, or the Butcher ſwears.
Quick the tranſition when the curtain drops,
From meek Monimia's moans to mutton chops.
While for Lothario's loſs Caliſta cries,
Old women ſcold, and dealers d—n your eyes.
Here Juliet liſtens to the gentle lark;
There, in harſh chorus, hungry bull-dogs bark.
Cleavers and ſcymitars give blow for blow,
And heroes bleed above, and ſheep below.
While tragic thunders ſhake the pit and box,
Rebellows to the roar the ſtagg'ring ox:

Cow-horns and trumpets mix their martial tones,
Kidnies and Kings, mouthing and marrow-bones;
Suet and ſighs, blank verſe and blood abound,
And form a tragi-comedy around.
With weeping lovers, dying calves complain,
Confuſion reigns, and Chaos comes again.
Hither your ſteelyards, Butchers, bring to weigh
The pound of fleſh Antonio's bond muſt pay;
Hither your knives, ye Chriſtians clad in blue,
Bring, to be wetted by the cruel Jew.
Hard is our lot, who, ſeldom doom'd to eat,
Caſt a ſheep's eye on this forbidden treat;
Gaze on ſirloins, which, ah! we muſt not carve,
And in the midſt of legs of mutton, ſtarve!
But wou'd you to our houſe in crouds repair,
Ye gen'rous Captains, and ye blooming fair,
The fate of Tantalus we ſhould not fear,
Nor pine for a repaſt that lies ſo near;
Monarchs no more wou'd ſupperleſs remain,
Nor pregnant Queens for cutlets long in vain.

VERSES *by Sir* JOHN HARYNGTON.

To his WIFE.—*Of Womens Vertues.*

A WELL learn'd man, in rules of life no Stoyk,
  Yet one that careles epicures derided,
  Of weomens vertues talking, them devided
In three, the private, civill, and heroyke.

And what he ſaid of theiſe, to tell you briefly,
  He firſt began diſcourſing of the private,
  Which each playn cuntry huſwife may arive at,
As homely, and that home concearneth chiefly.

The fruit, malt, hops, to tend, to dry, to utter,
  To beat, ſtrip, ſpin the woll, the hemp, the flax,
  Breed poultry, gather honey, try the wax,
And more than all to have good cheeſe and butter.

Then next a ſtep, but yet a lardge ſtep higher,
  Was civill vertue, fitter for the citty,
  With modeſt lookes, good cloths, and anſwers witty,
Thoſe baſer things not done but guided by her.

Her idle tymes and ydle coyne ſhe ſpends
  On needle works; and, when the ſeaſon ſarvs,
  In making dainty junketts and conſarvs
To welcom in kynd ſort his deareſt frends.

But far above them all, he moſt extolled
The ſtately Heroyns, whoſe noble minde
Itſelf to thoſe poor orders cannot bynde,
Anomelous that ſtill live uncontrol'd.

Theis intertayn great princes; theis have learned
The tongs, toys, tricks of Rome, of Spayn, of Fraunce;
Theis can correntos and lavoltas daunce,
And though they foote it falſe 'tis near diſcearned.

The vertues of theis dames are ſo tranſcendant,
Themſelvs are learn'd, and their heroyke ſpirit
Can make diſgrace an honor, ſin a merit;
All pens, all prayſers are on them dependant.

Well, gentle wife, thou knowſt I am not ſtoycall,
Yet would I wiſh, take not the wiſh in evill,
You knew the private vertue, kept the civill,
But in no ſort aſpire to that hearoycall.

To my WIFE.

YOUR mother layes yt to me as a cryme,
That I ſo long do ſtay from you ſometime,
And by her fond ſurmiſe would make you feare
My love doth grow more cold, or leſs ſinceare :-
But let no cauſles doubts make you beleeve
That being falſe yt being trew would greeve.

I, when I goe from thee the furtheſt diſtance,
Do in my ſoule, by my true-loves aſſiſtance,
Inſted of ſweet imbracements, dove-like kiſſes,
Send kindeſt thoughts, and moſt indeered wiſhes :—
Then letters, then kind tokens paſs, and then
My buſie Muſe imployes my ydle pen.

Then memory in loves defence alledges
Seavn organ-pipes, our loves aſſured pledges.
Alas, how many live ſtill with their wives,
Yet in true kindneſs abſent all their lives!—
Abſence is true loves ſauce, and ſerves to whet it—
They never lov'd whom abſence makes forget it.

VERSES *to Sir* JOSHUA REYNOLDS, *on his late Reſignation of the Preſident's Chair of the* ROYAL ACADEMY.

By the Earl of CARLISLE.

TOO wiſe for conteſt, and too meek for ſtrife,
Like Lear, oppreſs'd by thoſe you rais'd to life,
Thy ſceptre broken, thy dominion o'er,
The curtain falls, and thou'rt a king no more.—

Still, near the wreck of thy demoliſh'd ſtate,
Truth and the weeping Muſe with me ſhall wait;
Science ſhall teach Britannia's ſelf to moan,
And make, O injur'd friend! thy wrongs her own.
Shall we forget, when, with inceſſant toil,
To thee 'twas giv'n to turn the ſtubborn ſoil—
To thee, with flow'rs to deck our dreary waſte,
And kill the pois'nous weeds of vicious taſte;
To pierce the gloom where England's Genius ſlept,
Long of ſoft love and tenderneſs bereſt;
From his young limbs to tear the bands away,
And bid the Infant Giant run and play?
  Dark was the hour, the age an age of ſtone,
When Hudſon claim'd an empire of his own;
And from the time, when, darting rival light,
Vandyke and Rubens cheer'd our northern night;
Thoſe twin ſtars ſet, the Graces all had fled,
Yet paus'd, to hover o'er a Lely's head;
And ſometimes bent, when won with earneſt pray'r,
To make the gentle Kneller all their care;
But ne'er with ſmiles to gaudy Verrio turn'd,
No happy incenſe on his altars burn'd.
O! witneſs, Windſor! thy too paſſive walls,
Thy tortur'd ceilings, thy inſulted halls!
Lo! England's glory, Edward's conquering ſon,
Cover'd with ſpoils from Poictiers bravely won—
Yet no white plumes, no arms of ſable hue,
Mark the young hero to our raviſh'd view;
In buſkin trim and laurell'd helmet bright,
A well-dreſs'd Roman meets our puzzled ſight;
And Gallia's captive king, how ſtrange his doom!
A Roman too perceives himſelf become.
See too the miracles of God profan'd,
By the mad daubings of this impious hand;
For while the dumb exult in notes of praiſe,
While the lame walk, the blind in tranſports gaze—
While vanquiſh'd demons Heav'n's high mandates hear,
And the pale dead ſpring from the ſilent bier,
With lac'd cravat, long wig, and careleſs mien,
The Painter's preſent at the wond'rous ſcene!
  Vanloo and Dahl, theſe may more juſtly claim
A ſtep ſtill higher on the throne of Fame;
Yet to the weſt their courſe they ſeem to run,
The laſt red ſtreaks of a declining ſun.
  And muſt we Jervas name? ſo hard and cold,
In ermine robes, and peruke, only bold;
Or, when inſpir'd, his rapt'rous pencil own
The roll'd-up ſtocking and the damaſk gown!

Behold a taſteleſs age in wonder ſtand,
And hail him the Apelles of the land!
And Denner too—but yet ſo void of eaſe,
His figures tell you—they're forbid to pleaſe;
Nor in proportion nor expreſſion nice,
The ſtrong reſemblance is itſelf a vice;
As waxwork figures always ſhock the ſight,
Too near to human fleſh and ſhape, affright;
And when they beſt are form'd afford the leaſt delight.
Turn we from ſuch to thee, whoſe nobler art
Rivets the eye and penetrates the heart:
To thee, whom Nature, in thy earlieſt youth,
Fed with the honey of eternal Truth—
Then, by her fondling art, in happy hour,
Entic'd to Learning's more ſequeſter'd bower:
There all thy life of honours firſt was plann'd,
While Nature preach'd, and Science held thy hand—
When, but for theſe, condemn'd perchance to trace
The tireſome vacuum of each ſenſeleſs face,
Thou in thy living tints hadſt ne'er combin'd
All grace of form and energy of mind—
How, but for theſe, ſhould we have trembling fled
The guilty toſſings of a BEAUFORT's bed;
Or let the fountain of our ſorrows flow
At ſight of famiſh'd UGOLINO's woe?
Bent on revenge, ſhould we have penſive ſtood
O'er the pale Cherubs of the fatal Wood,
Caught the laſt perfume of their roſy breath,
And view'd them ſmiling at the ſtroke of death?
Should we have queſtion'd, ſtung with rage and pain,
The Spectre Line, with the diſtracted THANE?
Or, with ALCMENA's natural terror wild,
From the envenom'd ſerpent torn her child?
And muſt no more thy pure and claſſic page
Unfold its treaſures to the riſing age?
Nor from thy own Athenian temple pour
On liſt'ning youth, of art the copious ſtore?—
Hold up to Labour independent eaſe,
And teach Ambition all the ways to pleaſe!
With ready hand neglected Genius ſave,
Sick'ning, o'erlook'd in Miſ'ry's hidden cave;
And, nobly juſt, decide; the active mind
Neither to ſoil nor climate is confin'd!
Deſert not then my ſons; thoſe ſons who ſoon
Will mourn with me, and all their error own.
Thou muſt excuſe that raging fire, the ſame
Which lights their daily courſe to endleſs fame,

Alas! impels them, thoughtleſs, far to ſtray
From filial love and reaſon's ſober way.
Accept again thy pow'r—reſume the Chair,
" Nor leave it till—you place an Equal there."

ODE *to* JAMES BRUCE, *Eſq.*

Attributed to Mr. MASON.

HEAR Truth invite! hear Science plead;
Bold traveller, their voice attend!
Eager to give thee Honour's meed,
And hail thee as their public friend!—
Advent'rous Bruce, allow their claim!
And ſince thy toils at genuine glory aim,
Let thy accompliſh'd hand conſign thoſe toils to Fame!

What! though, to ſtrike the author mute,
Uplifting a ſarcaſtic hand,
(The gage of ſceptical diſpute!)
Detraction on the watch may ſtand
With Ignorance leagu'd—an hideous pair!
Who ſtop warm Genius, with petrific ſtare,
In all his bright purſuits, in every generous care!

'Twas brave diſdain of theſe baſe foes
That form'd the demi-gods of old;
By this, to modern glory roſe
The names that Learning has enroll'd.—
Theſe, then, who prey on worth ſublime,
Theſe foes contemn, the peſts of every clime!
Though worſe thou could'ſt not meet in Egypt's quick'ning ſlime!

Eager to cruſh their reptile ſpite,
With thee in firm alliance ſtand
Spirits, who feaſt on mental light,
Virtue and Science hand in hand!—
" Whate'er thy wide reſearch might find,
" Impart," they cry, " to benefit mankind
" With intellectual food, with opulence of mind!"

Since rival arts thy life have grac'd,
Give not thy aid to one alone!
Though Burney, with diſcerning taſte,
Implor'd that aid in friendſhip's tone;—
Burney! whoſe leaves thy talents tell;
Burney! hiſtorian of the tuneful ſhell;
Of excellence the friend, and faſhion'd to excel!

See all the Arts, (a ſocial tribe!)
With friendly zeal around thee wait,
Keen from thy ſpirit to imbibe
New lights to dignify their ſtate!
From thee, with rare experience fraught,
They aſk what Afric's unknown genius taught,
Loſt knowledge to revive, or aid inventive thought.

Doſt thou not ſee in ſolemn dreams,
Oft as thy letter'd vigils ceaſe,
The ſire of life-ſupporting ſtreams,
Parent of commerce, wealth, and peace,
Imperial Nile, before thee riſe?—
My mental eye his awful form eſpies,
While the indignant Power in honeſt anger cries:

"O Bruce, by my indulgence led
"To ſcenes no ancients might explore,
"To thoſe coy fountains latent head,
"Whence all my genial gifts I pour;
"Since I, as kind as thou waſt bold,
"Shew'd thee my wonders, why doſt thou withhold
"What Science bids thy hand to all her ſons unfold?

"Remember, as my fruitful tide
"Throws verdant life on lands below;
"So, round the world, 'tis Britain's pride
"New ſtreams of mental light to throw!
"And happieſt they, though Envy lower,
"Who moſt increaſe thy country's richeſt power,
"Her radiance of renown, from intellectual dower!"

INSTRUCTIONS *to a* PORTER;

By the late Mr. BEDDINGFIELD, *of* NEWCASTLE.

YOU, to whoſe care I've now conſign'd
My houſe's entrance, caution uſe
While you diſcharge your truſt, and mind
Whom you admit, and whom refuſe.

Let no fierce Paſſions enter here,
Paſſions the raging breaſt that ſtorm,
Nor ſcornful *Pride*, nor ſervile *Fear*,
Nor *Hate*, nor *Envy*'s pallid form.

Should *Av'rice* call—you'll let her know
Of heap'd-up riches I've no ſtore,
And that ſhe has no right to go
Where Plutus has not been before.

Lo! on a viſit hither bent,
High-plum'd *Ambition* ſtalks about;
But ſhould he enter, ſweet *Content*
Will give me warning—ſhut him out.

Perhaps the *Muſe* may paſs this way,
And tho' full oft I've bent the knee,
And long invok'd her magic ſway,
Smit with the love of harmony;

Alone tho' ſhe might pleaſe—yet ſtill
I know ſhe'll with *Ambition* come;
With luſt of fame my heart ſhe'll fill,
She'll break my reſt—I'm not at home.

There is a raſcal old and hideous,
Who oft (and ſometimes not in vain)
Cloſe at my gate has watch'd aſſiduous,
In hopes he might admittance gain;

His name is *Care*—if he ſhould call,
Quick out of doors with vigour throw him;
And tell the miſcreant once for all
I know him not, I ne'er will know him.

Perhaps then Bacchus, foe to *Care*,
May think *he'll* ſure my favour win;
His promiſes of joy are fair
But falſe—you muſt not let him in.

But welcome that ſweet Power, on whom
The young *Deſires* attendant move,
Still fluſh'd with Beauty's vernal bloom,
Parent of bliſs, the *Queen of Love.*

O! you will know her, ſhe has ſtole
The luſtre of my Delia's eye;
Admit her, hail her—for my ſoul
Breathes double life when ſhe is nigh.

If then ſtern *Wiſdom* at my gate
Should knock, with all her formal train,
Tell her I'm buſy—ſhe may wait,
Or, if ſhe chuſes—call again.

By the Rev. Fr. Blackburne, M. A. *late Archdeacon of* Cleveland.

Lycidas to Prudentia.

DESCEND, fair Stoic, from thy flights;
From Nature learn to know
Our paſſions are the needful weights,
That make our virtues go.

Prudentia to Lycidas.

True, Lycidas; but think not ſo
Another truth to ſhun;
Our paſſions make our virtues go,
But make our vices run.

Extracts from Arthur, *a Poetical Romance, in ſeven books;*

By Richard Hole.

PRAISE be the warrior's meed, who ſeeks to riſe
By virtuous acts, by deeds of bold emprize,
O'er dark oblivion; and in time's deſpight,
Beneath whoſe waſteful courſe, in endleſs night,
Succeſſive ages ſink, and paſs unknown,
Aſpires to make futurity his own.
Such Arthur was: the ſong preſerv'd his fame;
And oft our fathers kindled at the name:
When wand'ring minſtrels to the feeling heart
The ſtrains of nature, undeprav'd by art,
Addreſt; and crouded halls were taught to ring
With the bold acts of Britain's matchleſs king.
Thoſe days are paſt: the vocal ſtrain no more
Is heard, that charm'd our fathers' hearts of yore.
Now, ſole memorial of their echoing halls,
Claſp'd by rude ivy, nod the mould'ring walls:
In cumb'rous heaps are ſtretch'd the ſtately towers,
While noxious weeds uſurp the roſeate bow'rs;
And, long enfolded in death's cold embrace,
Silent have ſlept the minſtrels' gentle race.
Yet ſtill his name ſurvives; nor deem it vain,
That one, the meaneſt of the tuneful train,
Caught by the lofty theme, with feebler lays
Preſumes t' unfold a tale of other days.
Such, as of old to Fancy's ear addreſt,
Perchance had ſtruck the ſympathiſing breaſt;
When lovely were our maids, and brave our youth,
When virtue valour crown'd, and beauty truth.
The day's bright ruler, from his airy ſteep
Deſcending, plung'd beneath the weſtern deep;

When, o'er the rocks that gird Ebuda's ſide,
Brave the wild winds, and ſurging waves deride,
The full-orb'd moon her radiant brow diſplay'd,
And the blue ſky in ſoften'd light array'd;
With quivering luſtre deck'd the purple flood,
And edg'd with ſilver gleams the duſky wood.
  Ivar, who trac'd his birth from ſires renown'd,
A generous youth, beſide the vaſt profound,
In meditation wrapt, purſues his courſe
Along the beach; while, with diminiſh'd force,
Fainter and fainter, from the ſhelving ſhore
The murmuring waves retreat with hollow roar.
  Soon on th' horizon's utmoſt verge deſcry'd,
A fleet, dim-gliding on the diſtant tide,
Appears: at times the [illegible] white ſails in light
Are cloath'd, at times they vaniſh from his ſight.
  While o'er the main he bends his anxious eyes,
From high Conagra dreadful ſounds ariſe,
Where darkly-frowning its projected ſteep
In wide-ſtretch'd ſhade involves the roaring deep;
That king of mountains, whoſe proud height to gain
The feeble race of man would toil in vain.
On his aſtoniſh'd ear with hideous yell
Thus burſt the ſtrain that aw'd the powers of hell:
  "Shall hated light ſtill clothe theſe azure ſkies,
Dæmons of dire revenge?—awake, ariſe!
Forego your dreary cells where horror reigns;
In gloom congenial wrap yon ſpangled plains!
The vault of heaven with winds conflicting rend,
And with the clouds the ſurging billows blend!—
Say, muſt we vainly thus your aid invoke?
For this does blood upon your altars ſmoke?
Do we for this the ſouls of mortals fire
With rage unpitying, and vindictive ire?
The race abhorr'd with cauſeleſs ills annoy,
And aid your hate? awake, ariſe, deſtroy!"
  As upward now he turn'd his wond'ring eyes,
Of fearful mein, and, more than mortal ſize,
Three female forms appear'd; in myſtic rite
Engag'd, they traced the mountain's dizzy height
In circling courſe; whilſt wide behind them flew
Their ſable locks, and robes of ruſſet hue,
As with demeanor wild, and outſtretch'd arms,
They rouz'd th' infernal powers:—their direful charms
At length prevail. Th' increaſing ſhades of night
Cloſe dark around, and veil them from his ſight.
  Now, by the potency of magic found,
Th' aſpiring mountain to its baſe profound

Convulſive ſhook: the birds that uſed to ſweep
In crouded flight around the dizzy ſteep,
(As grey-robed vapors, driven before the ſtorm,
Float on the winds in many a varied form),
Rous'd from their ſecret clefts, with piercing cry,
Thro' the dun air in countleſs myriads fly.
From ev'ry point of heav'n red meteors glide
In ſtreaming radiance to the mountain's ſide,
Thick and more thick; then to its height aſpire,
And form a rampart of encircling fire.
   But tho' in ſplendor roſe the mountain's head,
The robe of darkneſs o'er the ſky was ſpread;
Portentous darkneſs—"Powers of earth and air!"
Ebuda's youth thus rais'd the ſuppliant prayer,
"Ye, who o'er nature's wide domains preſide!
Ye, who thro' boundleſs ſpace benignly guide
Heaven's cheering orbs! who thro' the ethereal plain
Roll the deep thunder, or its rage reſtrain!
Whoſe pow'r can check the lightning's darted ray,
And bid the ſtorm in whiſpers die away,
Aſſiſt the race of man!—behold, unbound,
The *Powers of evil* urge their waſteful round!
The dæmon of deſtruction is abroad,—
And his yon dreadful ſcene!—Beneath his load
Conagra trembles—bind, oh bind again
This fury in your adamantine chain!"—
   He ceas'd; for, echoing from the mountain's head,
Again the ſounds that ſtruck his ſoul with dread
More direful roſe.—"Seize, ſeize, the fated hour:
On yonder fleet the ſtorm of vengeance pour!
Deſcend ye clouds of death! ye fiends ariſe!
Burſt forth ye ſtorms, and mingle ſeas and ſkies!"
   And now the ſplendor that encloſ'd the ſteep,
In ſparks of fire flew diverſe o'er the deep,
Kindling the nitrous clouds: with livid glare
The lightning ſtream'd along the troubled air;
Tremendous thunder thro' the vaſt profound
In peals redoubled roll'd its awful ſound:
In darkneſs ſailing thro' th' affrighted ſkies
The dæmons pour'd their death-denouncing cries.
At times, their forms of dread the lurid light
Diſcloſ'd, and ſwell'd the horrors of the night.
   Awhile the youth lay proſtrate on the ground,
When rous'd in terror by a mightier ſound
Of long-continu'd thunder, thro' the ſky
He mark'd with keener blaze the lightning fly:
Saw, as it flaſh'd againſt Conagra's height,
Out-jutting craigs, and rocks of ponderous weight,

Precipitate deſcend with hideous roar,
And daſh the wild waves o'er the trembling ſhore.
A mountain-billow burſt before his view,
And on the ſtrand a hapleſs warrior threw.
Sudden the raging winds their fury ceaſe:
The ſtorm-vex'd waves ſubſide, and ſink to peace.
Thro' ſcattering clouds, their fleecy robes in light
Array'd, majeſtic towers the queen of night:
Thick-gleaming ſtars the vault of heaven adorn,
Like dew-drops gliſt'ning to the beam of morn.
Tho' ſoft compaſſion in the gentle breaſt
Of Ivar ſwell'd, yet fear awhile repreſt
His doubtful ſteps; he ſaw the ſtranger riſe,
And wildly roll around his wond'ring eyes.
Stately his form; and mingled in his face
The charms of youth, and manhood's riper grace
Vied for pre-eminence: a ponderous ſpear
He held, that not the raging waves could tear
From his ſtrong graſp: his boſom oft he ſtruck,
And, upwards gazing, caſt to heaven a look,
In which indignant rage, with grief combin'd,
Expreſt the mix'd emotions of his mind.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

On his barb'd ſteed, that proudly paw'd the ground,
There, clad in ſteel, the ſtern Norwegian frown'd.
In looſe array, wide ſcatter'd o'er the plain,
Ruſh'd Thule's bands, and Gotia's archer train.
Not e'en Laponia's ſtorm-wrapt coaſt could ſcreen
Her harmleſs offspring from the deathful ſcene.
Compell'd by Norway's gloomy lord they rear
The targe fur-cinctur'd, and the bone-tipp'd ſpear.
By fiſh, roots, herbs, the gentle race were fed;
The ſunleſs cave their dwelling, earth their bed.
On roaring ſeas in ſlight canoes to ſail,
With well-aim'd darts to pierce th' unwieldy whale;
Their deſtin'd courſe to make the rein-deer know,
Steer the ſmooth ſledge o'er trackleſs waſtes of ſnow;
T' entrap the wily fox, the bird enſnare;
On floating ice ſurpriſe the ſluggiſh bear;
Theſe were their arts alone—unfit to wield
The arms of heroes in th' embattled field.
Their ſoothing hope that ſoon theſe toils would ceaſe,
And Genii guide them to the bowers of peace:
Where, in the land of ſouls, a bliſsful ſhore,
No ruthleſs tyrants ſhould moleſt them more.
No tempeſts rage, no hail, nor ſnow deſcend,
No fearful lightning glare, nor thunder rend

Heaven's azure vault, but cloudleſs radiance gild
The ſky, and ceaſeleſs verdure deck the field.
  Foremoſt the king advanc'd, and bade the ſound,
That calls to battle, riſe: his bards renown'd,
Oſwald and Eric thus his will obey:
The plain re-echoes to the lofty lay.
  "Dark on his cloud, unſeen by mortal eye,
The ruler of the battle ſits on high,
Dread Odin, firſt of heavenly powers ador'd,
With ſhafts of death ten thouſand quivers ſtor'd
Stand by his ſide: The fatal bow he bends,
And wide around the rapid ſhower deſcends.
In ſilence flits thro' air each viewleſs dart,
And fills with torturing pangs the daſtard's heart.
To Hela's drear abodes embrown'd in night,
Their feeble ſpirits urge their downward flight.
Not ſo the brave, no fears their minds controul,
Unfelt their wounds, unvanquiſh'd is their ſoul.
Death then is more than victory!—The God
Of battle hails them to his bright abode.
For them he bids the plenteous banquet ſhine,
And the bowl flow with Hydromel divine.
Riſe then, exulting in your might ariſe!
Conqueſt or death alike the valiant prize.
This, ſhall your days on earth with honour crown;
That, ſeat you mid the gods, and chiefs of old renown."
  While thus the bards awak'd th' inſpiring ſong,
Extatic fury ſeiz'd the martial throng:
And, as the cloſe-compacted lines advance,
(Thro' winter's watry cloud thus ſun-beams glance,
When threatning ſtorms th' unſhelter'd ſwain affright)
On either ſide full many a gallant knight,
Burſt thro' the gloom of war with looſen'd rein,
Couch'd the ſtrong lance, and blaz'd athwart the plain.
  More dreadful now the din of battle grows;
Spears claſh with ſpears, with bucklers bucklers cloſe,
Shrill flits the arrow from the twanging ſtring,
And ſtones on batter'd mail rebounding ring.
The keen-edg'd falchion, helm, and hawberk rends;
The ponderous axe with thundering ſound deſcends,
The trump's loud clangors mixt with dying cries,
And ſhouts of wrathful heroes ſhake the ſkies.
  Th' unhallow'd ſiſters to the clouds repair,
And darkly-hovering on the wings of air,
Like famiſh'd vulturs, mark'd with keen delight
The fall of warriors, and the waſte of fight.
  Here, furious Hacon with reſiſtleſs force
Thro' yielding ranks impells his foaming horſe.

Emania's monarch there, with matchleſs might
Wields his huge mace, and proſtrate lays the fight.
Thy courſe of glory, Sweno, who can trace?
Thy foe's deſtruction, and thy country's grace!
While ſhook the brave, no terror Conal knew,
To prove his might athwart the plain he flew.
Nor ſtrength, nor ſkill 'gainſt Hacon's ſon avail,
Nor maſſy buckler, nor protecting mail:
The fatal ſpear thro' ſhield and corſlet flies,
And ſtretch'd in duſt the hapleſs warrior lies.
   Unconſcious of her much-lov'd hero's fall,
Ithona ſits in Thomond's lofty hall,
And bids the bards to him awake their lays—
For who like Conal claim'd the meed of praiſe!
Sudden, ere yet they touch'd the warbling wire,
Burſt mournful ſounds inſtinctive from the lyre:
And lo! the dogs, companions of the chace,
In ſhuddering terror gaze on vacant ſpace.
Their lord's ſad image riſes to their view;
Faint gleam his arms, and pallid is his hue,
His dimly-rolling eyes on Thomond's fair
In grief he bends; then borne aloft in air,
And wrapt in darkneſs, on the gale he flies;
Deep mourn the faithful train, and howlings wild ariſe.
She marks the ſigns that ſpeak her hero low;
Rends her dark treſſes, beats her breaſt of ſnow,
And gives her days to ſolitary woe.
   Before his bands ſee Neuſtria's chief advance!
A bold Norwegian ſinks beneath his lance,
As from his ſide the weighty ſpear he rends,
On his ſtrong vantbraſs Hacon's ſword deſcends,
And ſheers him to the bone. His knightly train
Ruſh to his aid, and bear him from the plain.
   Of ſtrength unyielding, ſpirit unſubdued,
Like ſome dark rock that braves the ſurging flood,
Emania's monarch ſtands unmov'd: the tide
Of battle rolls, and breaks againſt his ſide.
Now here, now there, he deals the deadly wound,
And mangled corſes ſtrew th' enſanguin'd ground.
   Norwegia's leader thundering thro' the field,
Againſt the warrior's breaſt his lance impell'd.
Unwounded he ſuſtain'd the mighty ſhock;
The pointed lance on his ſtrong corſlet broke.
Hacon again, his courſer check'd, prepares
T' aſſail the chief; his flaming falchion bares,
Then forward ſpurs the ſteed: his mace on high
Fiacha lifts—As hiſſing thro' the ſky
Th' impetuous bolt deſcends, the blow he ſped
Full on th' advancing courſer's mail-clad head:

Breathleſs he ſunk, and headlong on the plain
The monarch hurl'd: Emania's lord again
Lifts the dread mace.—What now, O king! avail
Thy numerous warriors, and thy temper'd mail?
No temper'd mail reſiſts Fiacha's might;
Thy warriors diſtant tremble at the ſight.
But generous Sweno marks thee lowly laid,
And haſtes with pious valour to thy aid.
Beneath the lifted arm he ſwift addreſt
The levell'd ſpear: thro' great Fiacha's cheſt
Its furious way the vengeful weapon tore,
And iſſu'd far beyond, embath'd in gore.
Thundering he falls, the ponderous mace foregoes,
And o'er his eyes the ſhades of darkneſs cloſe.
Ierne's bands in terror quit the field:
Maronan, Adamar, reluctant yield.
Oft lion-like they turn, and, in the ſtrife,
Gore the proud hunters that purſue thir life.
Lo! darting thro' the plain, in arms whoſe blaze
Rivall'd the ſummer ſun's meridian rays,
A ſtately knight, on his hot courſer borne,
That champ'd the golden bit he ſeem'd to ſcorn,
Appear'd, and loudly thus: "To pale affright
Shall Arthur's friends ſubmit in Arthur's ſight?
The daſtard meets the fate he ſhuns; the brave
By generous conteſt triumph o'er the grave."
Enraptur'd they behold, enraptur'd hear
The hero's voice, and ſcorn their former fear.
Again they turn, they form the deep'ning line,
And cloſe-wedg'd ſhields a glittering rampart ſhine.
Chill, watry vapours thus that float on high,
Their grey robes waving thro' the wintry ſky,
From ice-clad realms when burſts the polar blaſt,
Condenſe, then gathering ſhade on ſhade, o'ercaſt
The front of heaven; and on the ravag'd vale
Pour the ſharp ſleet, and loud-reſounding hail.
Meanwhile the prince darts furious on his foes;
A grove of ſpears the dauntleſs prince encloſe;
He braves, he meets the ſhock; and whirls around
His dreadful ſword that gives no ſecond wound:
Burſts unreſiſted thro' the black array;
His courſe is mark'd with death, and terror points his way!
An eagle thus, when o'er Plinlimmon's head
Deſcending clouds a robe of darkneſs ſpread,
Wings thro' th' encircling gloom his rapid flight,
Then ſoars exulting mid the fields of light.
Can words his actions paint, when valor's flame
Glow'd in his eyes, and lighten'd in his frame?

Where'er he ruſh'd, more fierce the tumult roar'd,
Around his courſe the blood of thouſands pour'd.
Beneath th' ethereal fire's reſiſtleſs ſtroke,
As ſinks the lofty pine, the knotted oak,
Heroes and kings beneath his matchleſs might
Beſtrew the plain: the crowded ranks of fight
Like ſun-drawn miſts diſſolve. The pitying muſe
Death's waſteful courſe reluctantly purſues.
  To one alone, who claims th' applauding lay,
'Tis her's the tributary ſtrain to pay;
Hacon's brave ſon—No equal yet he found;
By Deva's banks he ſpreads deſtruction round.
His lance arreſts the daſtard as he flies;
His force the valiant proves, and proving dies.
But ſhort the triumph—Uther's ſon draws near,
And fate dim hovers round his beaming ſpear.
  "Secure of glory in the living lay,
No longer urge to fame thy dangerous way!
Retire, nor brave yon terror of the plain!"
Thus warn'd Norwegia's bards, but warn'd the youth in vain.
  Hurl'd from his ſeat, beſide the ſtream he lies;
Life's fading taper in his ſwimming eyes
Dim-twinkling gleams: his golden locks beſtrew
The plain; while ſtruck with ſorrow at the view,
His faithful ſteed the languid head declines;
On the green bank his ſhatter'd helmet ſhines;
O'er his broad buckler rolls the torrent grey,
And ting'd with blood purſues its mazy way.
  The Briton marks with grief th' expiring foe;
"Perchance," he cries, "not mortal is the blow.
Few are thy years, yet mighty were thy deeds;
And ſorrow melts my ſoul when valour bleeds."
  Thus he replied, with weak and ſtruggling breath;
"I meet the warrior's doom, and welcome death.
To ſwell another's fame, diſgraceful thought!
Vanquiſh'd to live, were life too dearly bought.
No, ſince 'tis mine to fall beneath the brave,
I mourn not; for what honour deigns to crave,
Honour will grant; and Britain's generous chief
Accord my ſuit: to ſooth a father's grief,
My arms, and breathleſs corſe reſtore!"—He ſaid,
His dim eyes clos'd—the gallant ſpirit fled.
  "Farewell, brave youth!" thus Uther's generous ſon
Mournful exclaim'd; "what glory hadſt thou won,
If fate vouchſaf'd thee but a longer day!
Sweno, farewell! thou bright, but tranſient ray—
Approach, ye ſacred bards, to whom belong
The warbling lyre, and joy-diffuſing ſong.

Not againſt you the vengeful blade we raiſe,
Who bid the hero live to future days—
Approach in ſafety, and diſmiſs your fear:
To his ſad ſire the breathleſs warrior bear;
And, (may it ſooth his troubled breaſt!) relate
He fell by Arthur, who bewail'd his fate."
Hacon, retir'd beyond the martial lines,
With toil fore-ſpent, to younger knights reſigns
The field of glory; and beholds from far,
In wonder loſt, the ſurging tide of war
Roll backward: but amazement ſoon ſuppreſt,
To grief conſign'd the empire of his breaſt.
His hapleſs ſon before his view is laid:
In ſpeechleſs agony he marks the dead.
Loſt is the warrior's firmneſs, that defied
The power of fortune—loſt the regal pride,
That mock'd at woe: the heart-wrung tear deſcends,
The hoary honours of his head he rends:
And, while his boſom throbs with frequent ſighs,
Claſping the clay-cold corſe on earth he lies.
His bards indignant mark his frantic grief;
When Oſwald thus: "Is this the haughty chief,
Who wades to fame thro' war's empurpled tide,
Terror his lov'd compeer, and Death his guide?
Can he lament the warrior's envied ſtate,
By valour plac'd beyond the reach of fate?
His deſtin'd courſe thy ſon with honour ran,
And fell a hero ere he liv'd a man.
That be his praiſe, to glory in it thine;
'Tis Hacon's right to triumph, not repine!"
"Ceaſe, ceaſe," he cried: "can words relief impart,
And pluck the ſhaft of anguiſh from my heart?
Behold yon blaſted oak! canſt thou array
Its wither'd branches in the pomp of May?
Bid it again exalt its towering head,
And to the winds its leafy honours ſpread?
Spring will return—but ne'er returning ſpring
Around its trunk the verdant wreath ſhall fling:
Nor time revolving to my view reſtore
My hero's budding honours—He no more
Shall ſhelter yield in danger's ſtormy day—
And ſhall I lonely moulder to decay,
A burthen to the earth?"—With vengeful mind
He mounts his ſteed; when Eric thus rejoin'd:
"Canſt thou withſtand, enfeebled by thy wounds,
And length of years, yon warrior, who confounds
Embattled armies? Hence, the thought reſign!
On other realms the beams of glory ſhine.

Again thy prroweſs ſhall be ſhewn; again
Our crowded ſails ſhall ſhade the burthen'd main;
Thy wonted field of honour, where the brave
Reap fame's rich harveſt on the rolling wave.
Shall Sweno's lovely form be given the prey
To ravenous wolves? wilt thou deny the lay
To Sweno's praiſe? the rites ſepulchral paid,
Then think of vengeance to atone his ſhade."
   The king reluctant yields: his glaring eyes
He backward turns, whilſt in his boſom riſe
Conflicting paſſions: oft he checks his courſe,
And graſps his ſword, and longs its wonted force
Once more to prove: at length to fate reſign'd,
He flies—the ſtorm of battle roars behind.

Extract from a COMPLIMENTARY EPISTLE *to* JAMES BRUCE, *eſq. the* Abyſſinian Traveller. *By* PETER PINDAR, *eſq.*

SWEET is the tale, however ſtrange its air,
That bids the public eye *aſtonied* ſtare!
Sweet is the tale, howe'er uncouth its ſhape,
That makes the world's wide mouth with wonder gape!
Behold our infancies in tales delight,
That bolt like hedgehog quills the hair upright.
Of ghoſts how pleas'd is every child to hear!
To ſuch is Jack the Giant-killer dear!
Dread monſters, iſſuing from the flame or flood,
Charm, tho' with horror cloth'd they chill the blood!
What makes a tale ſo ſleepy, languid, dull?
Things as they happen'd—not of marvel full.
What gives a zeſt, and keeps alive attention?
A tale that wears the viſage of invention:
A tale of lions, ſpectres, ſhipwreck, thunder;
A wonder, or firſt couſin to a wonder.
Myſterious conduct! yet 'tis Nature's plan
To ſow with wonder's ſeeds the ſoul of man,
That ev'ry where in ſweet profuſion riſe,
And ſprout luxuriant through the mouth and eyes!
   What to the *vaſty* deep Sir JOSEPH gave,
As of the world, the ſport of wind and wave?
What bade the knight, amid thoſe ſcenes remote,
Sleep with Queen Oborea in the boat?
What, unconfounded, leap to Newton's chair?
What, but to make a world with wonder ſtare?
What bids a KING on Wimbledon, Blackheath,
So oft rejoice the regiments of death;
While Britain's mightier bulwark ſlighted lies,
And vainly groaning for its Cæſar ſighs?

What, with the vulgar pigs of Aſcot taken,
Devour on Aſcot-heath his annual bacon?
What bade that great, great man, a goodly ſight,
Watch his wife's di'mond petticoat all night;
And what that wife of great, great, great renown,
Make her own caps, and darn a thread-bare gown?
What bade the charming Lady Mary fly
Marchesi's ſqueeze, for Pacchierotti's ſigh?
What Master Edgecumbe deal in rhiming ware?
What, but to put all Cawſand in a ſtare?
Sweet child of verſe, who, with importance big,
Pleas'd its own ſelf, and eterniz'd a pig;
Whilſt, mad an equal weight of praiſe to ſhare,
Old Mount plays Punchinello to a hair.
What makes a girl the ſhops for novels rove?
The ſweet impoſſibilities of love;
Quixotic deeds to catch the flying fair;
To pant at dangers, and at marvels ſtare.
What prompteth Chloe, conſcious of the charms
That crowd the ſouls of ſwains with wild alarms,
To give the ſwelling boſom's milk-white ſkin
A veil of gauze ſo marvellouſly thin?
What but a kind intention of the fair
To treat the eyes of ſhepherds with a ſtare?
Behold! Religion's ſelf, celeſtial dame,
Founds on the rock of miracle her fame:
A ſacred building, that defies decay,
That ſin's wild waves can never waſh away!
What made John Rolle (except for Exon's ſtare)
Drill-ſerjeant to the aldermen and may'r;
Ere from the hall he led his choſen bands,
To view the King of Nations, and kiſs hands?
How rarely man the haunts of wiſdom ſeeks,
Pleas'd with the life of cabbages and leeks!
Though form'd to plough the ſoil, divinely ſtrong,
'Tis famine goads him, like an ox, along:
But Bruce, on *curioſity*'s wild wings,
Darts, hawk-like, where the game of marvel ſprings.
Let envy kindle with the bluſh of ſhame,
That dares to call thee, Bruce, a thief of fame.
Pleas'd to thy wonder's vortex to be drawn,
A thouſand volumes could not make me yawn:
And (O accept a ſalutary hint)—
The world will read as faſt as thou canſt print.

ODE *to the* GLOW-WORM. *By the ſame.*

MILD inſect, harmleſs as myſelf, I ween;
Thou little planet of the rural ſcene,
When ſummer warms the vallies with her rays;
Accept a trifling ſonnet to thy praiſe.

* * * * * * * *

Bright ſtranger, welcome to my field,
Here feed in ſafety, here thy radiance yield;
To me, O nightly be thy ſplendour given:
Oh, could a wiſh of mine the ſkies command,
How would I gem thy leaf with lib'ral hand,
With ev'ry ſweeteſt dew of Heav'n!

Say, doſt thou kindly light the fairy train,
Amidſt their gambols on the ſtilly plain,
Hanging thy lamp upon the moiſten'd blade?
What lamp ſo fit, ſo pure as thine,
Amidſt the gentle elfin band to ſhine,
And chaſe the horrors of the midnight ſhade!

Oh! may no feather'd foe diſturb thy bow'r,
And with barbarian beak thy life devour:
Oh! may no ruthleſs torrent of the ſky,
O'erwhelming, force thee from thy dewy ſeat;
Nor tempeſts tear thee from thy green retreat,
And bid thee 'midſt the humming myriads die!

Queen of the inſect world, what leaves delight?
Of ſuch theſe willing hands a bow'r ſhall form,
To guard thee from the ruſhing rains of night,
And hide thee from the wild wing of the ſtorm.

Sweet child of ſtillneſs, 'midſt the awful calm
Of pauſing nature thou art pleas'd to dwell;
In happy ſilence to enjoy thy balm,
And ſhed through life a luſtre round thy cell.

How diff'rent man, the imp of noiſe and ſtrife,
Who courts the ſtorm that tears and darkens life;
Bleſt when the paſſions wild the ſoul invade!
How nobler far to bid thoſe whirlwinds ceaſe;
To taſte, like thee, the luxury of peace,
And ſhine in ſolitude and ſhade!

A FABLE, *by* ABATE BERTOLA.

[*From Mrs.* PIOZZI'*s Travels.*]

UNA lucertoletta
Diceva al cocodrillo,
Oh quanto mi diletta
Di veder finalmente
Un della mia famiglia
Si grande e ſi potente!
Ho fatto mille miglia
Per venirvi a vedere,
Mentre tra noi ſi ſerba
Di voi memoria viva;
Benche fuggiam tra l'erba
E il ſaſſoſo ſentiero:
In ſen però non langue
L'onor del priſco ſangue.

L'anfibio rè dormiva
A queſti complimenti,
Pur ſugli ultimi accenti
Dal ſonno ſe riſcoſſe
E dimandò chi foſſe?
La parentela antica,
Il viaggio, la fatica,
Quella torno a dire,
Ed ei torne a dormire.

Laſcia i grandi ed i potenti
A ſognar per parenti;
Puoi corteſi ſtimarli
Se dormon mentre parli.

WALKING full many a weary mile
The lizard met the crocodile;
And thus began—How fat, how fair,
How finely guarded, ſir, you are!
'Tis really charming thus to ſee
One's kindred in proſperity.
I've travell'd far to find your coaſt,
But ſure the labour was not loſt:
For you muſt think we don't forget
Our loving couſin now ſo great;
And tho' our humble habitations
Are ſuch as ſuit our ſlender ſtations,
The honour of the lizard blood
Was never better underſtood.

Th' amphibious prince, who ſlept content,
Ne'er liſtening to her compliment,
At this expreſſion raiſed his head,
And—Pray who are you? coolly ſaid;
The little creature now renew'd
Her hiſtory of toils ſubdu'd,
Her zeal to ſee her couſin's face,
The glory of her ancient race;
But looking nearer, found my lord
Was faſt aſleep again—and ſnor'd.

Ne'er preſs upon a rich relation,
Rais'd to the ranks of higher ſtation;
Or if you will diſturb your coz,
Be happy that he does but doze.

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1790.

The Antiquities of Athens, *meaſured and delineated by* James Stuart, F. R. S. *and* F. S. A. *and* Nicholas Revett, *Architects and Painters, Vol.* II.*

THE lovers of antiquities and the fine arts having ſuffered a ſevere loſs in the death of Mr. Stuart, and that melancholy event happening at a time when the curioſity of the public, ſtrongly raiſed by the firſt volume of the Antiquities of Athens, might be ſuppoſed to wait anxiouſly for the continuation of a work ſo intereſting and ſo ably executed; Mr. Stuart's friends undertook to publiſh the ſequel without additions or alterations, excepting ſuch as were indiſpenſably neceſſary to complete his intention, and for which the materials he left afforded authority. This circumſtance is mentioned in the introduction, where it is alſo ſtated what ſhare the Dilettanti Society have in this ſecond volume. Mr. Stuart having been infirm for ſome years previous to his death, his papers were left in great confuſion; many were incomplete, many were miſſing. Recourſe was had to the original ſketch-books, and other authentic documents, to complete the examples, that were left unfiniſhed. Where authentic materials were wanting, the deficiency has been left remaining, except that when ſome of the views could not be found, ſome other, relative to the ſubject deſcribed, have been ſubſtituted. To the members of the Dilettanti Society it is chiefly owing that the honour and utility of this work has not been loſt to the Britiſh nation. Mrs. Stuart alſo acknowledges herſelf highly indebted to thoſe gentlemen; and in a few lines prefixed to the introduction, expreſſes in a becoming manner her ſenſe of gratitude for their liberal encouragement in promoting the publication of this ſecond volume; in the completion of which Mr. William Newton, of Greenwich, took a conſiderable part.

This volume, like the firſt, is divided into five chapters, and contains beſides an accurate deſcription and hiſtorical account of the Acropolis, placed at the beginning of the volume, and an explanation of the vignettes added to the end.

In the advertiſement by Mr. Stuart himſelf, he informs us, that when Mr. Revett and himſelf returned from Athens, and opened a ſubſcription for the publication of their work, uncertain whether they ſhould be encouraged to proceed any further with their undertaking, they ſelected various ſpecimens which might exhibit the different ſorts of columns uſed among the Greeks. The liberality of the public perſuaded him to go on with the work, now his *ſole property*, and he propoſed to publiſh it in the following order. The preſent volume treats of the public monuments erected while the Athenians were a free people, and chiefly under the adminiſtration of Pericles.

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* See an account of the firſt Volume in the Annual Regiſter, Vol. VI.

The third volume, which is in great forwardneſs, will contain deſcriptions of thoſe edifices built while Greece was ſubjected to the dominion of the Romans—a period during which Athens, though deprived of her liberty, was not yet deſtitute of taſte and elegance.

There is prefixed to this volume a ſtriking reſemblance of the author, beautifully engraved by Knight. A landſcape view of the Acropolis, with Turkiſh figures; and a plan of that citadel, of which he gives the following deſcription, form the introduction:

" The Acropolis furniſhes materials for the principal part of the volume; I have therefore given a plan and view of it, in its preſent ſtate. It is built on a rock, which is on every ſide a precipice, and acceſſible only at the entrance. The ſummit is fortified by a wall, built on its extreme edge, encompaſſing the whole upper ſurface, which is nearly level.

" The natural ſtrength of its ſituation is ſaid to have induced the firſt inhabitants to ſettle there; and when, in proceſs of time, their numbers increaſed, they began to build on the adjacent ground below; till at length the Acropolis, being ſurrounded on every ſide, became the fortreſs of a large and populous city.

" It was richly adorned by the Athenians, in the days of their proſperity, with temples, ſtatues, paintings, and votive gifts to their divinities; but is now in a moſt ruinous condition; though the remains of the famous Propylæa, the little temple of Victory without wings, the Doric temple of Minerva, called Parthenon and Hecatompedon, and the Ionic temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias, with the cell of Pandroſus, are ſtill to be ſeen.

" Its walls have, at different times, been rudely repaired, or rather rebuilt, very little of the ancient maſonry remaining: numerous fragments of columns, cornices, and ſculptures, appear in ſeveral parts of them, which make an uncouth and ruinous appearance.

" The Turks keep a ſmall garriſon here; and it is the reſidence of the Diſdér Agá, or governor of the fortreſs, as alſo of the Aſáp Agá, and other inferior officers of the place."

The firſt chapter relates to the temple of Minerva, called Parthenon and Hecatompedon. This celebrated temple was built during the adminiſtration of Pericles, under the direction of Phidias. In its preſent ruinous ſtate, it has a majeſty, and exhibits a magnificence, which greatly ſurpaſſes the expectations of men accuſtomed to view beautiful objects. This edifice was almoſt entire laſt century, when Sir George Wheler and Dr. Spon ſaw it, and was reduced to its preſent condition by an unlucky bomb during the ſiege of Athens by the Venetians. The inſide of the temple is divided by a croſs wall, and the leſſer diviſion into which you enter has been miſtaken by Wheler and

Spon for the Pronaus, whereas it is the Opiſthodomus, where the public treaſure was kept. In the larger diviſion ſtood the famous ſtatue of Minerva, twenty-ſix cubits high, according to Pliny, made of gold and ivory, the work of the illuſtrious Phidias. Mr. Stuart is inclined to think, with other antiquarians, that the ivory of this ſtatue was painted, as that of Jupiter at Elis appears, from Strabo's account, to have certainly been.—The reaſon, he conceives, why ivory was uſed in ſtatues of this kind rather than wood, to have been not on account of its colour, but becauſe wood is apt to crack and be deſtroyed by worms: ivory not being of an uniform colour, but yellow near the outſide of the tooth, and white in the middle; and therefore it would require painting on that account, and likewiſe to hide the joinings of the pieces. It is recorded by Thucydides, that the gold about it weighed forty talents, which, according to the value of gold at that time, was worth about 120,000l. ſterling.

Mr. Stuart quotes a paſſage from Vitruvius, which, if applicable to this temple, as Mr. Stuart ſuppoſes, ſeems to prove it to have been an Hypœthros, that is, without a roof. As to the roof ſeen by Wheler and Spon, it was probably added to the building when it was converted into a church, at which time the eaſtern entrance, or the true Pronaus, was cloſed up, to adapt it to Chriſtian uſes.

Upon the ſubject of unroofed temples, Mr. Stuart obſerves, that a difficulty has been ſtarted, viz. that it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that ſuch magnificent and coſtly works, compoſed of ivory and gold, and delicately painted, would be expoſed in the open air to all the varieties of weather. In anſwer to this, he remarks, that the periſtyle, or internal colonnade, ſupported a roof, which ſheltered great part of the area of the cell, and ſeems to have projected over the ſtatue. Another conjecture is, that the Peplus of Minerva in the Parthenon, and the Parapetaſma of Jupiter Olympius in Elis, mentioned by Pauſanias in his deſcription of that temple, were each of them ſuſpended in their reſpective ſituations, ſo as to afford the requiſite ſhade or ſhelter to thoſe moſt celebrated ſtatues.

"The name of this temple (Hecatompedon) implying that it extended a hundred feet, led me, ſays Mr. Stuart, to inquire into the length of the Attic foot. For which purpoſe, I compared the length of the lower ſtep in front, with its length on the ſide, and found them incommenſurable: neither were the front and ſide-lengths of the ſtep above it commenſurable with each other. But the third ſtep, on which the columns of the portico ſtand, meaſured 101 feet $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch Engliſh, in front, and 227 feet $7\frac{1}{20}$ inch on each ſide, which are ſo nearly in the proportion of 100 to 225, that, had the meaſure been $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch leſs, it would have been deficient of it.

"Theſe meaſures were taken from a braſs ſcale of three feet, divided by that eminent artiſt Mr. John Bird, whoſe works are known all over Europe.

"The front meaſure gives an Attic foot of 12,137 London inches, and decimals; the ſide meaſure, one of 12,138.

"Hence the Roman foot, which, according to Pliny, was to the Attic in proportion of 600 to 625, or of 24 or 25, will be found to be 11,651 London inches and decimals, or 971 ſuch parts as the London foot contains 1000, which does not ſenſibly differ from what has been determined by other methods."

To this chapter is annexed a plan and account of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

The ſecond chapter contains an account of the three contiguous temples of Erechtheus, Minerva Polias, and Pandroſus. The Erechtheus and the temple of Minerva Polias were under the ſame roof.

In the Erechtheum, as we are told by Pauſanias, was the ſpring of ſea-water produced by the ſtroke of Neptune's trident, when he contended with Minerva for the patronage of the city.

Mr. Stuart makes it appear likely that this temple was originally conſecrated to Neptune, becauſe there was in it an altar erected to that god, on which they alſo ſacrificed by command of the oracle to Erechtheus. In the temple of Minerva was depoſited the ancient ſtatue of the goddeſs, which was ſuppoſed to have deſcended from heaven.

The Pandroſium, dedicated to the nymph Pandroſus, one of the daughters of Cecrops, is the only ancient example we know of, in which the entablature and roof is ſupported by caryatides. Vitruvius, he ſays, probably alludes to this building when he tells us, that after the defeat of the Perſians, and the deſtruction of the city Carya, the architects of thoſe times placed female figures of this kind in public buildings, to perpetuate the ignominy of thoſe who deſerted the cauſe of liberty and their country.

Within the Pandroſium was the olive-tree, ſaid to have been produced by Minerva in her competition with Neptune above-mentioned. It was called Pankyphos (incurvated) from its branches being bent downward after it had grown up to the roof. Under this tree ſtood the altar of Jupiter Hirceus. Some have imagined that an olive-tree grew in the temple of Minerva Polias; but it is quite improbable, Mr. Stuart ſays, that any tree ſhould grow in a place ſo unfavourable to vegetation: for it appears to have been a cloſe room, illuminated only by a lamp; whereas in that of Pandroſus, a free admiſſion was given to light and air; the ſpaces between the caryatides being left entirely open. The olive and the ſpring of ſea-water, prove this to be the fabulous ſcene of contention between the two divinities.

Mr. Stuart conjectures that the Cecropium was the ſame with the temple of Minerva Polias, called ſo on account of Cecrops having been buried there: and that, owing to the ſame circumſtance, the temple of Neptune has poſſibly been named the Erechtheum. Theſe three temples form but one body, though they were not intended by the architect to compoſe one regular whole. This chapter is adorned with 20 plates.

The third chapter is on the theatre of Bacchus, which is in a very ruinous condition. The front of the ſcene forming part of the outworks of the citadel, the meaſurements of our travellers excited the jealouſy of the Turkiſh garriſon, and they were obliged to deſiſt from their operations. This was a ſevere diſappointment, as they hoped that by digging the earth which covers the proſcenium, the logeum, &c. they might have made important diſcoveries upon the conſtruction of ancient theatres. It is Mr. Stuart's opinion, that during the time of acting, the front of the ſcene in ancient theatres was covered by ſome paintings analogous to the plays that were repreſented; for, according to Vitruvius, the front itſelf was highly decorated with ſtately pillars; and the Marcheſe Galiani ſuppoſes, that it exhibited the appearance of a palace. Philoctetes crawling out of his cavern, Prometheus chained to a rock, could not with any propriety be introduced upon ſuch a ſcene. This opinion is ſtrongly confirmed by a paſſage in Vitruvius, where he tells us there were three ſorts of ſcenes; the tragic, the comic, and the ſatyric, each of them doubtleſs appropriated to the ſubject of the fable repreſented on the ſtage. He alſo informs us, that when Æſchylus, the great improver of the Grecian ſtage, exhibited one of his tragedies, he introduced for the firſt time a painted ſcene.

The 4th chapter treats of the Choragic monument of Thraſyllus, built 318 years before Chriſt. Though not ſo highly ornamented as the monument of Lyſicrates, it is however wrought with great accuracy, and ſingular in its compoſition. There are 6 plates belonging to this chapter, one of which repreſents, as Mr. Stuart with great plauſibility conjectures, the ſtatue of Decelia, the Demos or town of the victorious tribe. Mr. Stuart gives his reaſons for differing from Dr. Chandler, an enlightened traveller, who took that ſtatue for Niobe. Mr. Stuart proves alſo, almoſt beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, that the ſtatues of Demos, mentioned by Pauſanias, were not meant to repreſent one Demos, a minion of Pericles, as Meurſius boldly aſſerts it; but that they were allegorical repreſentations of *Demos, the people,* perſonified.

In the following extract Mr. Stuart has given us an account of ſeveral particulars relative to the Choragic games celebrated at Athens during the feſtival of Bacchus. "It ſhould be obſerved, that the greater Dionyſia, or feſtival of Bacchus, was celebrated by the Athenians with extraordinary magnificence. Tragedies and comedies were then exhibited in the theatre; and hymns in honour of Bacchus, accompanied with flutes, were chaunted by the chorus in the Odeum. On this occaſion, each of the Athenian tribes (they were ten in number) appointed a Choragus, an office attended with conſiderable expence, as we may infer from what Plutarch has ſaid in his diſquiſition, *Whether the Athenians were more illuſtrious for their military atchievements, or their progreſs in ſcience.* When the feſtival drew near, an emulous contention aroſe among the Choragi, which ſometimes proceeded to great violence, each ſtriving to excel his competitors, and to obtain the tripod, which was the prize gained by that Choragus to whom the victory ſhould be adjudged. His diſburſements did not finiſh with his victory; there ſtill remained for him the charge of dedicating the tripod he had won, and probably that of erecting a little edifice, or temple, on which to place it, ſuch as is deſcribed in the preſent chapter. Thus Nicias is ſaid to have erected a temple whereon to place the tripod he had won. Nor ſhall we wonder that the honour of gaining a tripod was ſo anxiouſly and earneſtly contended for, ſince, thus won and dedicated, it became a family honour, and was appealed to as an authentic teſtimony of the merit and virtue of the perſon who obtained it; as we learn from Iſaus, in his oration concerning the inheritance of Apollodorus, where he thus addreſſes his judges: 'What office did he not completely fill? What ſum was he not the firſt to contribute? In what part of his duty was he deficient? Being Choragus, he obtained the prize with the chorus of boys which he gave; and yonder tripod remains a monument of his liberality on that occaſion.' And again, in his oration concerning the inheritance of Diogenes, he ſays: 'Yet our anceſtors, O judges! who firſt acquired this eſtate, and left it to their deſcendants, were Choragi in all the Choragic games: they contributed liberally to the expences of the war, and continually had the command of the triremes which they equipped. Of theſe noble acts, the conſecrated offerings with which they were able, from what remained of their fortune, to decorate the temples, are no leſs undeniable proofs, than they are laſting monuments of their virtue; for they dedicated, in the temple of Bacchus, the tripods, which, being Choragi, and victorious, they bore away from their competitors; thoſe alſo in the Pythium and in the Acropolis, &c.'—I ſhould, however, obſerve, that ſometimes the public defrayed the expence of the chorus, as appears by two of the inſcriptions on this monument. There is a paſſage quoted from Pauſanias, in our firſt volume, p. 30, from which we muſt conclude that theſe monuments were numerous. He there tells us of a place in Athens called the Tripods, with temples in it; not great ones, I imagine, as the printed copies have it, but Choragic temples; for on them, he ſays, ſtand tripods well worth ſeeing, although they are of braſs. Harpocration mentions a treatiſe written by Heliodorus, deſcribing theſe Choragic tripods of Athens; and cites it to prove that Onetor had been a Choragus."

In the 5th chapter we have an account of the Propylea. The ignominious death of the Kiſlar Aga, occaſioned diſturbances which extended to Athens, and drove Mr. Stuart and Mr. Revett from that place before they had completed what they intended to perform. But in the year 1764, the Dilettanti Society ſent Meſſrs. Revett, Pars, and Chandler, to viſit ſome of the moſt celebrated antiquities of Aſia Minor. Theſe gentlemen in their way homewards paſſed through Athens, and among various drawings they made of different objects, they did not forget the Propylea; and it is to the generoſity of the Dilettanti Society that the ſecond volume is indebted for the Propylea. This building, according to Pauſanias, was ſituated at the only entrance of the citadel. It was covered with roofs of white marble, ſurpaſſing in magnificence any thing he had ſeen before. On the right of the Propylea was a temple of Victory without wings; on the left, a building adorned with paintings. Theſe three contiguous edifices originally formed but one front. Spon and Wheler miſtook the real ſituation of the temple of Victory without wings, owing to the alteration the Turks have made in the Propylea, by ſhutting up the former paſſage, and opening another entrance. The little Ionic temple, which they miſtook for that of Victory, ſeems to have been that of Aglauros, a generous virgin, who devoted herſelf for her country.

After the five chapters follows an explanation of the vignettes. The tail-piece at the end of the 5th chapter exhibits the portrait of the illuſtrious Pericles, copied from a very fine antique buſt in the collection of Mr. Townley.

Travels to diſcover the Source of the Nile, *in the years* 1768-69-70-71-72-73, *in five vols. By* James Bruce, *of* Kinnaird, *Eſq.* F. R. S.

THIS long-expected work has now been ſome time in the hands of the public; and it was received at its firſt appearance with an eagerneſs of curioſity proportioned to the nature of the ſubject. It opens with a loyal dedication to his majeſty, and with a long introduction, explanatory of the motives upon which theſe travels were undertaken, the order and manner in which they were executed, and of the reaſons which ſo long withheld them from the public eye.

The principal motive Mr. Bruce refers to the unconquerable ſpirit raiſed in this nation (in the beginning of his majeſty's reign) by a long and glorious war, and which he obſerves very naturally reſolved itſelf into a ſpirit of adventure and inquiry at the return of peace. How largely our author partook of this ſpirit, will beſt appear from his own words—"The diſcovery of the ſource of the Nile was alſo a ſubject of theſe converſations [with the late lord Hallifax] but it was always mentioned to me with a kind of diffidence, as if to be expected from a more experienced traveller. Whether this was but another way of exciting me to the attempt, I ſhall not ſay; but my heart in that inſtant did me juſtice to ſuggeſt, that this too was either to be atchieved by me, or to remain, as it had done for theſe laſt two thouſand years, a defiance to all travellers, and an opprobrium to geography."

Of the book itſelf, Mr. Bruce obſerves, that it is a large one, and expenſive by the number of engravings; that this was not at firſt intended, but that the journey had proved a long one, and matter had increaſed as it were inſenſibly under his hands; that it now fills a great chaſm in the hiſtory of the univerſe; that it is not intended to reſemble the generality of modern travels, the agreeable and rational amuſement of one vacant day, but calculated to employ a greater ſpace of time. He adds alſo, that thoſe who are the beſt acquainted with Diodorus, Herodotus, and other Greek hiſtorians, will find ſome very conſiderable difficulties removed; and that ſuch as are unacquainted with thoſe authors, and receive from this work the firſt information of the geography, climate, and manners of theſe countries, which are little altered, will have no great occaſion to regret that they have not ſearched for information in more ancient ſources.

The order and matter of the work is thus deſcribed by Mr. Bruce:

"The work begins with my voyage from Sidon to Alexandria, and up the Nile to the firſt cataract. The reader will not expect that I ſhould dwell long upon the particular hiſtory of Egypt; every other year has furniſhed us with ſome account of it, good or bad; and the two laſt publications of M. Savary and Volney ſeem to have left the ſubject threadbare—This however is not the only reaſon.

"After Mr. Wood and Mr. Dawkins had publiſhed their Ruins of Palmyra, the late king of Denmark, at his own expence, ſent out a number of men, eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, to make diſcoveries in the Eaſt, of every kind, with theſe very flattering inſtructions, that though they might and ought to viſit both Baalbec and Palmyra for their own ſtudies and improvement, yet he prohibited them to ſo far interfere with what the Engliſh travellers had done, as to form any plan of another work ſimilar to theirs. This compliment was gratefully received; and as I was directly to follow this miſſion, Mr. Wood deſired me to return it, and to abſtain as much as poſſible from writing on the ſame ſubjects choſen by M. Niebuhr, at leaſt to abſtain either from criticiſing or differing from him on ſuch ſubjects. I have therefore paſſed ſlightly over Egypt and Arabia: perhaps indeed I have ſaid enough of both; if any ſhall be of another opinion, they may have recourſe to M. Niebuhr's more copious work; he was the only perſon of ſix who lived to come home, the reſt having died in different parts of Arabia, without having been able to enter Abyſſinia, one of the objects of their miſſion."

"My leaving Egypt is followed by my ſurvey of the Arabian gulph as far as the Indian ocean—arrival at Maſuah—ſome account of the firſt peopling of Atbara and Abyſſinia—conjectures concerning language—firſt ages of the Indian trade—foundation of the Abyſſinian monarchy, and various revolutions till the Jewiſh uſurpation, about the year 900. Theſe compoſe the firſt volume."

We ſhall ſelect from this volume the following extract, in which the author has attempted, and we think not without ſucceſs, to aſcertain the ſituation of Ophir and Tarſhiſh, rendered famous by the triennial voyages made thither in the time of king David and Solomon.

"Many doubts have ariſen about a port called Ophir, whence the immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver came, which were neceſſary at this time, when proviſion was making for building the temple of Jeruſalem. In what part of the world this Ophir was, has not been yet agreed. Connected with this voyage, too, was one to Tarſhiſh, which ſuffers the ſame difficulties; one and the ſame fleet performed them both in the ſame ſeaſon.

"In order to come to a certainty where this Ophir was, it will be neceſſary to examine what ſcripture ſays of it, and to keep preciſely to every thing like deſcription which we can find there, without indulging our fancy farther. Firſt, then, the trade to Ophir was carried on from the Elanitic gulf through the Indian ocean. Secondly, the returns were gold, ſilver, and ivory, but eſpecially ſilver*. Thirdly, the time of the going and coming of the fleet was preciſely three years†, at no period more nor leſs.

"Now, if Solomon's fleet ſailed from the Elanitic gulf to the Indian ocean, this voyage of neceſſity muſt have been made by monſoons, for no other winds reign in that ocean. And, what certainly ſhews this was the caſe, is the precife term of three years, in which the fleet went and came between Ophir and Ezion-gaber. For it is plain, ſo as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of proof or argument, that, had this voyage been made with variable winds, no limited term of years ever could have been obſerved in its going and returning. The fleet might have returned from Ophir in two years, in three, four, or five years; but, with variable winds, the return preciſely in three years was not poſſible, whatever part of the globe Ophir might be ſituated in.

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* 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22.

† 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver. 21.

" Neither Spain nor Peru could be Ophir; part of theſe voyages muſt have been made by variable winds, and the return conſequently uncertain. The iſland of Ceylon, in the Eaſt Indies, could not be Ophir; the voyage thither is indeed made by monſoons, but we have ſhewed that a year is all that can be ſpent in a voyage to the Eaſt Indies; beſides, Ceylon has neither gold nor ſilver, though it has ivory. St. Domingo has neither gold, nor ſilver, nor ivory. When the Tyrians diſcovered Spain, they found a profuſion of ſilver in huge maſſes, but this they brought to Tyre by the Mediterranean, and then ſent it to the Red Sea over land to anſwer the returns from India. Tarſhiſh, too, is not found to be a port in any of theſe voyages, ſo that part of the deſcription fails, nor were there ever elephants bred in Spain.

" Theſe mines of Ophir were probably what furniſhed the Eaſt with gold in the earlieſt times; great traces of excavation muſt, therefore, have appeared; yet in none of the places juſt mentioned are there great remains of any mines that have been wrought. The ancient traces of ſilver mines in Spain are not to be found, and there never were any of gold. John Dos Santos *, a Dominican friar, ſays, that on the coaſt of Africa, in the kingdom of Sofala, the mainland oppoſite to Madagaſcar, there are mines of gold and ſilver, than which none can be more abundant, eſpecially in ſilver. They bear the traces of having been wrought from the earlieſt ages. They were actually open and working when the Portugueſe conquered that part of the peninſula, and were probably given up ſince the diſcovery of the new world, rather from political than any other reaſons.

" John Dos Santos ſays, that he landed at Sofala in the year 1586; that he ſailed up the great river Cuama as far as Tetè, where, always deſirous to be in the neighbourhood of gold, his order had placed their convent. Thence he penetrated for above two hundred leagues into the country, and ſaw the gold mines then working, at a mountain called Afura †. At a conſiderable diſtance from theſe are the ſilver mines of Chicoua; at both places there is a great appearance of ancient excavations; and at both places the houſes of the kings are built with mud and ſtraw, whilſt there are large remains of maſſy buildings of ſtone and lime.

" It is a tradition which gene-

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* Vid. Voyage of Dos Santos, publiſhed by Le Grande.

† See the map of this voyage.

rally obtains in that country, that theſe works belonged to the queen of Saba, and were built at the time, and for the purpoſe of the trade on the Red Sea: this tradition is common to all the Cafrs in that country. Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Euſebius *, ſpeaking of David, ſays, that he built ſhips at Eloth, a city in Arabia, and thence ſent miners, or, as he calls them, 'metal-men,' to Orphi, or Ophir, an iſland in the Red Sea. Now, by the Red Sea, he underſtands the Indian ocean †; and by Orphi, he probably meant the iſland of Madagaſcar; or Orphi, (or Ophir) might have been the name of the continent, inſtead of Sofala, that is, Sofala where the mines are might have been the mainland of Orphi.

"The kings of the iſles are often mentioned in this voyage; Socotra, Madagaſcar, the Commorras, and many other ſmall iſlands thereabout, are probably thoſe the ſcripture calls the *Iſles*. All, then, at laſt reduces itſelf to the finding a place, either Sofala, or any other place adjoining to it, which avowedly can furniſh gold, ſilver, and ivory in quantity, has large tokens of ancient excavations, and is at the ſame time under ſuch reſtrictions from monſoons, that three years are abſolutely neceſſary to perform the voyage, that it needs no more, and cannot be done in leſs, and this is Ophir."

Mr. Bruce then endeavours to demonſtrate, by tracing the ſuppoſed track of the ſhips from Ebion-gaber to Sofala, and calculating the effects of the monſoons, that this voyage thither and back again could not be performed in more or leſs time than three years exactly, and conſequently that the mines of Dos Santos were thoſe which furniſhed Paleſtine with gold and ſilver. This argument he has further confirmed by another drawn from the ſignification of the names of ſeveral places which lie in the courſe of the voyage.

The ſecond volume takes up the Abyſſinian hiſtory at the reſtoration of the line of Solomon. This hiſtory, Mr. Bruce inform us, is compiled from their own annals, now firſt tranſlated from the Ethiopic; the original of which has been lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the public.

In the hiſtorical parts of this work, which occupies a conſiderable portion of the firſt and the whole of the ſecond volume, we apprehend the reader will not meet either with uſeful inſtruction or entertainment proportionate to his labour. Indeed, when we conſider that the materials from which it is compiled muſt have been furniſhed by a people of the moſt groſs ignorance and diſguſting barbarity, a great deal will not be expected. Of the religion, cuſtoms, and manners of the Abyſſinians, and of the characters of ſeveral of the principal perſons who were living at the time our author reſided in the country, a very accurate, and, we ſuppoſe, faithful account is given.

The following relation of their meals, taken from the third volume, we conceive our readers will think ſufficient upon the ſubject of Abyſſinian manners.

"When a man can ſay that he is

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* Apud. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

† Dionyſii Periegeſis, ver. 38. and Comment. Euſtathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. 2. cap. 11.

ſafe at home, and the ſpear and ſhield is hung up in the hall, a number of people of the beſt faſhion in the villages of both ſexes, courtiers in the palace, or citizens in the town, meet together to dine between twelve and one o'clock.

"A long table is ſet in the middle of a large room, and benches beſide it for a number of gueſts who are invited. Tables and benches the Portugueſe introduced amongſt them: but bull-hides ſpread upon the ground ſerved them before, as they do in the camp and country now. A cow or bull, one or more as the company is numerous, is brought cloſe to the door, and his feet ſtrongly tied. The dewlap is cut only ſo deep as to arrive at the fat, of which it totally conſiſts; and, by the ſeparation of a few ſmall blood veſſels, ſix or ſeven drops of blood only fall upon the ground.

"Having ſatisfied the Moſaical Law, according to his conception, by pouring theſe ſix or ſeven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work on the back of the beaſt, and each ſide of the ſpine they cut ſkin deep; then putting their fingers between the fleſh and the ſkin, they begin to ſtrip the hide of the animal half way down his ribs, and ſo on to the buttock, cutting the ſkin where-ever it hinders them commodiouſly to ſtrip the poor animal bare. All the fleſh on the buttocks is cut off thus, and in ſolid ſquare pieces, without bones or much effuſion of blood; and the prodigious noiſe the animal makes is a ſignal for the company to ſit down to table.

"There are then laid before every gueſt, inſtead of plates, round cakes, if I may ſo call them, about twice as big as a pancake, and ſomething thicker and tougher. It is unleavened bread of a ſouriſh taſte, far from being diſagreeable, and very eaſily digeſted, made of a grain called *teff*. It is of different colours, from black to the colour of the whiteſt wheat bread. Three or four of theſe cakes are generally put uppermoſt for the food of the perſon oppoſite to whoſe ſeat they are placed. Beneath theſe are four or five of ordinary bread, and of a blackiſh kind. Theſe ſerve the maſter to wipe his fingers upon, and afterwards the ſervant for bread to his dinner.

"Two or three ſervants then come, each with a ſquare piece of beef on their bare hands, laying it upon the cakes of teff, placed like diſhes down the table, without cloth or any thing elſe beneath them. By this time all the gueſts have knives in their hands, and the men have the large crooked ones, which they put to all ſorts of uſes during the times of war. The women have ſmall claſp knives, ſuch as the worſt of the kind made at Birmingham, ſold for a penny each.

"The company are ſo ranged, that one man ſits between two women; the man with his long knife cuts a thin piece, which would be thought a good beef-ſtake in England, while you ſee the motion of the fibres yet perfectly diſtinct and alive in the fleſh. No man in Abyſſinia, of any faſhion whatever, feeds himſelf, or touches his own meat. The women take the ſteak, and cut it lengthways like ſtrings, about the thickneſs of your little finger, then croſsways into ſquare pieces ſomething ſmaller than dice. This they lay upon a piece of teff bread, ſtrongly powdered with black pepper, or Cayenne pepper, and foſſile ſalt; they then wrap it up in the teff bread like a cartridge.

"In the mean time the man having put up his knife, with each hand reſting upon his neighbour's knee, his body ſtooping, his head low and forward, and mouth open, very like an ideot, turns to the one whoſe cartridge is firſt ready, who ſtuffs the whole of it into his mouth, which is ſo full that he is in conſtant danger of being choked. This is a mark of grandeur. The greater the man would ſeem to be, the larger piece he takes in his mouth; and the more noiſe he makes in chewing it the more polite he is thought to be. They have indeed a proverb that ſays, "Beggars and thieves only eat ſmall pieces, or without making a noiſe." Having diſpatched this morſel, which he does very expeditiouſly, his next female neighbour holds forth another cartridge, which goes the ſame way, and ſo on till he is ſatisfied. He never drinks till he has finiſhed eating; and before he begins, in gratitude to the fair ones that fed him, he makes up two ſmall rolls, of the ſame kind and form; each of his neighbours open their mouths at the ſame time, while with each hand he puts their portion into their mouths. He then falls to drinking out of a large handſome horn; the ladies eat till they are ſatisfied, and then all drink together, "*Vive la Joye et la Jeuneſſe!*" A great deal of mirth and joke goes round, very ſeldom with any mixture of acrimony or ill-humour.

"All this time the unfortunate victim at the door is bleeding indeed, but bleeding little. As long as they can cut off the fleſh from his bones, they do not meddle with the thighs or the parts where the great arteries are. At laſt they fall upon the thighs likewiſe; and ſoon after the animal bleeding to death, becomes ſo tough, that the canibals who have the reſt of it to eat, find very hard work to ſeparate the fleſh from the bones with their teeth like dogs.

"In the mean time thoſe within are very much elevated; Love lights all its fires, and every thing is permitted with abſolute freedom. There is no coyneſs, no delays, no need of appointments or retirement to gratify their wiſhes; there are no rooms but one, in which they ſacrifice both to Bacchus and to Venus. The two men neareſt the vacuum a pair have made, by leaving their ſeats, hold their upper garment like a ſcreen before the two that have left the bench; and, if we may judge by ſound, they ſeem to think it as great a ſhame to make love in ſilence as to eat. Replaced in their ſeats again, the company drink the happy couple's health; and their example is followed at different ends of the table, as each couple is diſpoſed. All this paſſes without remark or ſcandal; not a licentious word is uttered, nor the moſt diſtant joke upon the tranſaction."

The author, aware of the improbability of this relation, has in another place, after giving an account of the like proceſs uſed by the Abyſſinian ſoldiers in the field, with this additional circumſtance, that after a ſmall party had ſatisfied their hunger, the ſkin of the mangled animal was replaced upon the wounded part, and the beaſt was then driven on before them to furniſh a future meal, has added the following apology.

"When firſt I mentioned this in

England, as one of the ſingularities which prevailed in this barbarous country, I was told by my friends it was not believed. I aſked the reaſon of this diſbelief, and was anſwered, that people who had never been out of their own country, and others well acquainted with the manners of the world, for they had travelled as far as France, had agreed the thing was impoſſible, and therefore it was ſo. My friends counſelled me further, that as theſe men were infallible, and had each the leading of a circle, I ſhould by all means obliterate this from my journal, and not attempt to inculcate in the minds of my readers the belief of a thing that men who had travelled pronounced to be impoſſible. They ſuggeſted to me, in the moſt friendly manner, how rudely a very learned and worthy traveller had been treated, for daring to maintain that he had eat part of a lion, a ſtory I have already taken notice of in my Introduction. They ſaid, that being convinced by theſe connoiſſeurs his having eaten any part of a lion was *impoſſible*, he had abandoned this aſſertion altogether, and after only mentioned it in an appendix; and this was the fartheſt I could poſſibly venture.

"Far from being a convert to ſuch prudential reaſons, I muſt for ever profeſs openly, that I think them unworthy of me. To repreſent as truth a thing I know to be a falſehood, not to avow a truth which I know I ought to declare; the one is fraud, the other cowardice: I hope I am equally diſtant from them both; and I pledge myſelf never to retract the fact here advanced, that the Abyſſinians do feed in common upon live fleſh; and that I myſelf have, for ſeveral years, been partaker of that diſagreeable and beaſtly diet: on the contrary, I have no doubt, when time ſhall be given to read this hiſtory to an end, there will be very few, if they have candour enough to own it, that will not be aſhamed of ever having doubted."

The third volume, ſays the author, comprehends my journey from Maſuah to Gondar, and the manners and cuſtoms of the Abyſſinians—alſo two attempts to arrive at the fountains of the Nile—deſcription of theſe ſources, and of every thing relating to that river and its inundations.

The reader may not be diſpleaſed to learn the ſtate of Mr. Bruce's feelings at the moment he was approaching to the accompliſhment of his favourite object. "We ſaw," he obſerves, "immediately below us the Nile itſelf, ſtrangely diminiſhed in ſize, and now only a brook that had ſcarcely water to turn a mill. I could not ſatiate myſelf with the ſight, revolving in my mind all thoſe claſſical prophecies that had given the Nile up to perpetual obſcurity and concealment. The lines of the poet came immediately into my mind, and I enjoyed here, for the firſt time, the triumph which already, by the protection of Providence and my own intrepidity, I had gained over all that were powerful and all that were learned, ſince the remoteſt antiquity.

Arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli,
Nec licuit populis parvum te, Nile, videre,
Amovitque ſinus, et gentes maluit ortus
Mirari, quam noſſe tuos."

LUCAN.

In another place—"I after this came to the iſland of green turf, which was in form of an altar, apparently the work of art, and I ſtood in rapture over the principal fountain which riſes in the middle of it.

"It is eaſier to gueſs than to deſcribe the ſituation of my mind at that moment—ſtanding in that ſpot which had baffled the genius, induſtry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the courſe of near 3000 years. Kings had attempted this diſcovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was diſtinguiſhed from the laſt, only by the difference of the numbers which had periſhed; and agreed alone in the diſappointment which had uniformly and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour, had been held out for a ſeries of ages to every individual of thoſe myriads theſe princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curioſity of his ſovereign, wiping off this ſtain upon the enterpriſe and abilities of mankind, or adding this deſideratum for the encouragement of geography.

"Seſoſtris, one of the earlieſt and greateſt conquerors of antiquity, is mentioned, amidſt all his victories, earneſtly to have deſired to penetrate to the head of the Nile, as a glory he preferred to almoſt univerſal monarchy:

> Venit ad occaſum, mundique extrema Seſoſtris,
> Et Pharios currus regum cervicibus egit:
> Ante tamen veſtros amnes, Rhodanumque Padumque,
> Quam Nilum de fonte bibit."
>
> LUCAN.

Whilſt Mr. Bruce was congratulating himſelf in this ſtrain of exultation upon the ſucceſs of his labours, it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe that he knew, nor yet fair to conclude him ignorant, that his diſcovery was a mere nullity, and his triumph over the antients an empty boaſt. Not to enter into his diſpute with the jeſuits, it is evident that the ſtream whoſe ſource he diſcovered, is but one of the innumerable rivulets which form the lake of Dambeca or Tzana, and that this lake may perhaps, with more propriety, be called the head of the Nile. But be this as it may, Mr. D'Anville has clearly ſhewn, that the Nile, whoſe ſource the ancients ſought for, was a different river, or at leaſt a ſouthern branch of the Egyptian Nile. Beſides, the moſt judicious critics are of opinion, that when the ancients ſpeak of the hidden ſources of the Nile, they generally ſpeak metaphorically and mean the cauſes of its inundation. Nor yet were theſe unknown to them, as is evident from the account which Herodotus gives of information he received in Egypt, and which agrees in almoſt every particular with that given by our author. Indeed Mr. Bruce himſelf acknowledges, that his theory is the ſame with that of Democritus of Abdera, recited amongſt ſeveral others by Diodorus Siculus. The following extract contains the ſubſtance of the argument by which he ſupports his opinion.

"Modern travellers have found that the plentiful fall of the tropical rains, produced every year at the ſame time, by the action of a violent ſun, has been uniformly, without miracle, the cauſe of Egypt being regularly overflowed.

"The ſun being nearly ſtationary for ſome days in the tropic of Capricorn, the air there becomes ſo much rarified, that the heavier winds, charged with watery particles, ruſh in upon it from the Atlantic on the weſt, and from the Indian Ocean on the eaſt. The ſouth wind, moreover, loaded with heavy vapour, condenſed in that high ridge of mountains not far ſouth of the Line, which forms a ſpine to the peninſula of Africa, and, running northward with the other two, furniſh wherewithal to reſtore the equilibrium.

" The ſun, having thus gathered ſuch a quantity of vapours as it were to a focus, now puts them in motion, and draws them after it in its rapid progreſs northward. Advancing to the Line, the ſun brings on a few drops of rain at Gondar the 1ſt of March, being then diſtant 5° from the zenith; theſe are greedily abſorbed by the thirſty ſoil; and this ſeems to be the fartheſt extent of the ſun's influence, capable of cauſing rain, which then only falls in large drops, and laſts but a few minutes: the rainy ſeaſon, however, begins moſt ſeriouſly upon its arrival at the zenith of every place, and theſe rains continue conſtant and increaſing after he has paſſed it, in his progreſs northward. In April, all the rivers in Amhara, Begemder, and Laſta, firſt diſcoloured, and then beginning to ſwell, join the Nile in the ſeveral parts of its courſe neareſt them. In the beginning of May, hundreds of ſtreams pour themſelves from Gojam, Damot, Maitſha, and Dembea, into the lake Tzana, which had become low by intenſe evaporation, but now begins to fill inſenſibly, and contributes a large quantity of water to the Nile, before it falls down the cataract of Alata. In the beginning of June, the ſun having now paſſed all Abyſſinia, the rivers there are all full, and then is the time of the greateſt rains in Abyſſinia, while it is for ſome days, as it were, ſtationary in the tropic of Cancer.

" Theſe rains are collected by the four great rivers in Abyſſinia; the Mareb, the Bowiha, Tacazzé, and the Nile. All theſe principal, and their tributary ſtreams, would, however, be abſorbed, nor be able to paſs the burning deſerts, or find their way into Egypt, were it not for the White River, which, riſing in a country of almoſt perpetual rain, joins to it a never-failing ſtream, equal to the Nile itſelf.

" In the firſt days of May, the ſun, in his way to the northern tropic, is vertical over the ſmall village of Gerri, the limit of the tropical rains. Not all the influence of the ſun, which has already paſt its zenith, and for many days has been as it were ſtationary within a few degrees of it over Syene, in the tropic of Cancer, can bring them one inch farther to the northward. Yet all the time that it is in the tropic of Cancer at its greateſt diſtance, theſe rains are then at their heavieſt throughout all Abyſſinia; and Egypt, and all its labours, would ſoon be ſwept into the Mediterranean, did not the ſun now begin to change its ſphere of action, by haſtening its progreſs ſouthward.

" From Syene the ſun paſſes over the deſert, and arrives at Gerri; here he reverſes the effects his influence had when on his paſſage northward; for whereas, in his whole courſe of declination northward, from the Line to Gerri, he brought on the rains at every place where he became vertical, ſo now he cuts off thoſe rains the inſtant he returns to the zenith of each of thoſe places, paſſing over Abyſſinia in his journey ſouthward, till arrived at the Line, in the autumnal equinox, his influence ceaſes on the ſide of Abyſſinia, and goes to extend itſelf to the ſouthern hemiſphere. And ſo preciſely is this ſtupendous operation calculated, that, on the 25th of September, only three days after the equinox, the Nile is generally found at Cairo to be at its higheſt, and begins to diminiſh every day after.

" There are three remarkable appearances attending the inundation of the Nile: every morning in Abyſſinia is clear, and the ſun ſhines. About nine, a ſmall cloud, not above four feet broad, appears in the eaſt, whirling violently round as if upon an axis, but, arrived near the zenith, it firſt abates its motion, then loſes its form, and extends itſelf greatly, and ſeems to call up vapours from all oppoſite quarters. Theſe clouds having attained nearly the ſame height, ruſh againſt each other with great violence, and put me always in mind of Eliſha foretelling rain on Mount Carmel *. The air, impelled before the heavieſt maſs, or ſwifteſt mover, makes an impreſſion of its own form in the collection of clouds oppoſite, and the moment it has taken poſſeſſion of the ſpace made to receive it, the moſt violent thunder poſſible to be conceived inſtantly follows, with rain: after ſome hours, the ſky again clears, with a wind at north, and it is always diſagreeably cold when the thermometer is below 63°.

" The ſecond thing remarkable is the variation of the thermometer; when the ſun is in the ſouthern tropic, 36° diſtant from the zenith of Gondar, it is ſeldom lower than 72°; but it falls to 60° and 59° when the ſun is immediately vertical; ſo happily does the approach of rain compenſate the heat of the too-ſcorching ſun.

" The third is, that remarkable ſtop in the extent of the rains northward, when the ſun, that has conducted the vapours from the Line, and ſhould ſeem, now more than ever, to be in poſſeſſion of them, is here over-ruled ſuddenly, till, on its return to the zenith of Gerri, again it reſumes the abſolute command over the rain, and re-conducts it to the Line to furniſh diſtant deluges to the ſouthward."

The fourth volume contains his return from the ſource of the Nile to Gondar—the campaign of Serbraxos, and revolution that followed—his return through Sennaar and Beſa, or the Nubian Deſert, and his arrival at Marſeilles. We ſhall make but one ſhort extract from this volume; it is an account of a phenomenon ſo finely deſcribed by one of our poets:

So where our wide Numidian waſtes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes deſcend,
Wheel thro' the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up whole plains and ſweep whole ſands away.
The helpleſs traveller, with wild ſurpriſe,
Sees the wide deſert all around him riſe,
And, ſmother'd in the duſty whirlwind, dies.

" On the 14th, at ſeven in the morning, we left Aſſa Nagga, our courſe being due north. At one o'clock we alighted among ſome acacia-trees at Waadi el Halboub, having

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* 1 Kings, chap. xviii. ver. 43.

having gone twenty-one miles. We were here at once ſurpriſed and terrified by a ſight ſurely one of the moſt magnificent in the world. In that vaſt expanſe of deſert, from W. and to N. W. of us, we ſaw a number of prodigious pillars of ſand at different diſtances, at times moving with great celerity, at others ſtalking on with a majeſtic ſlowneſs: at intervals we thought they were coming in a very few minutes to overwhelm us; and ſmall quantities of ſand did actually more than once reach us. Again they would retreat ſo as to be almoſt out of ſight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often ſeparated from the bodies; and theſe, once disjoined, diſperſed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes they were broken near the middle, as if ſtruck with a large cannon-ſhot. About noon they began to advance with conſiderable ſwiftneſs upon us, the wind being very ſtrong at north. Eleven of them ranged alongſide of us about the diſtance of three miles. The greateſt diameter of the largeſt appeared to me at that diſtance as if it would meaſure ten feet. They retired from us with a wind at S. E. leaving an impreſſion upon my mind to which I can give no name, though ſurely one ingredient in it was fear, with a conſiderable degree of wonder and aſtoniſhment. It was in vain to think of flying; the ſwifteſt horſe, or faſteſt ſailing ſhip, could be of no uſe to carry us out of this danger, and the full perſuaſion of this rivetted me as if to the ſpot where I ſtood, and let the camels gain on me ſo much in my ſtate of lameneſs, that it was with ſome difficulty I could overtake them."

Mr. Bruce has added a fifth volume, in the form of an appendix, with a view of preſerving the ſubject of natural hiſtory diſtinct from the other objects of his travels. He was apprehenſive that by preſenting the two ſubjects promiſcuouſly, he might incommode and diſguſt both ſpecies of readers.

The firſt portion of this part of the work treats of trees, ſhrubs, or plants; and in the ſelecting of them, our author obſerves, that he has preferred thoſe which, having once been conſidered as ſubjects of conſequence by the ancients, and treated largely of by them, are now come, from want of the advantage of drawing, lapſe of time, change of climate, alteration of manners, or accident befallen the inhabitants of a country, to be of doubtful exiſtence and uncertain deſcription.

After having beſtowed his firſt conſideration upon thoſe that make a principal figure in ancient hiſtory, which are either not at all or imperfectly known now, his next attention has been given to thoſe which have their uſes in manufactures, medicine, or are uſed as food in the countries he is deſcribing. The next ſubject treated of are the plants, or the varieties of plants unknown, whether in genus or ſpecies.

Amongſt theſe he gives the following account of a plant called by the Abyſſinians *Wooginoos*.

"This ſhrub is a production of the greateſt part of Abyſſinia, eſpecially the ſides of the valleys in the low country, or Kolla. It is indeed on the north ſide of Debra Tzai, where you firſt deſcend into the Kolla. This drawing was made at Hor-Caçamoot, in Ras el Feel, where the Wooginoos grows abundantly, and where dyſenteries reign continually, Heaven having put the antidote in the ſame place where grows the poiſon.

"Some weeks before I left Gondar I had been very much tormented with this diſeaſe, and I had tried both ways of treating it, the one by hot medicines and aſtringents, the other by the contrary method of diluting. Small doſes of ipecacuanha under the bark had for ſeveral times procured me temporary relief, but relapſes always followed. My ſtrength began to fail, and, after a ſevere return of this diſeaſe, I had, at my ominous manſion, Horcacamoot, the valley of the ſhadow of death, a very unpromiſing proſpect, for I was now going to paſs through the kingdom of Sennaar in the time of year when that diſeaſe moſt rages.

"Sheba, chief of the Shangalla, called Genjar, on the frontiers of Kuara, had at this time a kind of embaſſy or meſſage to Ras el Feel. He wanted to burn ſome villages in Atbara belonging to the Arabs Jeheina, and wiſhed Yaſine might not protect them: they often came and ſat with me, and one of them hearing of my complaint, and the apprehenſions I annexed to it, ſeemed to make very light of both, and the reaſon was, he found at the very door this ſhrub, the ſtrong and ligneous root of which, nearly as thick as a parſnip, was covered with a clean, clear, wrinkled bark, of a light-brown colour, and which peeled eaſily off the root. The bark was without fibres to the very end, where it ſplit like a fork into two thin diviſions. After having cleared the inſide of it of a whitiſh membrane, he laid it to dry in the ſun, and then would have bruiſed it between two ſtones, had we not ſhewn him the eaſier and more expeditious way of powdering it in a mortar.

"The firſt doſe I took was about a heaped tea-ſpoonful in a cup of camel's milk; I took two of theſe in a day, and then in the morning a tea-cup of the infuſion in camel's milk warm. It was attended the firſt day with a violent drought, but I was prohibited from drinking either water or bouza. I made privately a drink of my own; I took a little boiled water which had ſtood to cool, and in it a ſmall quantity of ſpirits. I after uſed ſome ripe tamarinds in water, which I thought did me harm. I cannot ſay I found any alteration for the firſt day, unleſs a kind of hope that I was growing better, but the ſecond day I found myſelf ſenſibly recovered. I left off laudanum and ipecacuanha, and reſolved to truſt only to my medicine. In looking at my journal, I think it was the 6th or 7th day that I pronounced myſelf well, and, though I had returns afterwards, I never was reduced to the neceſſity of taking one drop of laudanum, although before I had been very free with it. I did not perceive it occaſioned any extraordinary evacuation, nor any remarkable ſymptom but that continued thirſt, which abated after it had been taken ſome time.

"In the courſe of my journey through Sennaar, I ſaw that all the inhabitants were well acquainted with the virtues of this plant. I had prepared a quantity pounded into powder, and uſed it ſucceſsfully everywhere. I thought that the mixing of a third of bark with it produced the effect more ſpeedily, and, as we had now little opportunity of getting milk, we made an infuſion in water. I tried a ſpirituous tincture, which I do believe would ſucceed well, I made ſome for myſelf and ſervants, a ſpoonful of which we uſed to take when we found ſymptoms of our diſeaſe returning, or when it was raging in the place in which we chanced to reſide. It is a plain, ſimple bitter, without any aromatic or reſinous taſte. It leaves in your throat and palate ſomething of roughneſs reſembling ipecacuanha.

"This ſhrub was not before known to botaniſts. I brought the ſeeds to Europe, and it has grown in every garden, but has produced only flowers, and never came to fruit. Sir Joſeph Banks, Preſident of the Royal Society, employed Mr. Millar to make a large drawing from this ſhrub as it had grown at Kew. The drawing was as elegant as could be wiſhed, and did the original great juſtice. To this piece of politeneſs Sir Joſeph added another, of calling it after its diſcoverer's name, Brucea Antidyſenterica: the preſent figure is from a drawing of my own on the ſpot at Ras el Feel.

"The leaf is oblong and pointed, ſmooth, and without collateral ribs that are viſible. The right ſide of the leaf is a deep green, the reverſe very little lighter. The leaves are placed two and two upon the branch, with a ſingle one at the end. The flowers come chiefly from the point of the ſtalk from each ſide of a long branch. The cup is a perianthium divided into four ſegments. The flower has four petals, with a ſtrong rib down the center of each. In place of a piſtil there is a ſmall cup, round which, between the ſegments of the perianthium and the petala of the flower, four feeble ſtamina ariſe, with a large ſtigma of a crimſon colour, of the ſhape of a coffee-bean, and divided in the middle."

The hiſtory of birds and beaſts occupies the next place; and the rule which is followed here, is to give the preference to ſuch of each kind as are mentioned in ſcripture, and concerning which doubts have ariſen. As for the fiſhes and other marine productions of the Red Sea, Mr. Bruce obſerves, that his induſtry has been too great for his circumſtances, and that he has by him above 300 articles from the Arabian gulph alone, all of equal merit with thoſe ſpecimens which he has laid before the public. He adds, that his moderate fortune, already impaired by the expence of the journey, will not, without doing injuſtice to his family, bear the additional one of publiſhing the numerous articles he is in poſſeſſion of.

THE

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In each of theſe diſtricts general aſſemblies were held, whoſe reſolutions carried the effect of laws, and the moſt ſovereign acts of authority for the government of the diſtrict, were diſpenſed by its own adminiſtration. Thus, Paris was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, compoſed of ſixty independent democratical republics, than as one commonwealth. A few demagogues aſſume the lead in all theſe diſtricts, and being ſupported by the lower orders, ſoon oblige people of character to abſent themſelves from theſe aſſemblies. Inſtances of the noiſe, diſorder, and tumult, which prevailed at theſe meetings. New republican clubs, who have their appendant ſocieties in every town of France, ſoon become rulers of the mobs and demagogues of Paris,* *and at the ſame time dictators to the national aſſembly. Inſtances from a writer of credit, that falſehoods and forgeries were the great and conſtant reſources of the cabals in Paris. Pariſians noted for credulity, and at the ſame time for the extreme ſuſpiciouſneſs of their nature. Similar inſtances of credulity in the provinces. The exceſſive liberty and unbounded licentiouſneſs of the preſs, a powerful inſtrument of the revolution. The literati of Paris eſtimated at* 20,000, *and theſe dictated to the reſt of the nation. Unaccountable and indefenſible ſupineneſs of the miniſters, with reſpect to the preſs. Strange and fatal blindneſs of the two firſt orders of the ſtate. Famine, as a cauſe of general diſcontent, another powerful inſtrument of the revolution. Real or imputed conduct of the duke of Orleans. National aſſembly ſeriouſly alarmed at the conflagrations and maſſacres which were ſpreading deſolation and ruin through many parts of the kingdom, the nobility being hunted down like wild beaſts in ſeveral of the provinces. This impreſſion of terror, produces the extraordinary events of the 4th of Auguſt. The viſcount Noailles, and the duke d'Aiguillon, make ſpeeches in the aſſembly, in which they propoſe ſubſtantial redreſs and relief to the peaſantry, by relinquiſhing and aboliſhing thoſe parts of the feudal rights and duties, which lay the heavieſt on, or were the moſt complained of by, that order of men. A ſudden fit of enthuſiaſm ſpreads at once through the two firſt orders, and the only conteſt after ſeemed to be, who ſhould ſacrifice the moſt, and who ſhould be the firſt to offer; while the commons ſeemed loſt in aſtoniſhment and applauſe. It was in an inſtant decreed, that all impoſts ſhould be equally and equitably laid on; that all the feudal ſervices ſhould be redeemable at an equitable price; and that perſonal ſervitude ſhould be aboliſhed for ever, without any purchaſe. Theſe are followed by a ſacrifice of the excluſive rights of the chace, of fiſhing, of warren, and of dove-cotes. The pariſh prieſts make an offering of all their parochial perquiſites, and the beneficiaries bind themſelves never to hold a plurality. Various other reſolutions paſſed on the ſame night, each of which was from that moment conſidered as an irrevocable decree, and afterwards made the foundation of a formal law. Aſſembly decree a medal to be ſtruck, to commemorate the acts of this glorious night. They likewiſe confer on the king the title of Reſtorer of the Liberties of France. Solemn* Te Deum *celebrated, at which the king and the national aſſembly aſſiſt. Aſtoniſhment and diſmay of the clergy, after the great ſacrifices which they had voluntarily made, upon a motion for the ſequeſtration of their tithes. Debates renewed with great violence on the following day. Cauſe of the clergy eloquently and ably defended by the Abbe Sieyes. In general they ſtand firmly in ſupport of their rights. Debate, after much tumult, adjourned late at night. Means uſed during the remainder of the night, and the morning, to bring over the heads of the clergy to a conſent. Archbiſhop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, ſurrenders all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation. His ſhort ſpeech on that occaſion. The old provincial names, diſtinctions, peculiar rights, and privileges, determined to be aboliſhed, and the whole nation conſolidated into one compact body, and under one equal form of government. Deputies of privileged towns and diſtricts* *make a ſurrender of their charters and municipal documents. Provinces which poſſeſſed a right of taxing themſelves, renounced that right and their ſtates together; and the parliaments were annihilated as well as the provincial ſtates. All fees and taxes to the court of Rome for ever aboliſhed. Some obſervations on the precipitancy, with which ſixteen laws of the utmoſt moment were hurried through in one night; as well as on the bad effect of paſſing laws by acclamation. Nobility and clergy in the provinces highly diſcontented with the conduct of their delegates on the 4th of Auguſt, in making ſuch vaſt ſacrifices without their conſent. Several members of the aſſembly likewiſe repent their own conceſſions, and become equally diſſatisfied. Landed proprietaries at length take up arms in their own defence, and repreſs the barbarous ravages of the peaſantry. King appoints a new miniſtry, with the approbation of the aſſembly. Diſtreſſed ſtate of the public, through the failure of the taxes. Loans attempted and fail. Scheme of patriotic contributions adopted.* [1

CHAP. II.

King and queen ſend their gold and ſilver plate to the mint. Patriotic donations incapable of relieving the neceſſities of the ſtate. Extraordinary tax decreed, under the name of a patriotic contribution, by which each man was to contribute one fourth of his annual revenue to the exigencies of the ſtate. Loud complaints and violent animoſities excited by this partial tax. Embarraſſments and difficulties which the national aſſembly experienced in framing the new declaration of rights. Great debates upon the propriety or inexpedience of adopting the meaſure. Declaration at length paſſed and promulgated. Saying of Mirabeau upon the ſubject. Aſſembly divided into a number of ſections or committees, to each of which is aſſigned ſome ſpecified part of the new conſtitution, on which it is to make a report. Grand queſtion ariſes, What ſhare of authority it was fitting the king ſhould poſſeſs in the new legiſlature? This operates like a touchſtone in trying every man's principles, and compelling him to an open avowal of them. Aſſembly arranged, face to face, in two great hoſtile diviſions, apparently equal in ſtrength and numbers. Violent conteſts enſue, and are ſo long continued, that the people without, and at length the whole nation, become parties in them. State of the parties within and without, who thus divided the aſſembly and the nation. King's veto, *or negative, with reſpect to the paſſing of laws, one of the ſubjects moſt violently and generally agitated. Populace of Paris interfere openly in the queſtion of the veto; while the crowds in the galleries of the aſſembly become ſo daringly audacious, as by hootings and revilings to endeavour to drown the voices, and by inſults and menaces to deter from giving their votes all thoſe members who ſupported the rights of the crown. Long liſts of members who were marked for proſcription, and deſtined to be victims to the vengeance of the people, publiſhed in Paris, and diſtributed through every part of the kingdom. Popular fermentation in Paris riſen nearly to its higheſt pitch. The notoriou*

St. Huruge, attempts to have the king, the dauphin, and the national aſſembly, brought to Paris; but by the ſpirited exertions of La Fayette, Bailly, and the Hotel de Ville, the leaders are committed to priſon, and the ſedition quelled. Heavy complaints made to the aſſembly by ſeveral of its members of thoſe treaſonable attempts againſt the freedom of the king, as well as of that body itſelf; and likewiſe of the liſts of proſcription which were publiſhed, and of the incendiary letters by which they were continually menaced with deſtruction; but Mirabeau with his faction turn the whole complaint into ridicule. Numberleſs charges of ſuppoſed plots and conſpiracies now made againſt the royaliſts; which effectually anſwer one purpoſe, in exciting a general alarm and ferment through the nation. The Pariſians, in particular, become again dangerouſly outrageous, and every thing bears the ſame aſpect as in the preceding months of June and July. In this ſtate of affairs, the king, ever wiſhing to preſerve or reſtore tranquillity, ſends Neckar with a propoſal to the aſſembly, declaring that he would be contented with a ſuſpenſive veto, whoſe operation ſhould not laſt longer than one or two legiſlatures. This propoſal received with ſatisfaction; and it was decreed, that the royal ſuſpenſion ſhould continue during two legiſlatures. Great debates on the queſtion, whether the national aſſembly ſhould be compoſed of one or two chambers. Queſtion at length carried for a ſingle chamber by a prodigious majority. Members obliged to procure certificates how they had given their votes, to preſerve their houſes and families from deſtruction. Aſſembly decree, that the legiſlative body ſhall be renewed every two years by elections. Receive a letter from the king, containing his objections to certain parts of ſome of the new laws, which occaſions much diſcontent in the aſſembly. King obliged to give his ſanction ſimply, and without comment, to the laws in queſtion. Things tending faſt to an extraordinary criſis both in Paris and Verſailles. Aſſembly, however, confirm the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown; and declare the king's perſon ſacred and inviolable. Arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Verſailles, the cauſe or pretence of the enſuing miſchiefs. Entertainment given by the officers of the king's life guards to thoſe of the new corps, productive of much licentiouſneſs and folly. This banquet occaſions a violent ferment both at Paris and Verſailles. Numerous army of women, after plundering the town houſe, and ſupplying themſelves with arms and artillery, march from Paris to Verſailles. Are followed by unnumbered bands of ruffians. And not long after by La Fayette, at the head of a conſiderable army of the national guards. Events of the 5th and 6th of October. King and royal family led captive to Paris. Tumult in Paris, and the murder of a baker, ſoon after the arrival of the national aſſembly, occaſion the greateſt alarm and apprehenſion in that body. Severe decree paſſed, by which the magiſtrates are empowered to proclaim martial law, and to proceed to the laſt extremities in repreſſing the future outrages of the mob. La Fayette procures the Duke of Orleans' departure to England. [27

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CHAP. III.

Effects of the tranſactions in France upon the minds of the people of Great-Britain. General diſpoſition in their favour at the commencement of the revolution. Various political ſpeculations thereon. The evils which followed foreſeen by more accurate obſervers, and particularly foretold in the celebrated work of Mr. Burke. The intereſt which the French leaders had in involving the ſurrounding ſtates in the ſame diſtractions. Their attempts, and the effects of them, particularly in Great-Britain and Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Speech from the throne. Addreſs voted in both houſes without debate. Act of indemnity relative to the order of council for ſtopping the exportation of corn. Military eſtimates animadverted upon by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Marſham, and Mr. Fox; and defended by Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt. Some expreſſions of Mr. Fox, applauding the French revolution, and the conduct of the French army on that occaſion, cenſured by Col. Phipps. The ſame ſubject taken up by Mr. Burke. His ſpeech upon the ſpirit and conſequences of that event, and his regret at differing in opinion from Mr. Fox. His opinion concerning the conduct of the French army, and concerning the compariſon between the French revolution, and the revolution of 1688. His ſpeech received with general applauſe. Mr. Fox, in reply, laments the difference of opinion between them. His encomium upon Mr. Burke. Explains his own ſentiments reſpecting the French revolution. Profeſſes his political principles. His opinion of the revolution of 1688. His apology for the exceſſes of the French patriots. Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech upon the ſame occaſion. Declares his entire difference of opinion from Mr. Burke. Defends the French revolution. Apologizes for its exceſſes. Charges Mr. Burke with being an advocate for deſpotiſm. Compliments the marquis de la Fayette, and other French patriots. His opinion of the revolution of 1688. Mr. Pitt, and other members, riſe to expreſs their obligations and gratitude to Mr. Burke for the ſentiments he had expreſſed during the debate. [62

CHAP. IV.

The diſſenters encouraged, by the ſmall majority by which the motion for the repeal of the teſt and corporation act was rejected the laſt ſeſſion, to renew their application. Steps taken by them to ſupport it. Alarm of the friends of the eſtabliſhed church. Mr. Fox's ſpeech upon moving for the repeal. His general principles of toleration. His opinion of the impolicy and injuſtice of the teſt laws. Argues from the merits of the diſſenters. Urges the example of France. Cenſures the conduct of the biſhop of St. David's. Concludes with declaring his determination to ſupport the queſtion he had brought forward upon every future occaſion. Motion oppoſed by Mr. Pitt. He objects to its extent, and the principles on which it was ſupported. Is of opinion it might affect the ſecurity of the church. He conſiders the teſt acts as proper *reſtraints on the prerogative of the crown. Animadverts on the attempts of the diſſenters to influence members of parliament. Thinks it would be dangerous to truſt them with power. And that teſts, the ſeverity of which could be occaſionally mitigated, were neceſſary to enable government to ward off danger in caſes of neceſſity. Mr. Burke concurs with Mr. Fox in his principles of toleration; but thinks the diſſenters, at the preſent moment, not intitled to indulgence. Charges them with factious and dangerous practices, and reads various papers in ſupport of his charge. Suggeſts the propriety of a new teſt, and of a committee to enquire into their recent conduct. Mr. Fox's motion rejected by a majority of* 294 *to* 105. *Motion by Mr. Flood for a reform in parliament. States the inadequacy of the preſent mode of repreſentation. Propoſes one hundred additional members to be choſen by reſident houſekeepers. His arguments to prove the neceſſity of a reform. Anſwers objections. The motion oppoſed by Mr. Wyndham. He aſſerts, that the houſe of commons, as at preſent conſtituted, is adequate for all beneficial purpoſes. Anſwers the objections relative to the American war. Deprecates innovations founded upon theories. Objects to the time as dangerous. Mr. Pitt objects to the motion as ill-timed. Sir James Johnſtone's objections. Mr. Fox ſupports the motion, and anſwers the objection of its being ill-timed. Mr. Burke in reply. Other ſpeakers on both ſides the queſtion. The motion agreed to be withdrawn.* [71

CHAP. V.

*Motion by Mr. Montagu for increaſing the ſalary of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. He ſtates his preſent emoluments, argues upon their inſufficiency, and propoſes that they ſhould be advanced to £.*5,000 *per annum. Motion oppoſed by Mr. Huſſey, as tending to increaſe the influence of the crown. Supported by Mr. Marſham and other gentlemen. Amendment propoſed in the committee that the ſalary ſhould be £.*6000 *per annum, and carried by a large majority. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas. Comparative ſtatement of the revenues and charges in India. Flouriſhing ſtate of the company's affairs in general. Doubts expreſſed by Mr. Huſſey. Speech of Mr. Francis upon the affairs of India. Proofs of the company's diſtreſs. Obſervations on the duty on ſalt. Remarks on the letter of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Devaynes in reply to Mr. Francis. Mr. Dundas aſſerts the falſhood of Mr. Francis's ſtatement. Reſolutions paſſed by the committee. Sir J. R. Miller's account of the proceedings of the committee on weights and meaſures, to be inſerted entire in the article of uſeful projects. Petitions preſented for the repeal of the tobacco exciſe act. Motion upon that ſubject by Mr. Sheridan, aſſerts that the act had endangered the foreign trade, encouraged ſmuggling, and laid the manufacturer under inſuperable hardſhips. Mr. Pitt in reply. Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox, for the motion. Rejected by a majority of* 191 *to* 147. *Bill paſſed to explain and amend the tobacco act. Clauſe to grant trial by juries rejected. Budget for the year* 1790. *Flouriſhing ſtate of the finances and growing*

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Proceedings of the national aſſembly after the new law had eſtabliſhed ſome order and ſecurity in Paris. Apply cloſely to the vaſt maſs of public buſineſs upon their hands. Political annihilation of the two firſt orders of the ſtate. New laws for regulating elections. Appellation of active citizens, to whom applied. Much trouble ſtill with the provinces, to bring them to a ſurrender of their peculiar rights and privileges. France at length divided into eighty-three departments, and the term Province expunged from the language. Creation and organization of municipalities. Letters de cachet *aboliſhed. Gabelle, and others of the moſt obnoxious taxes, aboliſhed. Aſſembly enter into the intricate buſineſs of finance; augment the pay of the army; and eſtabliſh a new bank. Grand ſcheme for ſeizing the eſtates of the clergy, and offering them as a preſent to the nation, to ſerve as a fund and ſecurity for the diſcharge of the public debts, and to anſwer other important purpoſes. Some difficulties and obſtructions, which appear in the way of carrying this ſcheme into execution, are far out-balanced by the vaſt advantages which it is capable of producing. Decree paſſed, which declares all the eccleſiaſtical eſtates to be at the diſpoſal of the nation. Stipends allotted for the maintenance of pariſh prieſts, &c. Diſcontents riſe to the higheſt pitch amongſt the clergy, many of the biſhops, and nearly all the chapters in the kingdom, proteſt againſt the decree. Combination of the canons, and endeavours uſed at Rome to draw the maledictions of the church upon the national aſſembly. Great prudence and addreſs diſplayed by the aſſembly in its tranſactions with the court of Rome. Sovereign pontiff ſeems to be ſatisfied with their proteſtations. France ſwarms with publications of every ſort, in proſe and in verſe, againſt the national aſſembly, its proceedings and deſigns. Several of the parliaments attempt to be troubleſome, and proteſt againſt the decrees of the aſſembly; but having loſt all influence with the people, are obliged to ſubmit reluctantly to their fate. Parliament of Bourdeaux continues longer in a ſtate of turbulence than any of the others, and endeavours to excite an inſurrection in the ſouth. Stories of plots and conſpiracies neceſſary to keep the minds of the people in conſtant agitation. Various accuſations againſt the king's miniſters, and a greater number againſt the ariſtocrates in general. Animoſities ſo violent between the remaining nobles in the aſſembly, and the democratical leaders, that frequent duels are the conſequence.*

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CHAP. VII.

Ineffectual attempts made by the French privileged orders, for procuring redreſs or ſuccour from the neighbouring continental powers. State of political affairs in Europe, which, with other cauſes, tended to produce that indifference with reſpect to France which now appeared. Courts of Madrid and Turin. Raſh and impetuous proceedings, along with the contemptuous language uſed by the national aſſembly, ſerves continually to create new enemies abroad as well as at home. Wrong offered to the German princes with reſpect to their poſſeſſions and rights in Alſace, embitters the whole empire againſt

againſt the new government, and implants deeply the ſeeds of future contention and war. Weſt India colonies thrown into a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, and at length precipitated into the moſt dreadful ſcenes of deſolation, conflagration, and maſſacre, which terminate in final deſtruction, by a ſeries of ill-judged and precipitate meaſures, of impolitic, impracticable, or contradictory decrees. Great diſorders in the army. Soldiers throw off all ſubordination and diſcipline. The people being now in poſſeſſion of liberty, a deſire of uncontrolled rule and ſovereignty becomes the leading and general paſſion, a circumſtance which ſerves greatly to unite them, and to ſtrengthen the new ſyſtem. The weak attempts of the royaliſts, and the continual reports of plots, conſpiracies, and invaſions, cauſe ſuch a general alarm, that the provinces aſſociate and arm; ſo that France ſeems covered with camps and armies. State of the ariſtocrates and parties adverſe to government. Corſica annexed to France as part of the kingdom. Application from the court of Spain relative to the diſpute with England, brings on a debate on the queſtion, in whoſe hands the right of peace and war ſhould be lodged. Second application from Spain brings on a change of the miniſtry. Mutiny of the fleet at Breſt. Anacharſis Clootz introduces to the aſſembly his ambaſſadors from all mankind. Decree for aboliſhing all titles, and obliterating all memorials of nobility and family diſtinction, for ever in France. Grand national confederation at Paris. Bloody conteſt at Nancy. Mr. Neckar quits the kingdom, after various diſgraces, and narrowly eſcaping the fury of the Pariſians. Schiſm of the French clergy; the greater part of whom ſubmit to the loſs of their penſions, and to expulſion from their paſtoral duties, rather than to take the newly-preſcribed oaths. [131

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